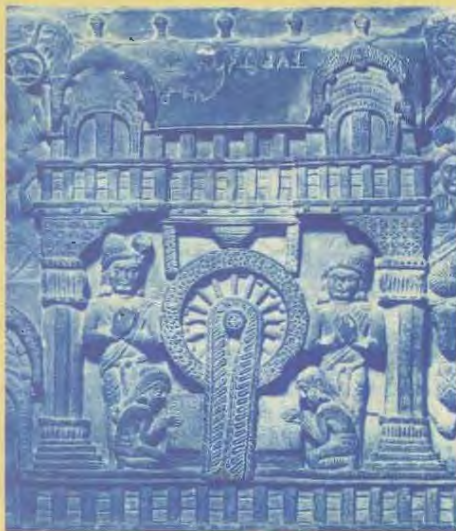


Bimala Churn Law



**A HISTORY OF
PĀLI LITERATURE**



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PĀLI LITERATURE

Foreword by
WILHELM GEIGER



**Cover illustration:
King Vidudabha visiting the Buddha (Bharhut stupa)**

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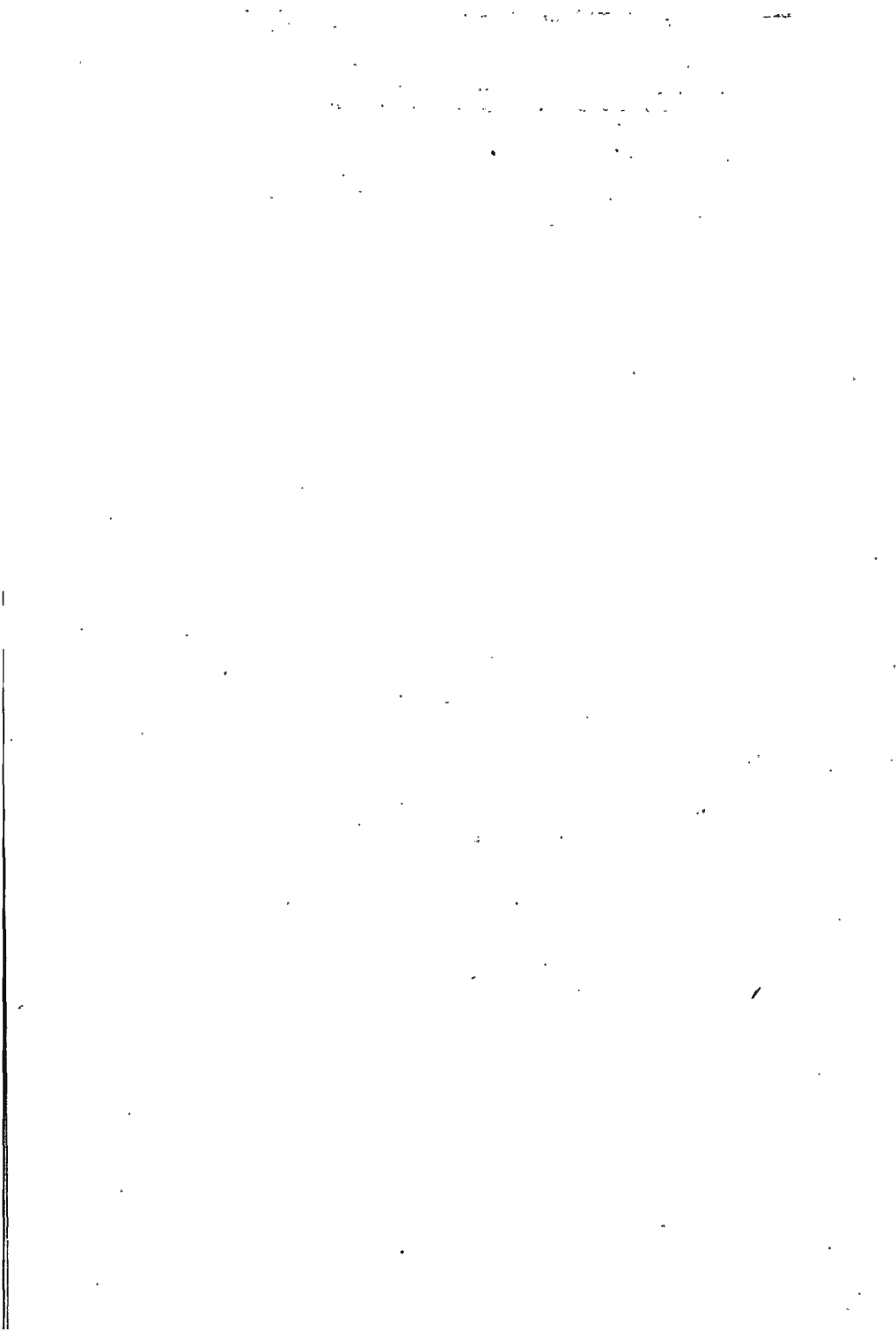
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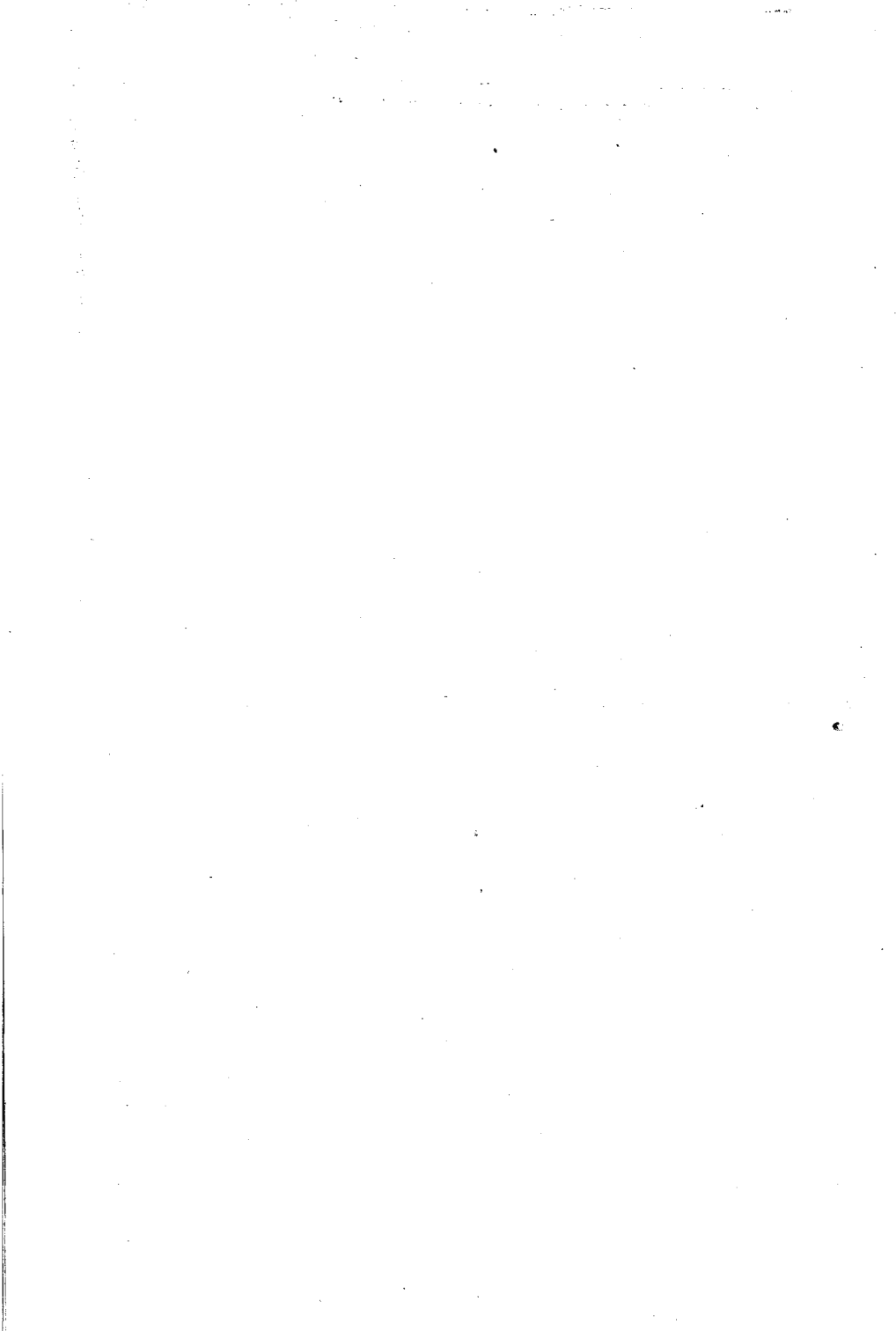


FOREWORD

There can be no doubt that a new and ample treatment of the Pāli literature is a great scientific want felt by all the scholars who are working in that field. Many problems connected with the subject are still unsolved. Not even the question of the origin and home of what we call Pāli language and of its linguistic character is definitively settled, and the chronological order of a single book is very often uncertain. Professor Winternitz in his great work on Indian literature has described also the Pāli literature in an admirable manner. But the scope of his work did not allow him, of course, to enter into all the details and to discuss the many divergences of opinion. Malalasekera in his recent publication has confined himself to the Pāli books composed in Ceylon. Hence the whole canonical literature was to be left aside. I was very much pleased, therefore, when I heard that Dr. Bimala Churn Law had intended to publish a comprehensive work on Pāli literature. We all know his former publications on Buddhist topics and their intrinsic value, and I repeatedly congratulated him on the happy choice of his themes and on the clever manner in which he had accomplished his task. I was even more pleased when I had the opportunity to peruse a good deal of the manuscript of the present work. It will prove to be extremely useful to all the Pāli scholars by the sober and impartial judgment of the author and by the clear and exhaustive exposition of the various problems. Above all I wish to point at the important discussion of the relative chronology of the canonical texts, which means a considerable progress beyond what Rhys Davids has said on the subject, and at the ample and very clear summaries of the Tipitaka books which will be welcome to those who are unable to read them in the original language but wish to become acquainted with their general plan and contents. I frankly say that I found all I could read extremely suggestive and I am convinced that I shall learn much from the book even where my opinion may perhaps differ from that of the author.

16th February, 1932

WILHELM GEIGER



PREFACE

Scholars interested in Buddhism have no doubt felt a great want of an exhaustive treatment of Pali literature. I have, therefore, attempted for the first time to supply the need of detailed and systematic history of Pali literature in two volumes. Drs. M.H. Bode and G.P. Malalasekera have published their respective monographs on the Pali literature of Burma and of Ceylon. Drs. Geiger and Winternitz have also given us a brief survey of Pali literature in their respective works *Pali Literatur und sprache* and *Geschichte der Indischen Literature die Buddhistische literatur und die Heiligen texte der Jainas* (1920). But my treatment of the subject is entirely different from those of my predecessors. The first volume deals with the chronology and general history of the Pali Piṭakas. In the Introduction to this volume I have briefly discussed the origin of Pali and the importance of the study of Pali as one of the Indian languages. A systematic and critical treatment of the puzzling problem of the chronology of the Pali canon follows next, throwing a new light on this intricate and difficult subject. I have tried to discuss at some length the date and composition of each and every book included in the Pali canon. This volume contains a critical exposition of the Vinaya Piṭaka. An elaborate treatment of the Sutta Piṭaka consisting of the five nikāyas, the Digha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara, and Khuddaka has received the attention it deserves. I have also taken care to point out the peculiarities of the style and language in which each suttanta has been written. Under each suttanta and under each nikāya the ancient and modern literature hitherto published has been noticed. In the section on the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, I have noted the significance and importance of the Abhidhamma treatises not without paying attention to the style and language of the Abhidhamma texts. The Pali counterparts of the Abhidhamma books of the Sarvāstivāda

School have been dealt with in the last chapter of the first volume. I have everywhere considered it worth while to mention the available printed editions, manuscripts, and different recensions of each sutta noting the points of textual variations wherever possible. An attempt has been made to collect the parallel passages by way of comparison from other literatures wherever found.

The second volume which treats of post-canonical Pāli literature is devoted to the study of extra canonical works presupposed by the Pāli commentaries, the Pāli chronicles, the Pāli manuals, the Pāli literary piece the Pāli grammars, lexicographies, and works on rhetoric. In the concluding chapter, I have tried to give a general survey of the whole book and traced the development of Pāli poetry. I have given two appendices dealing with the Historical and Geographical references in the Pāli Piṭakas and the Pāli tracts in the inscriptions, which, I believe, will be found useful. I have appended an index at the end for the convenience of readers. I have not found it necessary to deal with some of the unimportant books about which nothing much can be known, e.g., the Sārasaṅgaha (containing many points concerning Buddhism), the Kāmaṇḍaki (a book on polity), the Akkharasammohacheda (word book), the Sotabhamālini (containing edifying tales), the Takkabhāsā (a book on logic), Amatakaravaṇṇanā, Sucittālaṅkāra, Laṅkākathā, Muniguṇālaṅkāra, Sārasaṅgaha, Rājādhīrājavilāsini, Dhammasattapakaraṇa, Dabbaguṇa (pharmacology), Sāratthasaṅgaha, Sūlacaraka, Sādhucaritodaya, Kosalabimbavaṇṇanā, Sahassavattupakaraṇa, Lokappadipakasāra, etc.

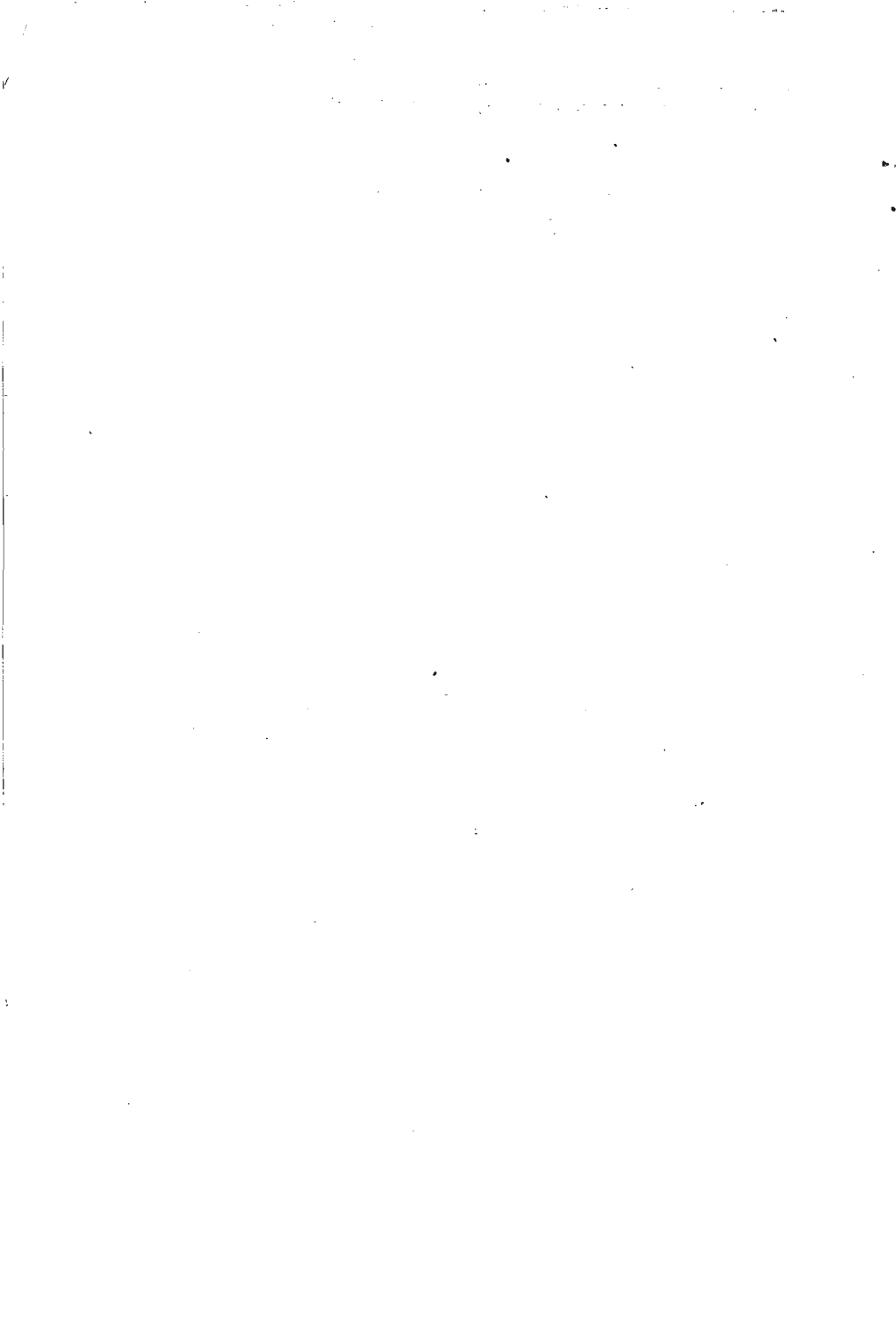
The task which I have performed is, no doubt, beset with difficulties but I shall consider my labour amply rewarded if this treatise is found useful by scholars interested in Buddhist literature, history and religion.

I am grateful to Mrs. Rhys Davids and Dr. B.M. Barua for their valuable suggestions for the improvement of this work. Dr. W. Geiger has really laid me under a deep debt of gratitude by writing a foreword.

I have to offer my sincere thanks to Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., and Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, M.A. B.L., Barristor-at-Law, who have evinced a keen interest in the publication of this work.

Calcutta, the 22nd May, 1933

BIMALA CHURN LAW



INTRODUCTION

I. The Origin and home of Pāli

The term Pālibhāsā¹ or Pāli language is a comparatively modern coinage. Whether the credit of this misleading coinage is due to the European Orientalists or to the latter-day Buddhist theas of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, is still a matter of dispute. It is certain, however, that even up to the 6th or 7th century A.D., the term Pāli does not appear to have gained currency as a nomenclature for any kind of language. Even if we look into the Cūḷavaṃsa forming a later supplement to the Mahāvamsa we find that the term Pāli is used in it clearly in the sense of original Buddhist texts, the texts of the canon, as distinguished from the commentaries:

‘Pālimattaṃ idhānītaṃ, natthi aṭṭhakathā idha’ —only the Pāli has been brought over here from Ceylon but not the commentaries. In the commentaries themselves there are several

¹ ‘Pāli-Pā rakkhane ḷi; rakkhatūti, Pāli Pālīti ekacce. Tanti, Buddha-vacanaṃ, Panti, Pāli. (Bhagavatā vuccamānassa atthassa vohārassa ca dīpanato saddoyeva Pāli nāmāti gaṇṭhipādesu vuttan ti Abhidhamma-ṭṭhakathāya likhitam);

Pāli saddo Pāḷidhamme-talākapaḷiyampi ca
Dissate pantiyam ceva-iti ñeyyam vijānatā.

Ayam hi Pāḷisaddo, Pāḷiyā atthaṃ upaparikkhanti ‘ti ādisu pariyaṭṭidhammasaṅkhāte Pāḷidhamme dissati; ‘Mahato talākassa Pāli ti ādisu talākapaḷiyam Pāḷiyā nisīdīmsūti ādisu paṭipāṭiyā nisīdīmsūti attho, imasmim panatthe dhātuyā kiccaṃ natthi, paṭipāṭiko hi pantivācako Pāḷisaddo; pariyaṭṭidhammavācake pāḷisadde, atthaṃ pāti, rakkhatūti pālīti ca, antodakaṃ rakkhaṇatthena mahato talākassa thirā mahatī pālī viyā ti pālī ti ca, pakaṭṭhānaṃ ukkaṭṭhānaṃ silādiatthānaṃ badhanato sabhāvaniruttibhāvato Buddhādīhi bhasitattā ca, pakaṭṭhānaṃ vacanappabandhānaṃ āḷi ti pālīti ca nibbanāni veditabbāni’ (*Abhidhammapadīpikā sūci*)

passages in which the term Pāli has been employed precisely in the sense of the original authoritative text of the canon. In the *Visuddhimagga*, for instance, we have at p. 107 'Idaṃ sabbākārena neva Pāliyaṃ, na aṭṭhakathāyaṃ āgatam, kevalaṃ ācariyamātānusārena vuttaṃ tasmā na sārato paccetabbaṃ, and also at page 450 of this work we read 'Imānitāva pāliyaṃ : aṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana: aññāni pirūpāni āharitvā'. A similar distinction between the Pāli and the aṭṭhakathā on the one hand and between the aṭṭhakathā and the ācariyamata on the other is brought out by Buddhaghosa also in his *Puggala-Paññatti* commentary in the use of such expressions as (1) Pālimuttakena pana aṭṭhakathānayaṃ, p. 171; (2) aṭṭhakathānayaṃ pana ācariyanayaṃ, p. 173². As a matter of fact, the earliest issue of the term Pāli can be traced in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and not in any earlier Buddhist writings. It is again in the commentaries that the term Pāli came to be regarded as a synonym for *Buddhavaṇṇa*, *Tripīṭaka*, *ṭīṭi*, and *pariyatti*. The transition from Pāli the text to Pāli the language came about sooner or later by a natural process. Although the conscious attempt on the part of the commentators was to keep the term Pāli dissociated from its linguistic implication, they felt constrained to commit themselves to such an expression as *tantibhāsā* in order to distinguish the language of the Pāli or the text of the canon from *Sīhalabhāsā* or the Sinhalese language. The language of the Pāli itself was characterised by them as *Māgadhīnirutti* or the *Māgadhī* idiom. In *tantibhāsā* they attained a coinage approaching *Pālibhāsā* or Pāli language. And the other term *Māgadhī* or *Māgadhīnirutti* was held out by them as a word of praise, claiming thereby as they actually did, that the *Māgadhī* idiom of the Pāli texts was the *mūlabhāsā* or the primary speech of all men.³

² For other references see the P.T.S. *Pāli-English Dictionary*, *Sub voce Pāli*.

³ *Vinayavinicchaya-ṭīkā* : 'Sakalajanasādhāraṇāya mūlabhāsāya' (Quoted in *Buddhadatta's Manuals*, p. xiv, *Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar*, 'Sā Māgadhīmūlabhāsā narāya ādikappikā'). *Visudhismagga*, pp. 441-442 *Sabhāvaniruttiyā Māgadhikāya sabbasattānaṃ mūlabhāsāya*.

If it can thus be established that the use of the term Pāli is not earlier than the writings of Buddhaghosa, and further that when it first came into use, it denoted texts of the canon and was kept dissociated from all linguistic implications, one must at once repudiate all modern attempts at the characterisation of the language of the canon by means of the sound similarity of Pāli with Palli (a village) as idle ingenuity. To contemplate Pāli as the typical Buddhavacana or the text of the canon is chiefly to deal with the set formulations of Buddha's doctrine and discipline, the Buddha's mode of expression or presentation or exposition, apart from the question of language.

The story of *Māgadhinirutti* is a pure invention of the theras of Ceylon, if not exactly that of Buddhaghosa. It is very curious indeed how this myth had originated and gradually gained ground to mislead even the modern scientific investigators. One will look in vain through all the canonical texts and other earlier writings of the Buddhists for any hint to imagine that Māgadhi was the dialect used by the Buddha as a sole medium of expression and that he had used no other dialect as the medium of instruction. It is no doubt claimed in some of the canonical texts that the Buddha was the boasted religious reformer of Magadha, Aṅga-Magadha constituting the Magadhan kingdom under the suzerainty of Bimbisāra. But is it a sufficient reason to maintain that the Māgadhi form of speech was the language of the Buddha and that of the Buddhist canon? We are aware that much has been made of the Vinaya passage enjoining that the bhikkhus should promulgate the teachings of the Buddha through the medium of *sakānirutti* instead of translating them into *chandasa*. The Vinaya passage reads:

“Na bhikkhave Buddhavacanaṃ chandaso āropetabbaṃ. Yo āropeyya, āpatti dukkaṭassa. Anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiyā Buddhavacauṃ pariyāpunitum” (*Cullavagga*, V. 33. I, P. 139).

Buddhaghosa interprets the term *chandasa* in the sense of the Sanskrit language which served as a diction of the Vedas (*Vedaṃ viya sakkatabhāsāya vācanāmaggaṃ*) and the other term

sakānirutti is explained by him as signifying that form of the Māgadhaka dialect which was used by the Buddha himself (ettha sakāniruttināma sammāsaṃbuddhena vuttappakāro Māgadhako vohārosamantapāsādikā, *Cullavagga commentary*, Sinhalese edition, p. 306).

Thus it is clear from Buddhaghosa's comment that he has taken the term *chandasa* indiscriminately as a synonym for the Sanskrit language and the term *sakānirutti* as a synonym for the Māgadhī dialect used as a medium of instruction (vācanāmagga) by the Buddha. But we are aware that the term *sanskritabhāṣā* is of later origin, we mean later than the time of the Buddha and Pāṇini. In Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī*, *bhāṣā* (that is, Sanskrit language) is divided into Vedic (vaidika) and current (laukika) and by the term *chandasa*, Pāṇini meant the Vedic language as distinguished from the current form of Sanskrit. It is precisely in this sense that the term *chandasa* was used, if it was used at all by the Buddha in the 6th century B.C. With the Buddha *chandasa* or Vedic language was the prototype of languages that had become archaic and obsolete, dead as distinguished from living speech. It is beyond our comprehension how Buddhaghosa went so far as to suggest that by the term *sakānirutti*, the Buddha meant his own medium of instruction and nothing but Māgadhaka or the Māgadhī dialect. Nothing would have been more distant from the intention of a rational thinker like the Buddha than to commit himself to such an opinion which is irrational, erroneous, and dogmatic. He could not have done so without doing violence to his position as a sammādiṭṭhika and vibhajjavādin. To give out that the Māgadhī is the only correct form of speech for the promulgation of his teachings and every other dialect would be the incorrect form is a micchādiṭṭhi or erroneous opinion which the Buddha would ever fight shy of. Buddhaghosa has misled us all. To rightly interpret the injunction of the Buddha, we should first of all look into the context. The circumstances that led the Buddha to lay down the injunction are stated as follows:

“tena kho pana समयena yameḷutekulā nāma bhikkhū dve bhātikā honti brāhmaṇajātikā kalyāṇavacā kalyāṇa vākkaraṇā.

Introduction

Te yena bhagavā ten upasaṃkamimṣu, upasaṃkamtivā bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimṣu, ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho te bhikkhū bhagavantaṃ etad avocum : etarahi bhante bhikkhū nānānāmā nānāgottā nānājaccā nānākulā pabbajitā, te sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanaṃ dūsentī. Handa mayaṃ bhante buddhavacanaṃ chandaso āropemāti. Vīgarahi buddho bhagavā. Kathan hi nāma tumhe moghapurisā evaṃ vakkhatha : handa mayaṃ bhante buddhavacanaṃ chandaso āropemāti”... This passage may be translated into English thus: At that time the two brothers who were bhikkhus of the yameḷutekula were of brahmin origin and spoke and talked of good only. They approached the Buddha where he was and having approached the Blessed One saluted him and sat on one side. Those bhikkhus who were seated on one side spoke to the Blessed One thus, “Venerable sir, these bhikkhus who embraced pabbajā, possess different names and are of different lineages, births, and families. They are polluting the Buddha’s words by preaching them in their own local dialects. And now Venerable sir, we shall render the Buddha’s words into *chandaso*.” But the Buddha rebuked the bhikkhus thus, “How you foolish persons speak thus : And now Venerable sir we shall render the Buddha’s words into *chandaso* (one who knows the Vedas)”. [Oldenberg, *The Vinaya Piṭakam*, Vol. II, p. 139]

This goes to show that the Buddhist Fraternity of the time was composed of persons of diverse names, of diverse cultural groups, of diverse races. and of diverse families, who distorted the words of the Buddha by studying them in their own way of expression, instead of accepting one common mode of Vedic language.

Thus read with reference to the context, the term sakānirutti just means a mode of expression which a member of the Holy Order might claim as his own, that is to say, an idiom, a diction, a language or a vehicle of expression with which a bhikkhu was conversant, which a person could use with advantage, a mode of expression which was not Buddha’s own but which might be regarded as one by the Bhikkhus representing diverse names,

cultures, races, and families. One's mother tongue or vernacular would also be an interpretation of *sakānirutti* inconsistent with the context as well as with the Buddha's spirit of rationalism. We mean that it could not have been the intention of the Buddha to restrict the study and elucidations of his teachings to any particular language or to any particular dialect, consistently with the general tenor of his thoughts and teachings, we may interpret his injunction as implying that avoiding a language which has become dead, archaic, and obsolete, one should use with advantage a vehicle of expression with which one is really conversant. There are several canonical passages in which the term *nirutti* occurs in the sense of a linguistic mode of a thought or an idea, *Niruttipatha* as distinguished from the technical mode (*adhivacanapatha*) and the logical mode (*paññattipatha*) [*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Vol. III, p. 71].

It is precisely in this sense of *nirutti* that one is to interpret the Buddhist technical term *niruttipaṭisambhidā*: penetration into the linguistic technicality. As brought out in an important verse of the Dhammapada the grammatical combination of words and syntax (*akkharānaṃ sannipātaṃ* and *pubbāparāni*) goes hand in hand with *nirutti* (*Tanhāvagga*, verse 352, *Dhammapada*, D.T.S., p. 51).

We say that in rightly interpreting the Buddha's injunction in the Vinaya Texts, the guidance is not to be taken so much from Buddhaghosa's commentary as from the canonical texts themselves. Happily Dr. Barua has drawn our attention to a passage in the Araṇavibhaṅga Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya throwing an abundant light on the point at issue (*Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 168-169). The passage reads :

“Janapada-niruttiṃ nābhiniveseyya, samaññaṃ nātiddhavyeyyati iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ. Kiñ c'etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ ? Kathaṃ ca, Bhikkhave, janapada-niruttiyā ca abhiniveso hoti samaññāya ca atisāro ? Idha, Bhikkhave, tad ev'⁴ ekaccesu janapadesu 'Pāṭi'ti sañjānanti, 'Pattan'ti, 'Vitthan'ti, 'Sarāvan'ti,

⁴ Buddhaghosa's *Papañca-Sūdanī*, Siamese edition, pt. III p. 471.

'Dhāropan'ti, 'Poṇan'ti, 'Pisīlan'ti sañjānanti. Iti yathā yathā naṃ tesu tesu janapadesu sañjānanti, tathā tathā thāmasā parāmassa abhinivissa voharati : 'Idam eva saccaṃ, moghaṃ aññān'ti. Evaṃ kho, Bhikkhave, janapada-niruttiyā ca abhiniveso hoti samaññāya ca atisāro. Kathaṅ ca, Bhikkhave, janapada-niruttiyā ca anabhiniveso hoti samaññāya ca anatisāro ? Idha, Bhikkhave, tad ev' ekaccesu janapadesu 'Pātīti sañjānanti, 'Poṇan'ti, 'Pisīlan'ti sañjānanti. Iti yathā yathā naṃ tesu tesu janapadesu sañjānanti Idam kira me āyasmanto sandhāya voharanti 'ti, tathā tathā voliarati aparāmasaṃ. Evaṃ kho, Bhikkhave, janapada-niruttiyā ca anabhiniveso hoti samaññāya ca anatisāro. Janapada-niruttiṃ nābhiniveseyya, samaññaṃ nātidhāveyyāti—iti yaṃ taṃ vuttaṃ idaṃ etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ."

The meaning of this passage is that the local forms should not merit too much attention, the local designations should not be stressed too much. Thus it is said . Why is it thus said ? How, O Bhikkhus, a man pays too much attention to the local forms, and lays too much stress on the local designations ? Here, O Bhikkhus, it so happens that in some locality a thing is known by the name of Pāti, in some by the name of Patta, in some by the name of Vittha, in some by the name of Sarāva, in some by the name of Dhārops, in some by the name of Poṇa, and in some by the name of Pisīla. Now the people of different localities pay too much attention and lay too much stress on the different names of the same word and boastfully say regarding their own form for the word : "This is the only correct form, and the others are incorrect." Thus a man, O Bhikkhus, pays too much attention to the local forms, and lays too much stress on the local designations. How, O bhikkhus, a man does not pay too much attention to the local forms, and does not lay too much stress on the local designations ? Here, O Bhikkhus, it so happens that a thing is known by different designations in different localities, in some by the name of Pāti, in some by the name of Patta, in some by the name of Vittha, in some by the name of Sarāva, in some by the name of Dhāropa, in some by the name of Poṇa, and in some by the name of Pisīla. Now a man of a particular locality,

when he is in other localities where different names of the same thing are in vogue, knowing that in different localities different names of the same thing are used conventionally by the gentlemen, uses different names in different localities without any attachment to his own local form. Thus a man does not pay too much attention to the local forms, and does not lay too much stress on the local designations. Accordingly, it is stated that the local forms should not merit too much attention and the local designations should not be stressed too much.

That which we are now taught to call the Pāli language is a distinct Indian vehicle of expression standardised in the Theravāda recension of the Buddhist canon and its commentaries and other auxiliary works which are current in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. The history of Buddhism bears a clear testimony to the fact that none of the other sects adopted or adhered to this particular vehicle of expression. The Theravādins or no-changers among the followers of the Buddha sighed in vain over the departure made by each new sect (*Dīpavaṃsa*, Oldenberg, Chap. V, Verses 42-44, 48-50) from that which was considered by them to be the standard language, or the standard corpus of authentic texts or the standard mode of interpretation and in this respect it is the bhikkhus of the Vajjian origin who led the way.⁵

⁵ "Mahāsaṃgītikā bhikkhū vilomaṃ akaṃsu sāsaṇaṃ, bhinditvā mūlassaṃgahaṃ aññaṃ akaṃsu saṃgahaṃ aññattha saṃgahitaṃ suttaṃ aññattha akariṃsu te, atthaṃ dhammañ ca bhindiṃsu ye nikāyesu pañcasu. pariyañadesitañ cāpi atho nippariyañadesitaṃ nītatthañ c'eva neyyatthaṃ ajānitvāna bhikkhavo aññaṃ sandhāya bhaṇitaṃ aññatthaṃ tṭhapañsu te, byañjanacchāyāya te bhikkhū bahu atthaṃ vināsayuṃ. chaḍḍetvā ekadesaṃ ca suttaṃ vinayañ ca gambhīraṃ patirūpaṃ suttavinayaṃ tañ ca aññaṃ kariṃsu te parivāraṃ atthuddhāraṃ abhidhammapakaraṇaṃ patisaṃbhidaṃ ca niddesaṃ ekadesaṃ ca jātaṃ ettakaṃ nissajjetvā aññāni akariṃsu te. nāmañ liṅgaṃ parikkhāraṃ ākappakaraṇāni ca pakatibhāvaṃ vijahetvā tañ ca aññaṃ akaṃsu te"

(Oldenberg, *Dīpavaṃsa*, Verses 32-38, p. 36).

The above stanzas may be thus translated:

According to Max Walleser, Pāli is contracted from Pāṭali or Pāḍali and the assumption is that it was a language of Pāṭaliputra. Dr. E. J. Thomas says that Dr. Walleser has not produced any evidence to show that Pāli is ever used in the commentaries to indicate a language. What we want is at least a single example to show that the commentator was contrasting the Pāli language with some other (E. J. Thomas' note on Dr. Walleser on the meaning of Pāli, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1928 Miscellany).

According to R. C. Childers, the internal evidence confirms that Pāli was a vernacular of the people. The change which Pāli has undergone relatively to Sanskrit is almost wholly confined to vocabulary; its alphabet is deficient in vowels, the dual is lost, some verbal roots are unrepresented while many vowel forms have disappeared, But the gain in other direction due to the latitude of phonetic change and the incorporation of new nouns and verbal forms is not inconsiderable. There is no foreign element in Pāli with the exception of a very few imported Dravidian nouns. It is on the whole in the same inflexional stage as Sanskrit and everything in its vocabulary, grammar and syntax can be explained from the sister tongue (Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*,

The bhikkhus of the Great Council made a compilation of the doctrine quite opposite to the true faith. They destroyed the original redaction of the dhamma and made a new redaction of the same. The sutta which has been placed in one place originally was placed by them in another place. They altered the meaning (atha) and the faith (dhamma) in the five nikāyas. They not knowing what had been taught in long expositions nor without exposition, neither the natural meaning nor the suppressed meaning, gave a different meaning to that which had been said in connection with an altogether different thing. They altered a great deal of meaning under the shadow of letter. They discarded some portions of the sutta and of the profound vinaya and compiled different sutta and vinaya which had only the appearance of the genuine ones. They rejected the Parivāra, that which enables one to arrive at the meaning, the Abhidhammapakarāṇa, the Paṭisambhidā, the Niddesa and some portions of the Jātaka and composed new ones. They did away with the original rules regarding nouns, genders, composition and the embellishments of style and made new ones.

pp. xv-xvi). In the opinion of James Alwis,⁶ Sanskrit was no longer the vernacular speech of the people when Buddhism arose. Pāli was one of the dialects in current use in India. It was the language of Magadha. Many Pāli theological terms have cognate expression in the brahmanic literature but the significations assigned to them are different in the two languages. Pāli was retained more than two centuries afterwards till Aśoka's time. The difference between the dialects of the inscriptions and that of the Pāli text denotes that the former as a spoken language underwent changes while the latter became fixed in Ceylon as the sacred language of the scriptures. Mr. Alwis says that Māgadhī is undoubtedly the correct and original name for Pāli. It is clear, therefore, that he agrees with the view of Childers. He further points out that at the time of Gautama there were 16 dialects prevalent in India. Preference was given to Māgadhī. The Buddhist scriptures of the Hīnayānists were written in that dialect. The existence of 35 works on Pāli grammar in Ceylon shows the great attention paid to the language. The high antiquity of Pāli, its refinement, its verbal and grammatical simplicity, its relationship with the oldest language of the brahmins, proves it to be a dialect of high antiquity. The decline of Pāli in Asia was co-existent with the decline of the religion taught through its medium. Dr. Oldenberg rejects the mission of Mahinda as unhistorical and points out that the introduction of Pāli language must be looked for more to the south than to the north of the Vindhya mountains (vide *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Intro., pp. i, foll., and p. liv). Sir George Grierson agrees with Windisch⁷ in holding that literary Pāli is Māgadhī. Winternitz supports this view. According to him, Pāli is a language of literature which has been exclusively employed by the Buddhists and has sprung like every literary language more or less from an admixture of several dialects. Such a literary tongue is ultimately derived from one

⁶ Vide *The Buddhist Scriptures and their language*.

⁷ *Über den sprachlichen charakter des Pāli* in Actes du xiv Congrès International des Orientalistes, pt. I, pp. 252 foll. and 277 foll.

definite dialect. And this the Māgadhi can very well be so that the tradition which makes Pāli and Māgadhi synonymous is not to be accepted literally but at the same time it rests on an historical basis. The literary language, Pāli, developed gradually and was probably fixed when it was reduced to writing in Ceylon under Vattagāmanī (Views of Winternitz quoted by Mr. Nariman in his book *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, pp. 213-214). Literary Pāli was then spoken and was used as a medium of literary instruction in the University of Taxila. It was the language of the educated Buddhists and in a polished form would naturally be used by them for literary purposes (Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, 1917: *The Home of Literary Pāli*). Otto Franke points out that literary Pāli cannot have had its home in the Eastern part of Northern India. There are points of similarity and dissimilarity between literary Pāli and the language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents of the North-Western India ; literary Pāli has many points of difference as compared with the language of the inscriptions of the Deccan, and the language of the inscriptions of the western Madhyadeśa shows most points of agreement with literary Pāli though there are points of dissimilarity (*Pāli und Sanskrit*, Ch. X, p. 138). According to Edward Müller (*Pāli Language*, p. ix), in early times it was the north-west of Ceylon which was the seat of culture pointing to influence from Southern India and not to Aryan immigration from the Ganges valley. Westergaard⁸ and Kuhn⁹ connect Pāli with the dialect of Ujjain, relying not merely on the connection with the Girnar dialect of Aśokan inscriptions but also on the view that this was the mother tongue of Mahinda. W. Geiger regards Pāli as a keine based on Ārdhamāgadhi.¹⁰ Dr. H. Lüders (*Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, pp. 40 ff.) suggests that the oldest Bud-

⁸ *Über den ältesten zeitraum der Indischen Geschichte*, p. 87

⁹ *Beiträge Zur Pāli Grammatik*, p. 9

¹⁰ Prof. P. V. Bapat in his paper on the relation between Pāli and Ārdhamāgadhi published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1928, has adequately shown that from the evidences of phonology, grammar, the relation of Ārdhamāgadhi vocabulary with that of Sanskrit, Pāli and

dhist scriptures were composed in old Ārdhamāgadhī and that in part at least the existing Pāli canon represents a translation from the old Ārdhamāgadhī. Dr. Sten Konow says that the Vindhya tract is the home of Pāli. He finds similarity in Pāli and Paisācī Prākṛit which seems to have been spoken in the country to the north of Vindhya. Sylvain Lévi (*Journal Asiatique*, Ser. XX, 495 ff.) holds that we must recognise in Pāli traces of a dialect in which sound changes had proceeded further than what is found in Pāli. The Jains and Buddhists used first one of the dialects of Magadha in which consonant degradation had been in progress; when finally they came to reduce their scriptures to permanent form, the Jains carried out a systematic reduction of intervocalic consonant to the Ya-sruti, while Buddhism acted in the opposite sense under the influence of Western elements which gained control over the church. Dr. Keith is right in pointing out that the argument of Lévi rests on a number of peculiarities in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit in which he holds we must see traces of the forms of words employed in the older version of the canon and supported by the analogous forms in inscriptions. Thus the Bhābrū Edict contains the form 'Lāghulovāde' instead of 'Rāhulovāda', 'Adhigicya' instead of 'Adhikṛitya', but the softening of 'k' is rare in Pāli and the retention of 'cy' is alien to Pāli. Besides he mentions 'Anādhapedika' instead of 'Anāthapiṇḍika', 'Maghādeviya Jātaka' instead of 'Makhādeva Jātaka', 'avayesi' instead of 'avādesi' and so forth. According to Rhys Davids, Pāli was a literary dialect based on the spoken language of Kośala (*Buddhist India*, pp. 153-4). Rhys Davids further says that there existed a standard Kosalan speech in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., which was the speech of the Buddha and the Pāli scriptures were in the main composed within a century after the Buddha's death in this Kosalan country. The Aśokan inscrip-

Māhrātti and the works of Kātyāyana and Pātañjali, it is not safe to come to the conclusion that Pāli is a literary language based on Ārdhamāgadhī. Vide also *A Comparative Study of a few Jain Ārdhamāgadhī Texts with the Texts of the Buddhist Pāli Canon* by Prof. P.V. Bapat in the *Sir Ashutosh Mukerji Memorial Volume* published by Prof. J. N. Samaddar, pt. II, pp. 91-105.

tions prove the existence of a standard language which is a younger form of the standard Kosalan. Dr. Keith ably points out that there is no reason whatever to accept the view that the language of Aśoka's magadhan empire was Kosalan or to accept the suggestion that Kosala became a part of Magadha by the peaceful succession of the Magadhan ruler to the Kosalan throne with the result that the language of Kosala prevailed over the language of Magadha. Rhys Davids ignores the conclusive evidence of the Bhābrū inscription which shows that Aśoka did not follow a Pāli canon even if he knew a canon and if he adapted his own language to give titles of canonical texts, we cannot doubt that his contemporaries would also hand down the text adapted in language to the speech of the day in accordance with the probable intention of the Master himself. Dr. Keith further criticises Rhys Davids by saying that the facts revealed a different aspect. The Buddha preached in dialect which we cannot define because we have no authentic information, it may have been standard Kosalan or Magadhan dialect but we have no knowledge to decide or to describe their characteristics. The Aśokan official or standard speech cannot be styled Māgadhī but Ārdhamāgadhī. But this Ārdhamāgadhī or other Magadhan dialect is not reproduced in Pāli. The basis of Pāli is some western dialect and in its literary form as shown in the Pāli canon, we have a decidedly artificial composite product doubtless largely affected by Sanskrit and substantially removed from a true vernacular. But it must be noted as against Rhys Davids that the forms of Pāli are not historically the oldest of those known to us. Even in the case of the Girnar dialect of the Aśokan inscriptions, it is impossible to establish the priority of Pāli in view of such phenomena as the retention of long vowels before double consonants and traces of the retention of 'r' in certain consonantal combinations as well as the use of 'ṣt' where Pāli assimilates ; moreover that dialect appears to have maintained a distinction for sometime between the palatal and lingual sibilants. There is, therefore, nothing whatever in the linguistic facts to throw doubt about the date above suggested. (*Pāli, the Language of the*

Southern Buddhists, published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, September, 1925.) Mrs. Rhys Davids points out that Pāli is not the name of any localizable tongue. Pāli means 'row'. She says that we have it in the name of the famous courtesan convert Ambapāli (Mango-orchard-er lit. mangorower) whose birth tradition suggested her name and she also quotes the Visudhimagga to show that the teeth are said to be in a pāli (dantapāli). She further says that it is almost in juxtaposition to this term that we read, "Give him the Pāli of the 32 bodily parts to learn", in other words, give him either a written leaf of that list of parts or merely the repeated "row" of terms. She is much against the theory that Pāli is only another name for Māgadhese, i.e., the Prakrit spoken in Aśoka's day at Patna. According to her, it is truer to say that in Pāli, here and there, we find forms of Māgadhī and Ārdhamāgadhī peeping out, than that Pāli has its base in them and them only. When India was bookless and laboriously punching letters on little metalplates, she was cutting shapes in stones she was carving. For these two operations she appears to have had but the one word 'likh', 'lekh', to scratch or incise. We began our writing relatively earlier; we had the two words. With the growing need, and the new material for setting down not mere lists, donations, contracts in writing, but also the expanded masses of her mantras, there came to pass the new and impressive phenomenon of seeing that which had been a time-series in air, become a "row" of things in space. And for a long time it remained customary to allude to the two series in juxtaposition: the "row" as not the 'talk on the meaning' (aṭṭhakathā). Still later, when more were learning to read the row, the word 'reading' (pāṭha) was substituted for the word 'row', e.g., "the reading is also thus" alluding to variant readings, "ayaṃ pi pāṭho". But not at first; and so in Pāli, in default of an alternative term for graphic presentation, we have emphasis thrown not on to the handicraft, as in lekhana, likhi, but on to the thing produced by handicraft, the visible, finished act. Pāli is just "Text" and there is no reason to believe that it was ever more than that (*Sakya or Buddhist Origins* by Mrs. Rhys Davids, App. I, PP. 429-

Pāli as these occur where the doctrines of other contemporary teachers, e.g., Pakudha Kaccāyana and Makkhali Gosāla have been quoted and discussed. It is important to observe that these forms do not occur in those places where the doctrines of Pakudha Kaccāyana and Makkhali Gosāla have been restated in their own language, i.e., in Pāli. The exceptional forms, e.g., Isigili for Isigiri (*Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. III, pt. i, p. 68) do not lend support to the argument in favour of the influence of Māgadhism in Pāli, Isigili being explained as a Māgadhī spelling retained for a very special reason (*vide* B.M. Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, p. 165). In order to arrive at a definite conclusion regarding the origin of the Pāli language, it will be necessary to leave aside not only the instances of Māgadhism noted above but also some of the Prakrit and Vedic survivals in the gāthās, e.g., vaḍḍha for vṛddha, netave for netuṃ, pahātave for pahātuṃ, these forms being altogether absent in the Pāli prose portions.

II. Importance of the Study of Pāli

The study of Pāli is essential for the reconstruction of the history of Ancient India. Pāli literature is vast and rich in materials which render an invaluable aid to the systematic study of ancient Indian history. There are many Pāli books buried in manuscripts which are not easily procurable. The Pāli commentaries furnish us with a great storehouse of valuable information regarding the literary, linguistic, social, economic, political, architectural, and religious history of Ancient India. The psycho-ethical analysis of dhammas, the classification of various types of consciousness, mental processes, causal relations and the like form a highly special contribution in Pāli to Indian wisdom. The activities of one of the great religious reformers of India, namely Gotama Buddha, can be well understood by a careful study of some of the books of the Pāli Piṭakas. To a student of the ancient history of India, the study of Pāli is as important as that of Sanskrit and the Prakrits and in a sense more important as furnishing reliable data of chronology. That Pāli has not been

so well studied in the East as in the West is evident from the publications of the western scholars in this line. In the west, Trenckner, Clough, Spiegel, Westergaard, Childers, James Alwis, Fausböll, Anderson, Turnour, Bendall, Pischel, Minayeff, Edmund Hardy, Oldenberg, Kern, Bigandet, Richard Morris, H.C. Norman, T.W. Rhys Davids, C.A.F. Rhys Davids, Deith, Geiger, Walleser, Windisch, E.J. Carpenter, Robert Chalmers, La Vallée Poussin, Rouse, Warren, E. J. Thomas, Sir George Grierson, Otto Schrader, Arnold Taylor, Winternitz, Warren, Lesny, Sten Konow, Mabel Bode, Landsberg, Jacobi, Lanman, Burlingame, Grimm, Jackson, Moore, Steinthal, Strong, Stede, Helmer Smith, Sir Charles Eliot, Leon Feer, Otto Franke, Frankfurter, James Woods, Woodward, J. Przyluski, and others have rendered immense services to the cause of Pāli study by way of editing and translating many original Pāli texts and publishing many valuable books on Buddhism. We are indeed grateful to T.W. Rhys Davids and C.A.F. Rhys Davids who have done really immense good to the world by publishing their learned researches in the field of Pāli. No scholars have done so much work as they have done. The Pāli Text Society of London under the able guidance of Rhys Davids is bound to be remembered by scholars interested in Buddhism and Buddhist history from generation to generation. In the school of Oriental studies, London Institution, Pāli is taught as one of the subjects prescribed for study. In the east, the study of Pāli is greatly progressing now. Scholars like Takakusu, Anesaki, Sujuki, Nagai, Watanabe, Buddhadatta, Haraprasād Shāstrī, Dharmānanda Kosambī, B. M. Barua, the late Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, the late Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., the late Rev. Suriyagoḍa Sumaṅgala, Bapat, the late Harinath De, Rev. Anāgārika Dhammapāla, Shwe Zan Aung, Ledi Sadaw, Gooneratna, Jayatilaka, Nārada, W.A. De Silva, Tailang, Zoysa, P. Maung Tin, Malalasekera, Siddhārtha, the late Thavīra Puṇṇānanda and a band of new enthusiasts materially helped and are helping the study of Pāli. Our grateful thanks are due to His Majesty the King of Siam for removing a longfelt want by the publication of the whole of the Pāli Tripiṭaka,

a precious work on Buddhism. We agree with Lord Chalmers who speaks of this edition in the following words:

"In Pāli scholarship the edition (the King of Siam's Edition of the *Pāli Tripiṭaka*) will always remain a great landmark on the path of progress and an enduring monument alike in Europe and in Siam to the Buddhist King who conceived and executed so excellent an undertaking" (J.R.A.S., 1898). Further bounties of His Majesty's family and kinsmen have found a permanent expression in the publication and free distribution of a royal edition of fully indexed commentaries of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla, the Milinda Pañha and the Jātakas. The noble example of the royal family of Siam has been followed in Ceylon by the publication and free distribution of the Pāli commentaries by a fund commemorating the name of the late lamented Dr. Hewavitarane, brother of the late Rev. Anāgarika Dhammapāla.

Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Chittagong, Japan, Korea, Tibet, China and Mongolia are the countries largely inhabited by the Buddhists. The majority of the residents of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Chittagong study Pāli. Besides, there are other places in India where Pāli is studied. Pāli is one of the vernaculars prescribed for study in many Indian Universities.

It is gratifying to note that our Alma Mater, the University of Calcutta, under the guidance of its ablest Vice-Chancellor, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., Saraswati, Shāstravāchaspati, Sambuddhāgamacakkavattī, greatly furthered the study of Pāli language and literature and it was he who encouraged students wholeheartedly to learn one of the great Oriental languages, namely Pāli, in which the literature of Buddhism has been written. His encouragement was a source of inspiration to the author and to all other students in all branches of study, and his death is a great loss not only to our Alma Mater but also to the whole of India.

CHAPTER I

Chronology of the pāli canon

Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* (p. 188) has given a chronological table of Buddhist literature from the time of the Buddha to the time of Aśoka which is as follows:

1. The simple statements of Buddhist doctrine now found, in identical words, in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books.
2. Episodes found, in identical words, in two or more of the existing books.
3. The Silas, the Pārāyaṇa, the Octades, the Pātimokkha.
4. The Dīgha, Majjhima, Aṅguttara, and Saṃyutta Nikāyas.
5. The Sutta Nipāta, the Thera and Therī-Gāthās, the Udānas, and the Khuddakapāṭha.
6. The Suttavibhaṅga and the Khandhakas.
7. The Jātakas and the Dhammapadas.
8. The Niddesa, the Itivuttakas, and the Paṭisambhidā.
9. The Peta and Vimāna-Vatthus, the Apadānas, the Cariyā Piṭaka, and the Buddha Vaṃsa.
10. The Abhidhamma books ; the last of which is the Kathāvatthu and the earliest probably the Puggalapaññatti.

This chronological table of early Buddhist literature is too catechetical, too cut and dried and too general to be accepted in spite of its suggestiveness as a sure guide to determination of the chronology of the Pāli Canonical texts. The Octades and the Pātimokkha are mentioned by Rhys Davids as literary compilations representing the third stage in the order of the chronology. The Pāli title corresponding to his Octades is Aṭṭhakavagga, the Book of Eights. The Book of Eights, as we have it in the Mahāniddeśa or in the fourth book of the Sutta Nipāta, is composed of 16 poetical discourses, only four of which share the common title of Aṭṭhaka, namely Guhaṭṭhaka, Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka, Suddhaṭṭhaka, and Paramaṭṭhaka and consist each of eight stanzas. That is to say, the four only out of the sixteen poems fulfil the definition of an Aṭṭhaka or octad, while none of the remaining poems consists as it ought to, of eight stanzas. The present Aṭṭhakavagga composed of 16 poems may be safely placed anterior to both the Mahāniddeśa and Sutta Nipāta. But before cataloguing it as a compilation prior to the four nikāyas and the Vinaya texts, it is necessary to ascertain whether the Aṭṭhakavagga presupposed by the four nikāyas was a book of four poems bearing each the title of Aṭṭhaka and consisting each of eight stanzas or it was even in its original form an anthology of 16 poems. Similarly in placing the Pātimokkha in the same category with the Sīlas and Pārāyaṇas, it would be important to enquire whether the Pātimokkha as a bare code of monastic rules was then in existence or not, and even if it were then in existence, whether it contained in its original form 227 rules or less than this number. There are clear passages in the Aṅguttara Nikāya to indicate that the earlier code was composed of one and half hundred rules or little more (Sādhikam diyaḍḍhasikkhāpadasatam, A.N., Vol. I, p. 232). As Buddhaghosa explains the Pāli expression, "Sādhikam diyaḍḍhasikkhāpadasatam", it means just 150 rules. According to a more reasonable interpretation the number implied in the expression must be taken to be more than 150 and less than 200. If the earlier code presupposed by the Aṅguttara passages was composed of rules near about 150 and

even not 200, it may be pertinent to ask if the Pātimokkha, as we now have it, was the very code that had existed prior to the Aṅguttara Nikāya. Our doubt as to the antiquity of the Pātimokkha as a bare code of rules is intensified by the tradition recorded by Buddhaghosa in the introduction to his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (pt. I, p. 17), that the two codes of the Pātimokkha were to be counted among the books that were not rehearsed in the First Buddhist Council.

The putting of the first four nikāyas under head No. 4 with the implication that these were anterior to the Sutta Nipāta and the remaining books of the Pāli Canon are no less open to dispute. With regard to the Dīgha Nikāya it has been directly pointed out by Buddhaghosa that the concluding verses of the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta relating to the redistribution of the Buddha's bodily remains were originally composed by the rehearsers of the Third Buddhist Council and added later on by the Buddhist teachers of Ceylon. A material objection to putting the Dīgha and the Aṅguttara Nikāyas in the same category is that in the Dīgha Nikāya the story of Mahāgovinda (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 220 foll.) has assumed the earlier forms of Jātakas characterised by the concluding identification of the Buddha, the narrator of the story, with its hero while in the Aṅguttara Nikāya the story is a simple chronicle of seven purohitas without the identification. The four nikāyas are interspersed with a number of legendary materials of the life of the Buddha which appear at once to be inventions of a later age when the Buddha came to be regarded and worshipped as a superhuman personality (read *The Life of Gotama the Buddha* by E. H. Brewster). Our case is that without discriminating the different strata of literary accretions it will be dangerous to relegate all the four nikāyas to the early stage of the Pāli Canon.

The Sutta Nipāta figures prominently in the fifth order of the chronology suggested by Rhys Davids. Without disputing that there are numerous instances of archaism in the individual suttas or stanzas composing this anthology, we have sufficient reasons to doubt that the anthology as a whole was at all anterior to the

Niddesa which heads the list of the Pāli Canonical texts representing the eighth order. By the Niddesa we are to understand two separate exegetical works counted among the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya: (1) the Mahāniddesa being a philological commentary on the poems of the Aṭṭhakavagga (forming the fourth book of the Sutta Nipāta, and (2) the Cullaniddesa being a similar commentary on the poems of the Pārāyaṇavagga (forming the fifth or last book of the Sutta Nipāta). The two questions¹ calling for an answer in this connection are (1) was the Mahāniddesa composed, being intended as a commentary on the Aṭṭhakavagga, the fourth book of the Sutta Nipāta or on the Aṭṭhakavagga, then known to the Buddhist community as a distinct anthology? and (2) was the Cullaniddesa composed, being intended as a commentary on the Pārāyaṇavagga, the fifth book of the Sutta Nipāta or on the Pārāyaṇavagga, then known to the Buddhist community as a distinct collection of poems? With regard to the second question it may be pointed out that the poems of the Pārāyaṇa group, as these are found in the Sutta Nipāta, are prologued by 56 Vatthugāthās, while the Cullaniddesa is found without these introductory stanzas. The inference as to the exclusion is based upon the fact that in the body of the Cullaniddesa, there is nowhere any gloss on any of the introductory stanzas. We notice, moreover, that the glosses of the Cullaniddesa are not confined to the 16 poems of the Pārāyaṇavagga, the scheme of the Canonical commentary including an additional sutta, namely the Khaggavisāṇa, which now forms the second sutta of the first book of the Sutta Nipāta. From the place assigned to this particular sutta in the Cullaniddesa, it is evident that when the Cullaniddesa was composed, it passed as a detached sutta, not belonging to any particular group, such as the Uragavagga. The stray nature of the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta may be taken as conclusive also from its mixed Sanskrit version in the *Mahāvastu* (Senart's Edition, Vol. I, pp. 357-359), in which,

¹ Vide B. M. Barua's *Aṭṭhakavagga and Pārāyaṇavagga as two independent Buddhist anthologies* (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Fourth Oriental Conference*, Allahabad, 1928, pp. 211-219)

too, it is not relegated to any group. If any legitimate hypothesis is to be made keeping the above facts in view it should be that the scheme of anthology in the Cullaniddesa rather shows the anthology of the Sutta Nipāta yet in the making than presupposing it as a *fait accompli*.

Even with regard to the first question concerning the chronological order of the Mahāniddesa and Sutta Nipāta, a similar hypothesis may be entertained without much fear of contradiction. The Mahāniddesa, according to its internal evidence, is an exegetical treatise which was modelled on an earlier exegesis attempted by Mahākaccāna on one of the suttas of the Aṭṭhakavagga, namely, the Māgandiya Sutta (*Cullaniddesa*, pp. 197 ff.). The modern exegesis of Mahāniddesa can be traced as a separate sutta of the Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. III, p. 9 where the sutta commented on by Mahākaccāna is expressly counted as a sutta of the Aṭṭhakavagga (Aṭṭhakavaggike Māgandiya paṇhe). Once it is admitted that the Aṭṭhaka group of poems had existed as a distinct anthology even before the first redaction of the Saṃyutta Nikāya and Mahākaccāna's model exegesis on one of its suttas and, moreover that the Mahāniddesa as an exegetical work was entirely based upon that earlier model, it is far safer to think that the Mahāniddesa presupposes the Aṭṭhakavagga itself as a distinct collection of poems rather than as the Aṭṭhakavagga of the Sutta Nipāta. Though the scheme of anthology in the Mahāniddesa includes only the poems of the Aṭṭha group, there is a collateral evidence to prove that in an earlier stage of Pāli Canonical literature two stray poems were associated with those of the Aṭṭhaka group just in the same way as the stray poem, Khaggavisāna sutta, has been associated in the Cullaniddesa with the poems of the Parayaṇa group. The Divyāvadāna, for instance mentions that Pūrṇa an associate of sthavīra Mahākātyāyana, recited the Munigāthā and Sailagāthā² along with the poems of Arthavagga (Pāli Aṭṭhakavagga) with the implication that the Munigāthā (corresponding to Pāli Munisutta) and Sailagāthā (corresponding to Pāli Selasutta), included respectively in the

² Cowell and Neil, p. 35.

Uragasutta, the first book, and in the Mahāvagga, the third book of the Sutta Nipāta, were associated with the poems of the Aṭṭhaka group. To put forward another argument the Nālaka Sutta in the third book of the Sutta Nipāta is prologued by 20 Vatthugāthās or introductory stanzas which are absent from its mixed Sanskrit version in the Mahāvastu (Vol. III, pp. 386 foll., Nālakaprasna). Judged by the theme and metre of the Vatthugāthās, they stand quite apart from the sutta proper. The sutta proper is a moral discourse of the Buddha which is quite on a par with several suttas in the Sutta Nipāta and other texts, while in the Vatthugāthās, we come to hit all of a sudden on a highly poetical composition serving as a historical model to the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa.³ The Moneya Sūte (Moneyya Sutta) is one of the seven tracts recommended by King Aśoka in his Bhābrū Edict for the constant study of the Buddhists. This sutta has been rightly identified by Prof. D. Kosambi (*Indian Antiquary*, 1912, Vol. XLI, pp. 37-40) with the Nālaka Sutta in the Sutta Nipāta which, as pointed out above, has a counterpart in the Mahāvastu (*Mahāvastu*, Senart's Edition, Vol. II, pp. 30-43 and Vol. III, pp. 382 ff.) where it does not bear any specific title. Judged by its theme, Moneyya Sutta is more an appropriate title than Nālaka. The importance of its naming as Nālaka arises only when the Vatthugāthās of the introductory stanzas are prefixed to the sutta without any logical connection between the two. Considered in the light of Aśoka's title Moneya Sūte and the counterpart in the Mahāvastu as well as of the clear anticipation of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita in the Vatthugāthās, it appears that the christening of the Moneyyasutta as Nālaka and the edition of the introductory stanzas took place sometime after Aśoka's reign and not before. Some stanzas of the Padhāna Sutta have been quoted in the Kathāvatthu which, according to Buddhist tradition, was a compilation of Aśokan time.

³ Vide Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, p. 173, f.n.

"Dṛṣtvā ca taṃ rājasutaṃ striyastā
Jāvajyamānaṃ vapusā Śrīyā ca". (*Buddhacarita*, III, 23.)

The stanzas are quoted without any mention of the sutta or of the text on which these have been drawn. The Pāli version of the sutta is to be found only in the Sutta Nipāta, Book III. The inference that can legitimately be drawn from the quotation is that the Padhāna Sutta has existed in some form prior to the compilation of the Kathāvatthu, leaving the question of the Sutta Nipāta altogether open.

The Khuddakapāṭha figures as the last book in the fifth order, it being supposed to be earlier than the Suttavibhaṅga, the Khandhakas, the Jātakas, the Dhammapadas, the Pets, and Vimānavatthus as well as the Kathāvatthu. Buddhaghosa in the introduction to his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, informs us that the Dīghabhānaka list of the Pāli Canonical texts precluded these four books, namely, the Buddhavaṁsa, the Cariyāpiṭaka, the Apadāna, and the Khuddakapāṭha, while the Majjhimabhānaka list included the first three of them. The preclusion may be explained either as due to sectarian difference of opinion or due to the fact that when the Dīghabhānaka list was drawn up, these four texts were non-existent. If a comparison be made between the Khuddakapāṭha and the Khandhakas, it will be noticed that the first *short lesson* (*saranattayam*) of the Khuddakapāṭha was nothing but a ritualistic elaboration of an earlier refuge-formula that can be traced in a passage of the Khandhakas. The second lesson may be regarded as made up of an extract from another passage occurring in the Khandhakas. The same observation holds true also of the fourth lesson, the Kumārapañhaṁ. The sources being not mentioned, it is indecisive whether the Khuddakapāṭha has drawn upon the Khandhakas or on some isolated passages. But if judging by the nature of differences in the common passages we are to pronounce our opinion on the relative chronology of the two texts, the priority must be accorded rather to the Khandhakas than to the Khuddakapāṭha. The Tirokuddasutta of the Khuddakapāṭha is the first and most important sutta of the Petavatthu. Certain quotations in the Kathāvatthu clearly testify to the currency in the 3rd century B.C. of most of the verses composing this sutta. Here again we are to

grope in the dark whether the quotations were from the Tirokuḍḍa as an isolated sutta or from a sutta in the Petavattu or in the Khuddakapāṭha. If any inference may be drawn from the high prominence that it enjoys in the Petavattu, our opinion will be rather in favour of priority of the Petavattu.

Now coming to the Kathāvattu, we have already mentioned that it contains certain significant quotations from two suttas, the Tirokuḍḍa and the Nidhikaṇḍa, both of which are embodied in the Khuddakapāṭha, but there is nothing to show that when the Kathāvattu was compiled with these quotations, the Khuddakapāṭha itself was then in actual existence, it being quite probable that the quotations were made from the two isolated suttas, we mean when these suttas had not come to be included in the Khuddakapāṭha.

The Abhidhamma treatises figure as latest compilations in the chronological table of Rhys Davids: Of the seven Abhidhamma books, the Kathāvattu is traditionally known as a compilation of Aśokan age. The credibility of the tradition can be proved by a very peculiar dialectical style of composition developed in this all-important book of Buddhist Controversies and the traces of which can also be found to linger in some of the inscriptions of Aśoka, namely, the Kalsi, Shahabazgarhi and Manserah versions of the 9th Rock Edict (*vide* B. M. Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 284). Another and more convincing piece of evidence may be brought forward to prove the credibility of the tradition. Prior to prove the credibility of the tradition. Prior to the despatch of missionaries by Aśoka, Buddhism as a religious movement was confined, more or less, within the territorial limits of what is known in Buddhist literature as the Middle Country (Majjhimadesa) and the Buddhist tradition in Pāli is very definite on this point. The Sāñci stūpas which go back to the date of Aśoka enshrine the relics of the missionaries who were sent out to the Himalayan tracts as also of the "good man" Mogaliputa, aptly identified by Dr. Geiger with Moggaliputta Tissa, the traditional author of the Kathāvattu. Curiously enough, the Kathāvattu contains the account of a controversy

(I, 3) in which it has been emphatically pointed out that up till the time of this particular controversy, the Buddhist mode of holy life remained confined to the places within the middle country and had not gained ground in any of the outlying tracts (*paccantimesu janapadesu*), the representatives of Buddhism whether the monks or the laity having had no access to those regions (B. M. Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 284). The account clearly brings out one important historical fact, namely, that so far as the outlying tracts were concerned, there were undeniably at that time other modes of Indian holy life. It is interesting to find that the 13th Rock Edict of Aśoka is in close agreement with the Kathāvatthu regarding this point. For in this important edict issued in about the 13th or 14th regnal year of King Aśoka, His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King definitely says that there was at the time no other tract within his empire save and except the Yona region where the different sects of Indian recluses, the Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas were not to be found or where the inhabitants had not adhered to the tenets of one or other of those sects. (Vide *Inscriptions of Aśoka* by Bhandarkar and Majumdar, pp. 49-50: "Nathi chā she janapade yatā nathi ime nikāyā ānaṁtā yenesha baṁhmane chā shamane chā nathi chā kuvā pi janapadashi (ya) tā nathi manushānaṁ ekatalashi pi pāshaḍashi nō nāma pashāde".) Squaring up the twofold evidence, it is easy to come to the conclusion that the compilation of the Kathāvatthu could not be remote from the reign of Aśoka.

In the Kathāvatthu, there are quotations the sources of which can now be traced in some of the passages in the Vinayaṭṭhaka, the Dīgha Nikāya, the Majjhima Nikāya, the Saṁyutta Nikāya, the Aṅguttara Nikāya, and some of the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya. A few of the quotations can be traced in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi and the Vibhaṅga among the Abhidhamma books. As the passages are quoted in the Kathāvatthu without any mention of the sources, rather as well known and authoritative words of the Buddha, it cannot be definitely maintained that the quotations were cited from the canonical texts in which the individual

passages are traceable. There were suttas in some definite collections but until other definite evidences are forthcoming, it will be risky to identify them with the nikāyas and the Vinaya texts as they are known to us. Even with regard to this point our position remains materially the same if we take our stand on the evidence of the Inscriptions of Aśoka, particularly on that of the Bhābrū Edict. The Bhābrū Edict clearly points back to a well-known collection of Buddha's words, the words which came to be believed as at once final and authoritative (*e kemchi bhaṁte Bhagavatā Budhena bhasite save se subhāsīte*). But here again we are helpless as to by what name this collection was then designated and what were its divisions? If such be the state of things, it will be difficult to regard all the Abhidhamma books in the lump as the latest productions among the books of the Pāli piṭakas.

As for the chronology of the Pāli Canonical texts, the safer course will be to fix first of all the upper and lower limits and then to ascertain how the time may be apportioned between them in conceiving their chronological order. As regards the upper limit certain it is that we cannot think of any text on Buddhism before the enlightenment of the Buddha. Whatever be the actual date of the individual texts, it is certainly posterior even to the subsequent incident of the first public statement or promulgation of the fundamental truths of the new religion. The upper limit may be shifted on even to the demise of the Buddha, the first formal collection of the teachings of the Buddha having taken place, according to the unanimity of the Buddhist tradition, after that memorable event. Looked at from this point of view, the period covered by the career of 45 years of the Buddha's active missionary work may be regarded just as the formative period which saw the fashioning of the early materials of the Buddhist Canon. With regard to the lower limit we need not bring it so far down as the time of the Pāli scholiasts, Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla, that is to say, to the 5th century A.D. Going by the tradition, the Buddhist Canon became finally closed when it was committed to writing during the reign

of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi of Ceylon (Circa 29-17 B.C.).⁴ The truth of this tradition can be substantiated by the clear internal evidence of the text of the Milinda Pañha which was a compilation of about the first century A.D. As is well known, in several passages, the author of the Milinda Pañha has referred to the Pāli books or to some chapters of them by name and the number of books mentioned by name is sufficiently large to exhaust almost the traditional list. Further, it is evident from references in this text that when it was compiled the division of the canon into three piṭakas and five nikāyas was well established.⁵ The Dhamma-saṅgaṇi, the Vibhaṅga, the Dhātukathā and the rest were precisely the seven books which composed the Abhidhammapiṭaka and the Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Ekuttara (Aṅguttara), and Khuddaka were the five nikāyas which composed the Suttapiṭaka. The Sinhalese commentaries, the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā, the Mahā-paccariya, the Mahā-kuruṇḍiya, the Andhaka and the rest presupposed by the commentaries of Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla point to the same fact, namely, that the canon became finally closed sometime before the beginning of the Christian era. Thus we can safely fix the last quarter of the 1st century B.C., as the lower limit.

The interval of time between these two limits covers not less than four centuries during which there had been convened as many as six orthodox councils, three in India and three in Ceylon, the first during the reign of King Ajātasattu, the second in the reign of King Kālāsoka (Kākavarṇi of the Purāṇas), the third in the reign of Aśoka, the fourth in the reign of King Devānaṃ Piyatissa of Ceylon, the fifth in the reign of King Duṭṭha-gāmaṇi and the sixth or the last in the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The Pāli accounts of these councils make it clear that the purpose of each of them was the recital and settling of the canonical texts. If these councils can be regarded as certain definite landmarks in the process of the development of Pāli Canonical lit-

⁴ *Dīpavaṃsa* (Oldenberg), p. 103, *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), p. 277.

⁵ *Milinda Pañha* (Trenckner ed.), pp. 13, 190, 348, 21, 18 (tiṭṭaka), 341 and 22 (Nikāya).

erature, we can say that during the first four centuries after the Buddha's demise, Pāli literature underwent as many as six successive redactions. Going by the dates assigned to these councils, we may divide the interval into such shorter periods of Pāli literary history as shown below:

First Period	(483-383 B.C.)
Second Period	(383-265 B.C.)
Third Period	(265-230 B.C.)
Fourth Period	(230-80 B.C.)
Fifth Period	(80-20 B.C.)

Keeping these periods in view, we can easily dispose of some of the Pāli books. We may take, for instance, the *Parivārapāṭha* which is the last treatise to be included in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. This treatise, as clearly stated in the colophon (*nigamana*) was written in Ceylon by *Dīpa*, evidently a learned Buddhist scholar of Ceylon as a help to his pupils to the study of the contents of the *Vinaya*.⁶ As such the *Parivārapāṭha* was composed as a digest of the subject-matter of *Vinaya* or Buddhist discipline. We say that this treatise was composed in Ceylon because there are references within the text itself that it had been written after the *Vinaya-piṭaka* was promulgated by *Thera Mahinda* and a number of his disciples and by their disciples in Ceylon. The succession of his disciples from the time of *Thera Mahinda* as set forth in the *Parivārapāṭha* (pp. 2-3) may suffice to show that the date of its composition could not be much earlier than the reign of *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi*. Even we may go so far as to suggest that the *Parivārapāṭha* was the *Vinaya* treatise which was canonised at the council held during the reign of *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi*. For it is clearly stated in the colophon that the author caused the treatise to be written (*likhāpesi*), a mode of preserving the scriptures which would be inconceivable before the reign of *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi*. The

⁶ *Parivārapāṭha*, Ed. Oldenberg. p. 226.

"Pubbācariyamaggaṇ ca pucchitvā' va tahiṃ tahiṃ Dīpanāmo mahāpaṇṇo sutadharo vicakkhaṇo imaṃ vitthārasaṃkhepaṃ sajjhāmaggena majjhime cintayitvā likhāpesi sissakānaṃ sukhāvahaṃ Parivāraṇ ti yaṃ vuttarāṃ vatthuṃ salakkaṇaṃ atthaṃ atthēna saddhamme dhammam dhammena paṇṇatte."

reference to the island of Tambapaṇṇi or Ceylon is not only in the verses which one might set aside as interpolation but in the prose portions which form the intergral parts of the text.

Now if we fix our attention on the traditional verses embodied in the *Parivārapāṭha* (pp. 2-3, edited by Oldenberg) we have to infer therefrom that the five *nikāyas*, the seven treatises of the *Abhidhamma*piṭaka and all the older texts of the *Vinaya*piṭaka were made known to the people of Ceylon by the wise Mahinda who arrived in Ceylon from Jambudīpa (India) after the Third Buddhist Council had been over.⁷

The *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga* are two among the earlier and important texts of the *Vinaya*piṭaka. Twenty-two *Khandhakas* or stock fragments are distributed into the two texts, ten into the *Mahāvagga* and the remaining 12 into the *Cullavagga*. These fragments constituting the separate divisions are arranged in a chronological order, and they are intended to present a connected account of the ecclesiastical history of the Buddhists from the time of the enlightenment of the Buddha down to that of the Second Buddhist Council which was convened, according to the *Cullavagga* account, a century after the demise of the Buddha (*Vassasatapariniibbute Bhagavati*). The growth of the two texts may be sought to be accounted for by these two hypotheses ; (1) that the *Khandhakas* were being added as they came into existence from time to time, or (2) that they were arranged all at the same time according to a set plan. Whatever be the actual merit of these hypotheses, none of them prevents us from maintaining that the series of the *Khandhakas* was closed with the inclusion of the account of the Second Buddhist Council and that nothing material was added after that, nothing, we mean to say, except the *Uddānas* or mnemonics in doggerel verses appended to each of the *Khandhakas*. Had the compila-

⁷ *Parivārapāṭha*, pp. 2-3.

“Upāli Dāsako c’eva Sonako Siggavo tathā Moggaliputtana pañcamā ete Jambusirivhaye tato Mahindo Itṭiyo Uttiyo Sambalo tathā Bhaddanāmo ca paṇḍito ete nāgā mahāpaññā Jambudīpā idhāgatā, Vinayaṃ te vācayimisu piṭakam Tambapaṇṇiyā nikāye pañca vācesum satta c’eva pakāraṇe.”

tion of the Khandhakas remained open after the Second Buddhist Council, it would have included an account of the later councils, particularly of one held during the reign of Aśoka. This line of argument is sufficiently strong to establish that the date of compilation of the twenty-two Khandhakas as we find them embodied in the Mahāvagga and Cullavagga was anterior to the reign of Aśoka, as well as that its history is primarily associated with the tradition of the Second Buddhist Council. Assuming then that the closing of the collection of the Khandhakas in the shape of the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga could not be removed from the 1st century of the Buddha era, we may briefly examine what inferences can be drawn from the Cullavagga accounts of the first and second Buddhist councils regarding the development of the canonical texts. First with regard to the earlier Vinaya texts, the Cullavagga account of the Second Buddhist Council (Chap. 12) has referred to the following authorities by name, namely,

- (1) Sāvattiyā Suttavibhaṅga
- (2) Rājagahe Suttavibhaṅga
- (3) Sāvattiyā Suttavibhaṅga
- (4) Sāvattiyā sutta
- (5) Kosambiyā sutta
- (6) Sāvattiyā sutta
- (7) Rājagahe sutta
- (8) Rājagahe uposathasamīyutte
- (9) Campeyyake Vinaya Vatthusmin

The Suttavibhaṅga passages referred to in the Cullavagga account have been found out by Prof. Oldenberg in the Suttavibhaṅga and what is more, the identified passages have satisfied the context supplied (Sāvattiyā, Rājagahe, Kosambiyā). Keeping this fact in view, can it be doubted that the Suttavibhaṅga of the Vinayaṭṭakā was current as an authoritative text on Vinaya when the Cullavagga account referring to its passages was written? Now with regard to the remaining two references, namely, Rājagahe, Uposathasamīyutte and Campeyyake Vinaya Vatthusmin traced respectively in the Mahāvagga (II, 8, 3) and Mahāvagga

(IX, 3,5), it is curious that the first reference is to a Saṃyutta passage and the second to a Vinayavatthu. Although the Saṃyutta passage has found its place in the Mahāvagga, so long as the fact remains that the reference is to a passage in the Sutta Collection, our inference must be that the Mahāvagga in its extant form was not yet in existence. The second reference is important as pointing back to the existence of certain Vinayavattus serving as materials for a compilation like the Mahāvagga.

Turning at last to the Cullavagga account of the First Buddhist Council, it will be a mistake to suppose that the account as we have it in the Cullavagga is as old as the time of the council itself. The account must have been posterior to the time when the scriptural authorities of the Buddhist community comprised (1) Ubhato Vinaya —the disciplinary code of the bhikkhus, the disciplinary code of the bhikkhuniṣ, and (2) Pañcanikāya —the five nikāyas, Dīgha, Majjhima and the rest. Some of the Burmese manuscripts read Ubhato Vibhaṅga in lieu of Ubhato Vinaya.⁸ That may be a mistake. But the contents mentioned in the Cullavagga account are undoubtedly the contents of the two Vibhaṅgas, the Bhikkhu and the Bhikkhuni. The list of the Sikkhāpadas codified as bare rules in the two Pātimokkhas is important as showing that the author of the Cullavagga account kept in his mind nothing but the Sutta-vibhaṅga with its two divisions: the Bhikkhu-Vibhaṅga and the Bhikkhuni-Vibhaṅga. Further, when this account was written, the five nikāyas were well known. But the contents mentioned are found to be only those of the first two suttas of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I, we mean the Brahmajāla and the Sāmaññaphala Suttantas. In the absence of the remaining details and of the names of the separate texts it is impossible to say that the Dīgha Nikāya as presupposed was completed in all the three volumes as we now get or the five nikāyas as presupposed was completed in all the three volumes as we

⁸ It may be observed that in giving an account of the First Buddhist Council, Buddhaghosa makes mention of *Ubhato Vibhaṅga* signifying thereby the whole text of the *Suttavibhaṅga* completed in 64 bhānavāras (*Sumāgalavilāsini* pt. I, p. 13).

now get or the five nikāyas as presupposed contained all the 14 suttanta texts as we now have them. One thing, however, is certain that there is yet no reference to the Abhidhamma treatises. For the reference to the Abhidhamma-*piṭaka* we have to look into the *uddānagāthās* in which there is mention of the three *piṭakas* (*Piṭakaṃ tiṇī*). But nothing should be built upon it with regard to the development of canonical texts in so early period as this on the strength of these *uddānagāthās* which are apparently later additions.

The line of investigation hitherto followed has compelled us to conclude that the *Suttavibhaṅga* with its two great divisions, e.g. the *Bhikkhu* and the *Bhikkhuṇī Vibhaṅgas*, were extant as authoritative texts on the questions of *Vinaya* previous to the compilation of the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga*. The historical references that may be traced in the *Suttavibhaṅga* appertain all to earlier times and cannot, therefore, justify us in assigning the text to a period far removed from the demise of the Buddha. But we have still to enquire whether or not the *Suttavibhaṅga* can be regarded as the first and the earliest landmark of the *Vinaya* tracts. It may be sound to premise that the first landmark of the *Vinaya**piṭaka* is not the first landmark of the *Vinaya* tracts. The point at issue really is whether or not the text of the *Suttavibhaṅga* forming the first landmark of the *Vinaya**piṭaka* presupposes certain earlier literary developments and if so, where can this be traced. This is to ask seriously what was the earlier and more probable denotation of the term *ubhato vinaya*, the two-fold *Vinaya*. If we decline to interpret it in the sense of two-fold *Vibhaṅga*, we must be raising this important issue just to remove an anomaly arising from the two-fold signification of the *Pañcanikāya* divisions of the Pāli Canon. *Buddhaghosa*, the great Pāli scholiast, says that in their narrower signification the five *nikāyas* denoted the five divisions of the texts of the *Sutta**piṭaka*, and that in their wider signification the five *nikāyas* included also the texts of the remaining two *piṭakas*, namely, the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidhamma*, the *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma* treatises being supposed to be included in the

Khuddaka Nikāya (Sumaṅgalavilāsini, pt. 1, p. 23, cf. Atthasālinī, p. 26 ; Katamo Khuddakanikāyo ? Sakalaṃ Vinayaṭṭhādaṃ Abhidhammaṭṭhākaṃ Khuddakapāṭhā-dayo ca pubbe-nidassita-pañcadasa-bhedā (pubbe dassita-cuddasappabhedā itipāṭhanta-raṃ), ṭhapetvā cattāro nikāya avasesabuddhavacanāraṃ). Buddha-ghosa also informs us that the Anumāna-sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya was known to the ancients as bhikkhuvīnaya and the Sīṅgalovāda-sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya was venerated as gihivīnaya.⁹ If such terms as bhikkhuvīnaya and gihivīnaya had been current among the Buddhists of olden times it is pertinent to enquire whether the expression “the two-fold Vinaya” was originally used to denote the *bhikkhuvīnaya* and *bhikkhunīvīnaya* or the bhikkhuvīnaya and *gihivīnaya*.

If we examine the contents of the Aṅguttara or the Ekuttara Nikāya, we need not be surprised to find that Aṅguttara Nikāya abounds in the Vinaya passages. In each nipāta of this nikāya we come across passages relating to the two-fold Vinaya, namely, the Bhikkhu and the Gihi. Looked at from this point of view, the Aṅguttara Nikāya may justly be regarded as a sutta store-house of distinct Vinaya tracts. In this very nikāya we hit upon a Vinaya tract (A.N., I, pp. 98-100) which sets forth a rough sketch (mātikā) not of any particular Vinaya treatise but of the whole of the Vinayaṭṭhāka. The list of Vinaya topics furnished in this particular tract cannot be construed as a table of contents of any particular text of the Vinaya-ṭṭhāka. Similar Vinaya tracts are scattered also in the suttas of other nikāyas. The consideration of all these facts cannot but lead one to surmise that the treatises of the Vinayaṭṭhāka point to a sutta background in the Vinaya materials traceable in the nikāyas particularly in the Aṅguttara. The sutta background of the Vinaya texts is clearly hinted at in the concluding words of the Pātimokkha. “So much of the words of the Blessed One handed down in the suttas, embraced in the suttas, comes into recitation every half month” (*Vinaya texts*, S.B.E., Vol I, p. 69).

⁹ A note on the *Bhābrā Edict*, J.R.A.S., October, 1915, pp. 805-810.

As for the date of the composition of the two Pātimokkha codes, one for the bhikkhus (monks) and the other for the bhikkhuniīs (nuns), it is important to bear in mind that according to an ancient Buddhist tradition cited by Buddhaghosa, the Pātimokkha codes as they are handed down to us are two among the Vinaya texts which were not rehearsed in the First Buddhist Council (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, pt. I, p. 17). It may be readily granted that the codification of the Pātimokkha rules in the extant shape was not accomplished immediately after the demise of the Buddha. It is one thing to say this and it is quite another that the rules themselves in a classified form had not been in existence from the earliest times. The Cullavagga account of the First Buddhist Council throws some clear light on the process of codification. It is said that the utterance of the dying Buddha authorising his followers to do away with the minor rules of conduct (khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadani) if they so desired, formed a bone of contention among the bhikkhus who took part in the proceedings of the First Buddhist Council (see *Milinda Pañha*, pp. 142-144). They were unable to decide which were precisely the minor rules they were authorised to dispense with. Some suggested all but the four Pārājikā rules; some, all but the four Pārājikā and 13 Saṃghādisesa rules; some, all but the four Pārājikās, 13 Saṃghādisesas and two Aniyata rules; some, all but the four Pārājikās, 13 Saṃghādisesa, two Aniyata and 30 Nissaggiya; some, all but the four Pārājikās, 13 Saṃghādisesa, two Aniyata, 30 Nissaggiya and 92 Pācittiya rules; and some, all but four Pārājikā, 13 Saṃghādisesa, two Aniyata, 30 Nissaggiya, 92 Pācittiya and four paṭidesaniya rules.¹⁰ The sugges-

¹⁰ Ekacce therā evam āhaṃsu : cattāri pārājikāni ṭhapetvā avasesāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadānīti. Ekacce therā evam āhaṃsu : cattāri pārājikāni ṭhapetvā terasa saṃghādisese ṭhapetvā avasesāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadānīti. Ekacce therā evam āhaṃsu : cattāri pārājikāni ṭhapetvā terasa saṃghādisese ṭhapetvā dve aniyate ṭhapetvā avasesāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadānīti. Ekacce therā evam āhaṃsu : cattāri pārājikāni ṭhapetvā terasa saṃghādisese ṭhapetvā dve aniyate ṭhapetvā timsa nissaggive pācittiye ṭhapetvā avasesāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadānīti. Ekacce therā evam āhaṃsu : cattāri pārājikāni ṭhapetvā

tion stopped with the four Paṭidesaniya rules and did not proceed beyond them, leaving us in the dark as to what the bhikkhus meant by "all but all these" (counted by names). The Pātimokkha code in its final form included two hundred and twenty-seven rules, that is to say, the seven *adhikaraṇasamathas* and seventy-five Sekhiya rules in addition to those mentioned in the Cullavagga account. Omitting the 75 Sekhiya rules the total of the Pātimokkha precepts of conduct would come up to 152. If the theras of the First Buddhist Council had in their view a Pātimokkha code in which the 75 Sekhiya rules had no place, the total of precepts in the Code recognised by them was 152. Now we have to enquire if there is any definite literary evidence to prove that in an earlier stage of codification, the total of the Pātimokkha precepts was fixed at 152. Happily the evidence is not far seek. The Aṅguttara Nikāya, as we have seen above, contains two passages to indicate that the earlier Pātimokkha code contained one and half hundred rules or little more (*Sādhikaṃ diyaddhasikkhāpadasatāṃ*).¹¹

The earlier Pātimokkha code with its total of 152 rules may be shown to have been earlier than the Suttavibhaṅga on the ground that the Suttavibhaṅga scheme makes room for the 75 Sekhiya rules, thereby recognising the Pātimokkha total to be 227 which was possible only in the second or final stage of codification of the Pātimokkha rules.

In dealing with the chronology of the seven treatises of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, we can only maintain that the order in which these treatises are enumerated can be interpreted as the order of the chronology. Any attempt at establishing such an interpre-

terasa saṃghādisese ṭhapetvā dve aniyate ṭhapetvā tiṃsa nissaggiye pācittiye ṭhapetvā dvenavutiṃ pācittiye ṭhapetvā avasesāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadānīti. Ekacce therā evaṃ āhaṃsu : cattāri pārājikāni ṭhapetvā terasa saṃghādisese ṭhapetvā dve aniyate ṭhapetvā tiṃsa nissaggiye pācittiye ṭhapetvā dvenavutiṃ pācittiye ṭh. cattāri paṭidesaniye ṭh. avasesāni khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadānīti (*Cullavagga*, Chap. XI, pp. 287-288).

¹¹ Cf. *Milinda Pañha* which refers to the same total of the Pātimokkha rules in the expression "Diyaddhesu sikkhāpada-satesu".

tation would be vitiated by the fact that the order of enumeration is not in all cases the same. The order in which these are mentioned in the *Miḷinda Pañha* (p. 12) and which has since become classical is as follows:

1. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (*Dhammasaṅgaha* as *Buddhaghosa* calls it — *vide* *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, p. 17), 2. *Vibhaṅga*, 3. *Dhātukathā*, 4. *Puggalapaññatti*, 5. *Kathāvatthu*, 6. *Yamaka*, and 7. *Paṭṭhāna*.

A somewhat different order is evident from a *gāthā* occurring in *Buddhaghosa's* *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, pt. I, p. 15. "*Dhammasaṅgaṇi-Vibhaṅgaṇ ca Kathāvatthuṇ ca Puggalaṃ Dhātu-Yamaka — Paṭṭhānaṃ Abhidhammo ti vuccati.*"

It will be noticed that in the *gāthā* order the *Kathāvatthu* stands third instead of fifth and the *Dhātukathā* stands fifth instead of third.¹² We have already noted that according to general interpretation of the five *nikāya* divisions of the Pāli Canon, the *Abhidhamma* treatises come under the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. This is apparently an anomaly which cannot be removed save by a liberal interpretation making it signify a *suttanta* background of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. Thus an enquiry into the *suttanta* background becomes a *desideratum* and we may lay down a general canon of chronology in these terms. The closer the connection with the *sutta* materials, the earlier is the date of composition. Among the seven *Abhidhamma* treatises, the *Puggalapaññatti* and the *Vibhaṅga* stand out prominently as the two texts which bear a clear evidence of emergence from a *sutta* background. The *Puggala* classifications in the *Dīgha*, *Saṃyutta*, and *Aṅguttara Nikāyas* are seen to constitute at once the *sutta* background and the stereotyped *Vibhaṅgas* or *Niddesas*, mostly contained in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, may be taken to represent the *sutta* background of the *Vibhaṅga*. The exact position of the *Puggalapaññatti* in relation to the *suttanta* collections may be brought home in the light of the following observations of Dr. Morris: "As to the materials made use of by the compiler of the *Puggalapaññatti*, we can speak somewhat more positively. We

¹² This may, however, be explained simply as due to *metre causa*.

have found nearly the whole of the third, fourth, and fifth sections of our text (tayo puggalā, cattāro puggalā, pañca puggalā) in the corresponding sections (tika nipāta, catukka nipāta, etc.) of the Aṅguttara Nikāya, including the long passage entitled *Yodhājīvūpamā puggalā*.

I need hardly say anything of the other sections, as they are mere repetitions; the cha puggalā goes partly over the same ground as the Ekakaṃ. Nos. 28 and 29 of the aṭṭha puggalā have already been noticed as occurring in the Saṅgīti-sutta, while the nava puggalā is a repetition of I, 28-36, and dasa puggalā refers to I, 37-46 of our text.

For the sake of comparison it may be stated that IV, No. 15 (Mātikā) is to be found in the Aṅguttara Nikāya, duka nipāta, XII, II ; and IV Nos. 1, 2, 3, occur in the Saṃyutta Nikāya, while IV, 29 is to be found in the Saṅgīti-sutta.

Nos. 23, 24 and 25 pt. 1, of the Puggalapaññatti seem to be curiously out of place, as we naturally expect them to be amongst the tayo puggalā. The Saṅgīti-sutta names them under the tisso paññā.

Nos. 42-46, pt. 1, are mentioned without explanation in the Saṅgīti-sutta as the *pañca anāgāmino*. The only terms in pt. 1 that I have not come across are Nos. 1-8, 10-14, 19-20, 37, 38, and 39.

The designations in pt. II, Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24 and 26 are in the Aṅguttara Nikāya, duka nipāta, XI, 2, 4 and 5 ; 11-12. As to the remainder of the dve puggalā, the terms themselves are to be found under a slightly different form in the Saṅgīti-sutta and Aṅguttara Nikāya" (*Puggalapaññatti*, P.T.S., Introduction, pp. x-xi).

We have just one remark to add, namely, that compared with the suttanta materials utilised in it, the Puggalapaññatti is the least original treatise of the Abhidhammapiṭaka and its inclusion in the Abhidhammapiṭaka would have been utterly unjustifiable but for the Paññatti classifications in the mātikā, No. 1. Whatever be the actual date of its compilation in respect of subject-matter and treatment, it deserves to be considered as the earliest of the Abhidhamma books.

In the opinion of Mrs. Rhys Davids, the Vibhaṅga is "anticipated" by the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, although "it is by no means covered by the latter work, either in method or in matter" (*Vibhaṅga*, P.T.S., Preface, XIV). In other words, the present book (the Vibhaṅga) seems by Buddhists to have ranked second in the seven of its piṭakas not accidentally, but as a sequel to the Dhammasaṅgaṇi requiring in those who came to the study of it, a familiarity with the categories and formulas of the latter work—that is, with the first book of the Abhidhamma" (Ibid., XIII). Thus whether the Vibhaṅga is anticipated by the Dhammasaṅgaṇi or the latter is anticipated by the former is the point at issue.

Examining most of the chapters of the Vibhaṅga we find that each of them has a Abhidhamma superstructure (Abhidhammabhājanīya) built upon and kept distinct from a suttanta exegesis (Suttantabhājanīya), the counterpart of which is to be found in the first four nikāyas and mostly in the Majjhima, as it will appear from the following table: Saccavibhaṅga (Suttantabhājanīya) = Saccavibhaṅga Sutta (Majjhima, Vol. III, No. 141) ; Saṭiṭṭhānavibhaṅga (Suttantabhājanīya) = Saṭiṭṭhāna Sutta (M.N., I., No. 10) ; Dhātuvibhaṅga (Suttantabhājanīya) = Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta of the Majjhima, Vol. III, No. 140. It is evident from the juxtaposition of the suttanta and the Abhidhamma exegesis in its different chapters that the Vibhaṅga marks that stage of the development of the Abhidhammapiṭaka when the Abhidhamma or Transcendental method of exegesis had not yet gained an independent foothold ; when, in other words, it remained combined with the suttanta or earlier method. The predilection is as yet for attempting the exegesis of the formulations in the suttas. An independent treatment of pure topics of Psychological ethics, such as we find in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, is far beyond the scheme of the Vibhaṅga. In the progressive working out of exegetical schemes, the Niddesa or detained specification of meanings of terms comes second to the *uddesa* or *mātikā*. Now, if we compare the treatment of the Rūpakkhanda in the Vibhaṅga (12-14) with that in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi (pp. 124 foll.), we cannot but observe that all that the Vibhaṅga has to present

is merely the *uddesa* or *mātikā* of the Rūpakkhanda section of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. The Niddesa of the rūpamatikā is to be found in no other Abhidhamma books than the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. Mrs. Rhys Davids admits (in a way arguing in our favour) that “the contents of the Vibhaṅga are by no means covered by the Dhammasaṅgaṇi”. The Vibhaṅga has, for instance, a section entitled Paccayākāravibhaṅga, an exegesis on the causal relations. The paccayas¹³ fall outside the scope of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi and they form the subject-matter of the great Abhidhamma treatise, the Paṭṭhāna or the Mahāpaṭṭhāna, though compared with the Paṭṭhāna, the Vibhaṅga treatment of the subject is crude and vague, which is to say earlier. Considered in this light, the Vibhaṅga seems to stand out as a common presupposition of both the Dhammasaṅgaṇi and the Paṭṭhāna. It is much easier to proceed from the contents of the Vibhaṅga to the two highly systematic treatises of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi and the Paṭṭhāna than to proceed from the latter to the former. The Dhātukathā being nothing but a supplement to the text of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi may be briefly disposed of as an Abhidhamma treatise dependent on and necessarily later than the Dhammasaṅgaṇi.

It is not only with regard to the Dhammasaṅgaṇi (with its supplement, the Dhātukathā) and the Paṭṭhāna that the Vibhaṅga represents the immediate background ; it appears equally to have been the background of the Yamaka. It is easy to account for the dialectical method of the study of the Abhidhamma matters adopted in the Pañhapucchakas appended to the different chapters of the Vibhaṅga. All these considerations lead us to conclude that, strictly speaking, the Vibhaṅga, making “an extended application of (the) organum or vehicle for the cultiva-

¹³ Paccaya means a condition, cause, support, requisite stay, means, causal antecedent, mode of relation, etc. Here it refers to the twenty-four modes of relations (paccayas) between things which are so many paṭṭhānas. They are enumerated in the Paccayavibhaṅgavāra of the Tikapaṭṭhāna, pt. 1. The entire paṭṭhāna is devoted first to an enquiry into these twenty-four ways in which x is paccaya to y, secondly into illustrating how in things material or mental each kind of paccaya and groups of paccayas originate.

tion of the moral intellect” is the first and earliest of the Abhidhamma books.

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. Puggalapaññatti | } | (a) Dhammasaṅgaṇi-
Dhātukathā |
| 2. Vibhaṅga | | |
| 3. Kathāvatthu | | |

Although one can conceive in this manner the chronological succession of the five Abhidhamma books (leaving out the Puggalapaññatti which is rather a suttanta text and the Kathāvatthu which forms a class by itself), it is difficult to determine the actual dates of their composition. One thing is certain that all the seven books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka were well known and very carefully read especially in the Himālayan monastery when the Milinda Pañha was composed in about the 1st century A.D. There is no reason for doubt that the Pāli Canon when committed to writing during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi in Ceylon, it included all these books in it. We have shown that when the uddānagāthās of the Cullavagga (Chapter II) of the Vinayapiṭaka were added, the three piṭakas of the Pāli Canon had already come into existence. The question, however, is how far the date of the books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka can be pushed back. Here the only anchor sheet is the Kathāvatthu, the third or the fifth Abhidhamma book which, according to tradition, was a compilation of the Aśokan age. We have already adduced certain proofs in support of this tradition and have sought to show that when certain controversies which find a place in the Kathāvatthu took place, Buddhism as a religion had not overstepped the territorial limits of the Middle Country. But according to Buddhaghosa's commentary, the Kathāvatthu contains discussions of doctrines held by some of the Buddhist schools, e.g. the Hemavata, the Uttarāpathaka, the Vājiriya, the Vetullaka,

the Andhaka, the Pubbaseliya, and the Aparaseliya, which could not be possible if the Kathāvattu had been closed in the time of Aśoka. If it was a growing compilation, we have necessarily to suppose that although it commenced in Aśokan time, it was not brought to a close till the rise of the later Buddhist schools mentioned above.

Turning at last to the Suttapiṭaka comprising the five nikāyas, we can definitely say that it had reached its final shape before the composition of the Milinda Pañha in which authoritative passages are quoted from the texts of this piṭaka, in certain instances by mention of the name of the sources. We can go further and maintain that the Suttapiṭaka was closed along with the entire Pāli Canon and when the canon was finally rehearsed in Ceylon and committed to writing during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The tradition says that previous to the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi the texts were handed down by an oral tradition (*mukhapāthavasena*) from teacher to teacher (*ācariya-paramparāya*), the process of transmission being compared to the carrying of earth in baskets from head to head. Buddhaghosa says (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, pt. I, pp. 12 foll.) that immediately after the demise of the Buddha and after the session of the First Buddhist Council, the task of transmitting and preserving each of the five nikāyas was entrusted to an individual therā and his followers, which ultimately gave rise to some schools of *bhāṇakas* or chanters. The existence of the distinct schools of reciters of the five nikāyas is clearly proved (as shown by Dr. B. M. Barua¹⁴) by the Milinda Pañha where we have mention of the Jātakabhāṇaka (the repeaters of the Jātakas) in addition to the Dighabhāṇaka, the Majjhimbhāṇaka, the Saṃyuttabhāṇaka, the Aṅguttarabhāṇaka and the Khuddakabhāṇaka.¹⁵ The terms 'pañcanekāyika' (one well versed in the five nikāyas) and bhāṇaka as well, occur as distinctive epithets of some of the Buddhist donors in the Sāñci and Bārhut inscriptions which may be dated in the lump in the middle of the sec-

¹⁴ *Barhut inscriptions*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁵ *Milinda Pañha*, pp. 341 foll.

ond century B.C. The inference from the evidence of these inscriptions has already been drawn by Prof. Rhys Davids to the effect that before the use of Pañcanekāyika (one who knows the five nikāyas by heart), Suttanika (a man who knows a suttanta by heart), Suttantakinī (a feminine form of Suttanītika) and Peṭaki (one who knows the piṭaka by heart) as distinctive epithets, the piṭaka and five nikāya divisions of the Pāli Canon must have been well known and well established. We say "of the Pāli Canon" because substitution of nikāya for the term 'āgama' is peculiar to the Pāli tradition. The term "Pañcanikāya" occurs as we saw also in the Vinaya Cullavagga (Chapter II) which we have assigned to a period which immediately preceded the Aśokan age. But even presuming that the five nikāya divisions of the growing Buddhist Canon were current in the third century B.C., it does not necessarily follow from it that all the books or suttas or individual passages comprising the five nikāyas were composed at that time. All that we can say "that the first four nikāyas were, to all intents and purposes, then complete, while the Khuddaka Nikāya series remained still open".

We have pointed out that this account in the Vinaya Cullavagga clearly alludes to the Dīgha as the first of the five nikāyas as well as that the first two suttas were the Brahmajāla and Sāmaññaphala, while as to the number and succession of the remaining suttas, we are kept completely in the dark. Straining the information supplied in the Vinaya Cullavagga we can proceed so far, no doubt, that the first volume of the Dīgha Nikāya was mainly in the view of its compilers. Comparing the suttas comprised in the remaining two volumes and marking the differences in theme and tone, it seems that these two volumes were later additions. The second volume contains two suttas, namely, the Mahāpadhāna and Mahāgovinda which have been mentioned in the Cullaniddeśa (p. 80) as two among the notable illustrations of the suttanta Jātakas, the Jātakas as found in the earliest forms in Pāli literature. We have already drawn attention to the earlier chronicles of the seven purohitas in the Aṅguttara Nikāya where it is far from being a manipulation in a Jātaka form. The

casting of this chronicle in a Jātaka mould as we find it in the Mahagovinda Suttanta could not have taken place in the lifetime of the Buddha. The second volume contains also the Pāyāsi Suttanta,¹⁶ which, as shown by the previous scholars, brings the story of Pāyāsi to the death of Pāyāsi and his after-life in a gloomy heaven. This suttanta contains several anecdotes forming the historical basis of some of the Jātaka stories. In the face of all these facts we cannot but agree with Prof. Rhys Davids who places the date of this suttanta at least half a century after the demise of the Buddha. The third volume of the Dīgha includes in it the Āṭānāṭṭiya Suttanta which is otherwise described as a *rakkhā* or saving chant manipulated apparently on a certain passage in the then known Mahābhārata.¹⁷ The development of these elements, the Jātaka stories and the Parittas, could not have taken place when Buddhism remained in its pristine purity. These are later accretions or interpretations, the works of fable and fiction, we mean of imaginative poetry that crept, according to a warning given in certain passages of the Aṅguttara Nikāya, under influence from outside. But there is no reason for surprise that such developments had already taken place as early as the fourth century B.C., for the passages that strike the note of alarm are precisely one of those seven important tracts recommended by Aśoka in his Bhābrū Edict under the caption "Anāgatabhayāni". The

¹⁶ The belief in a life after death, in Heaven and Hell, consequent upon the commission of good or evil deeds was current long before the advent of the Buddha. This belief was, however, assailed by Ajita Kesakambalī, one of the six heretical teachers who were rivals of the Buddha. According to Ajita Kesakambalī there is neither fruit nor result of good or evil deeds, and fools and wise alike, on the dissolution of the body, are cut off, annihilated, after death they are not. The further development of the teaching of Ajita Kesakambalī can be traced in the views of Pāyāsi, the chieftain of Setavya in Kosala, who came to the field, according to Buddhist evidence immediately after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. It is Pāyāsi (Jain Paesi) who discussed the practical issues and supplied the logical arguments of Ajita's philosophy (atheism). *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 55; *Heaven and Hell*, Appendix by B. M. Barua, p. iii.

¹⁷ *Aśvalāyana Grihya Sūtra*, III, 4, 4.

growth of these foreign elements must have caused some sort of confusion otherwise it would not have been necessary to discuss in a sutta of the Saṃyutta Nikāya the reasonable way of keeping genuine the utterances of the Buddha distinct from others that crept in under the outside influence and were characterised by poetical fancies and embellishments (kavikatā) (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, pt. II, p. 267). We may, then, be justified in assigning the whole of the Dīgha Nikāya to a pre-Aśokan age, there being no trace of any historical event or development which might have happened after King Aśoka. The only exception that one has to make is in the case of the concluding verses of the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta which were interpolated, according to Buddhaghosa, in Ceylon by the teachers of that island. Like the first volume of the Dīgha Nikāya, the whole of the Majjhima Nikāya strikes us as the most authoritative and original among the collections of the Buddha's teachings. There is no allusion to any political event to justify us in relegating the date of its compilation to a time far removed from the demise of the Buddha. If it be argued that the story of Makhādeva, as we find it embodied in the Makhādeva Sutta of this nikāya, has already assumed the form of a Jātaka, of a suttanta Jātaka, mentioned in the Cullaniddesa, it cannot follow from it that the nikāya is for that very reason a much later compilation. For the Makhādeva story is one of those few earliest Jātakas presupposed by the Pāli Canonical collection of 500 Jātakas. The literary developments as may be traced in the suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya are not of such a kind as to require more than a century after the demise of the Buddha.

Now concerning the Saṃyutta which is a collection of kindred sayings and the third of the five nikāyas, we may point out that it has been quoted by name in the Milinda pañha, as also in the Peṭakopadesa under the simple title of Saṃyuttaka, and that as such this nikāya had existed as an authoritative book of the Pāli Canon previous to the composition of both the Milinda Pañha and the Peṭakopadesa. We can go so far as to maintain that the Saṃyutta Nikāya had reached its final shape previous to the occurrence of Pañcanekāyika as a personal epithet in some of the

Bārhut and Sāñci inscriptions, nay, even before the closing of the Vinaya Cullavagga where we meet with the expression "Pañcanikāya". In dealing with the account of the Second Buddhist Council in the Vinaya Cullavagga (Ch. XIII), we have noted that a canonical authority has been alluded to as Rājagahe uposatha Saṃyutte "at Rājagaha in the Uposatha-Saṃyutta". The translators of the Vinaya texts (pt. III, p. 410) observe that the term "Saṃyutta must here be used for Khandhaka", the passage referred to being the Vinaya Mahāvagga (II, 8, 3, the Uposatha Khandhaka). But looking into the Mahāvagga passage, we find that it does not fully tally with the allusion, as the passage has nothing to do with Rājagaha. In the absence of Rājagaha giving a true clue to the tracing of the intended passage, it is difficult to premise that the passage which the compilers of the Cullavagga account kept in view was the Khandhaka passage in the Vinaya Mahāvagga. Although we have so far failed to trace this passage also in the Saṃyutta Nikāya, the presumption ought to be that the intended passage was included in a Saṃyutta collection which was then known to the compilers of the Cullavagga. The suttas in the Saṃyutta Nikāya do not refer to any political incident justifying one to place the date of its compilation far beyond the demise of the Buddha. As contrasted with the Ekuttara or Aṅguttara Nikāya the Saṃyutta appears to be the result of an attempt to put to gether relevant passages throwing light on the topics of deeper doctrinal importance while the former appears to be numerical groupings of relevant passages throwing light on the topics relating to the conduct of the monks and house-holders. Considered in this light, these two nikāyas must be regarded as fruits of a critical study of suttas in some previous collections.

Now coming to deal with the Ekuttara or Aṅguttara Nikāya, we have sought to show that its main bearing is on the two-fold Vinaya, the Gahapati Vinaya and the Bhikkhu Vinaya. This nikāya contains a section (Muṇḍarājavagga in the Pañcaka Nipāta) commemorating the name of King Muṇḍa who reigned, as shown by Rhys Davids, in Rājagaha about half a century after the demise of the Buddha. The nikāya containing a clear reference to Muṇḍarāja

cannot be regarded as a compilation made within the fifty years from the Buddha' demise, There is, however, no other historical reference to carry the date of its compilation beyond the first century from the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. The date proposed for the Aṅguttara Nikāya will not, we think, appear unreasonable if it be admitted that the suttas of this nikāya form the real historical background of the contents of the Vinaya texts.

We have at last to discuss the chronology of the fifteen books of the Khuddaka Nikāya, which are generally mentioned in the following order :

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Khuddakapāṭha | 9. Therīgāthā |
| 2. Dhammapada | 10. Jātaka, |
| 3. Udāna | 11. Niddesa (Culla and Mahā) |
| 4. Itivuttaka | 12. Paṭisambhidāmagga |
| 5. Sutta Nipāta | 13. Apadāna |
| 6. Vimānavatthu | 14. Buddhavaṁsa |
| 7. Petavatthu | 15. Cariyāpiṭaka |
| 8. Theragāthā | |

This mode of enumeration of the fifteen books of the Khuddaka Nikāya (paṇṇarasabheda Khuddakanikāya) can be traced back to the days of Buddhaghosa (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, pt. I, p. 17). It is obvious that in this list the Cullaniddesa and the Mahāniddesa are counted as one book ; while counting them as two books, the total number becomes sixteen. There is no justification for regarding the order of enumeration as being the order of chronology. In connection with the Khuddaka Nikāya, Buddhaghosa mentions the following fact of great historical importance. He says that the Dīghabhāṇakas classified the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya under the Abhidhammapiṭaka enumerating them in the following order :

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Jātaka | 7. Udāna |
| 2. Mahāniddesa | 8. Itivuttaka |
| 3. Cullaniddesa | 9. Vimānavatthu |
| 4. Paṭisambhidāmagga | 10. Petavatthu |
| 5. Sutta Nipāta | 11. Therīgāthā |
| 6. Dhammapada | |

and leaving out of consideration the four books, namely, the Cariyāpitaka, the Apadāna, the Buddhavaṃsa and the Khuddakapāṭha. Buddhaghosa informs us that the Majjhimbhāṇaka list contained the names of 15 books, counting the Cariyāpitaka, the Apadāna and the Buddhavaṃsa as the three books in addition to those recognised by the Dīgha bhāṇakas (*Sumaṅgalavilāsīnī*, pt. I, p. 15). It is important to note that the Majjhimbhāṇaka list has taken no cognisance of the Khuddakapāṭha mentioned as the first book in Buddhaghosa's own list. It is not difficult to surmise that when the Dīghabhāṇaka list was drawn up, the Khuddaka Nikāya comprised just 12 books and when the Majjhima Nikāya list was made, it came to comprise altogether 15 books, the Mahāniddeśa and the Cullaniddeśa having been counted as two books instead of as one. It is also easy to understand that from that time onward the traditional total of the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya became known as fifteen, and so strong was this tradition that to harmonise with it the sixteen books had to be somehow counted as fifteen, the Mahāniddeśa and the Cullaniddeśa being treated as a single book. From this we may proceed to show that the Khuddakapāṭha appearing as the first book of the Khuddaka Nikāya in Buddhaghosa's list is really the last book taken into the Khuddaka Nikāya sometime after the Majjhimbhāṇaka list recognising fifteen books in all had been closed. We need not be surprised if the Khuddakapāṭha was a compilation made in Ceylon and was given a place among the books of the Khuddaka Nikāya either immediately before the commitment of the Pāli Canon to writing during the reign of King Vattaḡamaṇi or even after that, although before the time of Buddhaghosa. The commentaries of Buddhaghosa are our oldest authorities that mention the Khuddakapāṭha as a canonical book. It does not find mention in the Milinda Pañha nor in any other work, canonical or ex-canonical, which was extant before the time of Buddhaghosa. The text is made up of nine lessons or short readings all culled from certain earlier canonical sources, the arrangement of these lessons being such as to make it serve as a very useful handbook for the beginners and for the

clergy ministering to the needs of the laity. The consideration of two points may suffice to bear out our contention: the first point is that the first lesson called the Saraṇattaya presents a developed mode of refuge formula of the Buddhists which is not to be found precisely in this form anywhere in other portions of the Pāli Canon. As for the second point we may note that the third lesson called the Dvattimsākāra (the thirty-two parts of the body) enumerates *matthake matthaluṅgam* which is not to be found in the list furnished in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, and numerous other discourses.

We have seen that the Buddhavaṃsa, the Cariyāpiṭaka, and the Apadāna are the three books which found recognition in the list of the Majjhimbhāṇakas and were taken no notice of in the Dīghabhāṇaka list. Apart from other arguments, one has to presume that these three books were compiled and received into the canon after the list was once known to have been complete with twelve books. These three books, so far as the subject-matters go, are interconnected, the Buddhavaṃsa enumerating the doctrine of *praṇidhāna* as an essential condition of the Bodhisatta life, the Cariyāpiṭaka enumerating the doctrine of *cariyā* or practices of a Bodhisatta and the Apadāna, the doctrine of *adhikāra* or competence for the attainment of higher life. These three books presuppose a legend of 24 previous Buddhas which is far in excess of the legend of six Buddhas contained in other portions of the canon. The Buddhavaṃsa and the Cariyāpiṭaka present a systematic form of the Bodhisatta idea that was shaping itself through the earlier Jātakas and the Apadāna furnishing the previous birth-stories of the *theras* as the *therīs* cannot but be regarded as a later supplement to the Thera-Therī-gāthā.

Besides the Thera-Therī-gāthā, the Vimānavatthu or the book of stories of heaven is just another canonical work which is presupposed by the Apadāna. It is important to note that the Vimānavatthu contains one story, namely, the story of serissaka, the incident of which, according to the story itself, took place a

hundred years, calculated by human computation, from the death of the chieftain Pāyāsi.

“Mānussakam vassasatam atītam
Yadagge kāyamhi idhūpappanno.”

(*Vimānavatthu*, P.T.S., p. 81)

The Pāyāsi Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya clearly shows that the death of Pāyāsi could not have been taken place until a few years after the Buddha's demise. Thus going by the consideration of this point, we are compelled to assign the date of its composition to an age ahead of a century and a half from the demise of the Buddha. So the canonisation of this book could not have taken place earlier than the time of the Third Buddhist Council, we mean the time of King Aśoka. Our suggestion for the date of the *Vimānavatthu* will be significant as we consider the contents of the *Petavatthu*, the book of stories of hell. We have noticed above that in all the three lists of the books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, the name of the *Petavatthu* stands after that of the *Vimānavatthu*. From the occurrence of certain common stories a suggestion has already been made that it was somehow an offshoot of the *Vimānavatthu*. Now in one of the stories (*Petavatthu*, IV. 3, 1),¹⁸ we have allusions to the Moriya (Maurya) king, who is identified in the commentary with King Aśoka.¹⁹ If this construction of the word Moriya is correct, it leaves no room for doubt that the *Petavatthu*, as we now have it, was a post-Moriyan or post-Aśokan compilation. Again in the *Mahāvamsa* the *Petavatthu* is also mentioned by name. Mahinda in his second discourse to the women of Devānaṃpiyatissa's household, preached the *Petavatthu*, the *Vimānavatthu* and the *Sacca-Saṃyutta*, and the women attained to the first stage of sanctification.²⁰

¹⁸ “Rājā Piṅgalako nāma Surattāhānaṃ adhipati ahu Moriyānaṃ upattāhānaṃ gantvā Surattāhūm pure āgamā”.

¹⁹ “Moriyānaṃ'ti Moriyarājūnaṃ Dhammāsokaṃ saṃdhāya vadati”—*Petavatthu*, P.T.S., p. 98.

²⁰ “Petavatthum Vimānaṃ ca saccasaṃyuttaṃ eva ca desesi therō, tā itthi Paṭhamaṃ phalam ajjhagum”. (*Mahāvamsa*, p. 108) (P.T.S.).

The Cullaniddesa is a canonical commentary on the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta and the Pārāyaṇa group of sixteen poems, all of which find place in the anthology called the Sutta Nipāta. We have sought to show that the Cullaniddesa indicates a stage of development of the Pāli Canon when the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta hangs on the Pārāyaṇavaga as an isolated poem, without yet being included in a distinct group such as the Urugavagga of the Sutta Nipāta. Though from this line of argument it follows that the Cullaniddesa is earlier than the Sutta Nipāta, it cannot at the same time be denied that it is posterior not only to such suttanta Jātakas as the Mahāpadāniya, Mahāgovinda, Mahāsudassaniya and the Maghādeva Suttanta contained in the Digha and Majjhima Nikāyas but also to a collection of 500 Jātakas (Pañcajātakasatāni) (*Cullaniddesa*, p. 80). As such the Cullaniddesa cannot be dated much earlier than the reign of Aśoka.

The Mahānidessa, too, is a canonical commentary on the Aṭṭhaka group of sixteen poems forming the fourth book of the Sutta Nipāta. As shown before, the exegeses attempted in this book were all modelled on an earlier exegesis of Mahākaccāna in the Saṃyutta Nikāya. If this canonical commentary came into existence when the Aṭṭhakavagga was yet current as an isolated group, the date of its composition cannot but be anterior to that of the Sutta Nipāta. A clear idea of the date of this work can be formed from its list of places visited by the Indian sea-going merchants. The Mahānidessa list clearly points to a time when the Indian merchants carried on a sea-borne trade with such distant places as Java in the east and Paramayona in the west and it alludes as well to a sea route from Tamali to Java via Tambapaṇṇi or Ceylon which was followed in the fifth century A.D., by the Chinese pilgrim, Fā-Hien. We can expect to come across such a list only in the Milinda Pañha which may be dated in the first and second centuries A.D. Such a wide expansion of India's maritime trade as indicated in the Mahānidessa list would seem impossible if the book was a composition much earlier than the second century B.C.

Now turning to the Sutta Nipāta we have been inclined to place it later than the two books of the Niddesa on the ground that when it was compiled, the Aṭṭhakavagga and the Pārāyaṇavagga came to represent two distinct books of a comprehensive anthology and the Khaggāvisāṇa Sutta ceased to be a stray poem hanging for its existence on the Pārāyaṇa group. But our main reason for dating it posterior to the Cullaniddesa is that the Pārāyaṇavagga in the Sutta Nipāta is prefaced by a prologue which is absent from the Cullaniddesa scheme. Similarly the Nālaka Sutta perhaps known originally as Moneyya Sutta as evidenced by the titles suggested in Aśoka's Bhābrū Edict as a prologue clearly anticipating the poetical style of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita. In spite of the fact that the suttas embodied in it were gleaned from earlier collections, the Sutta Nipāta scheme of anthology does not seem to have been carried into effect before the second century B.C.

With regard to the Jātakas as a book of the Khuddaka Nikāya, we have just seen above that the Cullaniddesa points to a canonical collection of 500 Jātakas. That five hundred was the original total of the Jātakas is proved on the one hand by the 500 Jātaka representations witnessed by Fā-Hien round the Abhayagiri monastery of Ceylon and on the other hand by the mechanical multiplication of the stories in order to raise the total from 500 to 550 from the days of Buddhaghosa. The Milinda Pañha alludes to the existence of the repeaters of the Jātakas apart from the repeaters of the five nikāyas. We are unable to decide whether the Milinda reference is to the canonical books of the Jātakas or to a commentary collection which was then in existence. The numerous illustrations of the Jātakas on the ancient Buddhist railings, such as those at Bārhut and Bodhgayā, unmistakably presuppose the existence of the legendary stories of the Buddha's life, past and present. But the canonical collection of 500 Jātakas referred to in the Cullaniddesa appear to be earlier than the scriptural basis of the Buddhist sculptures, and whatever the actual date of composition might be, it was certainly later than that of the suttanta Jātakas scattered throughout the first four

nikāyas. We may say indeed that the canonical collection took a definite shape near about the early Maurya period.

The Thera-Therī-gāthā are two companion anthologies of the stanzas that are supposed to have been uttered by the thereas and therīs surrounding the Buddha during the lifetime of the Master, or at least shortly after his death (*Theragāthā*, Oldenberg's preface, xi).

"The separate uddānas or indices which occur regularly at the end of each nipāta and at the end also of the whole work, and give the names and numbers of the theras (and the therīs) and the number of verses in each chapter and in the whole work respectively, seem to be based on a recension or condition of the text different from that which now lies before us" (Ibid., p. xiv). In the opinion of Dhammapāla, the commentator, the Theragāthā anthology had reached the final shape not earlier than the time of Aśoka. He points out that the Thera Tekicchakāri whose gāthās are embodied in the Theragāthā lived under King Bimbisāra, the father of Dhammāsoka. He further adds that the verses uttered by this there were received into the canon by the fathers who assembled in the Third Buddhist Council. Dhammapāla attributes some of the gāthās to Vitasoka, the younger brother of Dhammāsoka and certain other verses to Tissakumāra, the Youngest brother of King Aśoka. If we can at all depend for chronology on the information supplied by Dhammapāla, the anthologies of Thera-Therī-gāthā must be taken as compilations that had received their final shape at the Third Buddhist Council and not before.

The Pāli Dhammapada is undoubtedly the earliest of the six copies of the anthologies of the Dhammapada class. The earliest mention of the Pāli Dhammapada by name is to be found in the Milinda Pañha which is a composition of the first or second century A.D. From the mere fact that there were certain quotations in the Kathāvatthu and Mahāniddeśa of stanzas now traceable in the Dhammapada, no definite conclusion can be drawn as to the actual date of its composition. The Dhammapada hardly includes any stanzas that might be supposed to have been

drawn upon the canonical collection of Jātakas. But as shown by the editors of the Prākṛit Dhammapada²¹ there are a few gāthās which were evidently manipulated on the basis of the gāthās in the Jātakas. Similarly it cannot be maintained that the Dhammapada contains any stanzas that were directly derived from the Sutta Nipāta, for the suttas which might be singled out as the source of some of the gāthās of the Dhammapada are to be found also in such earlier collections as the Dīgha or the Majjhima or the Saṃyutta or the Aṅguttara. The Thera and Therī gāthās are the two anthologies of the Khuddaka Nikāya which appear to have been presupposed by the Dhammapada. As regards external evidence, there is only one tradition, namely, that a powerful discourse based on the Appamādavagga of the Dhammapada served to attract the attention of King Aśoka to Buddhism, clearly pointing to the existence of the Dhammapada as a distinct anthology as early as the third century B.C.

The Itivuttaka, the Udāna, and the Paṭisambhidāmagga are the remaining three books of the Khuddaka Nikāya of which the date of composition must depend upon mere conjecture till accidentally we obtain any reliable date. The Itivuttaka is a book of quotations of sayings of the Buddha alleged as genuine, making no reference to any canonical work or to any historical event ascertaining its date, though it seems that it was the result of an after-thought, of a critical study of the authentic teachings of the Buddha in a certain light and for a specific purpose. The Udāna is a curious medley of legends and historical records, presented in a particular setting with a view to emphasising some pronounced opinions of the Buddha on certain controversial topics. The Paṭisambhidāmagga presents a systematic exposition of certain important topics of Buddhism, and as such it deserves to be classed rather with the books of the Abhidhammapīṭaka than with those of the sutta. It is quite possible that before the development of the extant Abhidhammapīṭaka, it passed as one of the Abhidhamma treatises. Concerning these three books the

²¹ Dr. Barua and Mr. Mitra, *Prākṛit Dhammapada*, published by the University of Calcutta.

utmost that we can say is that they are mentioned even in the list of the *Dīghabhāṇakas*, being counted there as three among the twelve books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, and that if the tradition about this list is at all credible, these three books must have existed when the list was drawn up, say, in the second century B.C.

The results arrived at concerning the chronology of the Pāli Canonical literature are presented in the subjoined table:

1. The simple statements of Buddhist doctrine now found in identical works in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books.

2. Episodes found in identical works in two or more of the existing books.

3. The *Sīlas*, the *Pārāyaṇa* group of sixteen poems without the prologue, the *Aṭṭhaka* group of four or sixteen poems, the *Sikkhāpadas*.

4. *Dīgha*, Vol. I, the *Majjhima*, the *Samyutta*, the *Āṅguttara*, and earlier *Pātimokkha* code of 152 rules.

5. The *Dīgha*, Vols. II and III, the *Thera-Therī-gāthā*, the collection of 500 *Jātakas*, *Suttavibhaṅga*, *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *Puggalapaññatti* and *Vibhaṅga*.

6. The *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga*, the *Pātimokkha* code completing 227 rules, the *Vimānavatthu* and *Petavatthu*, the *Dhammapada* and the *Kathāvatthu*.

7. The *Cullaniddesa*, the *Mahāniddesa*, the *Udāna*, the *Itivuttaka*, the *Sutta Nipāta*, the *Dhātukathā*, the *Yamaka*, and the *Paṭṭhāna*.

8. The *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and the *Apadāna*.

9. The *Parivārapāṭha*.

10. The *Khuddakapāṭha*.

CHAPTER II

Canonical Pāli Literature

Section I. The Vinaya Pitaka

The Pāli Canonical literature consists of the three piṭakas or Tripiṭakas or Tipiṭakas. The word Piṭakas means a basket containing manuscripts. According to Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasād Shāstrī, it is an oval shaped cane basket with a pyramidal lid, the whole covered with leather (*Buddhistic Studies* edited by Dr. B. C. Law, p. 846). The secondary meaning of Piṭaka is "traditional handing on". Mrs. Rhys Davids in her recently published book, *Sakya or Buddhist origins* (Appendix I, p. 431) says that in this secondary meaning it was no far cry to accept the word for that which by the time the third or the Abhidhamma Piṭaka was finished, considerably later than the date of the Patna Congress, was an accomplished fact. The Tripiṭaka consists of the three piṭakas, the Vinaya, the Sutta and the Abhidhamma.

The Vinaya Piṭaka¹ really means a basket containing manu-

¹ Read the *Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., Vols. XII, XVII, and XX, translations from the Pāli Vinaya Piṭakam by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg. There is a book called *Vinaya Saṅgaha* which is a summary of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* divided into various sections giving concise explanations of Vinaya rules. Read in this connection a Pāli work on Vinaya known as the *Vinayālaṅkāraṭīkā* especially adapted for the observance of the rules of priesthood by the Buddhist monks compiled by Tipiṭakālaṅkāra Thera of Burma at the request of the King of

scripts of Vinaya or the rules of discipline. It contains rules and regulations for the management of the Buddhist Saṅgha, and for the conduct of the daily life of monks and nuns. Rules for reception into the Order, for the periodical confession of sins, for life during the rainy season, for housing, clothing, medici-

Burma named Sirisudhammarājā of the sixteenth century A.D.

Louis Finot, *Fragments du Vinaya Sanskrit* (Journal Asiatique, Paris, 1911).

R. O. Franke, *Die Gāthās des Vinayaṭṭakā und ihre Parallelen* (Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien, 1910).

Sukumar Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism, 600 B.C.-100 B.C.* (Trubner's Oriental Series, 1924). In this book the author treats of the following topics:

(a) The Laws of the Vinaya Ṭṭakā and their interpretation.

(b) The primitive Paribrahjakas. —A theory of their origin.

(c) The Saṅgha and the Pātimokkha: Development of the latter. The author has done some justice to the Pācittiya rules.

(d) The Pātimokkha as a ritual.

(e) The growth of the Buddhist Coenobium. In this chapter the author discusses about the uposatha cātudissa saṅgha, vassa, āvāsa, etc.

(f) The Internal polity of a Buddhist Saṅgha —i.e. the saṅghakamas are treated of in it.

(g) Communal life at an āvāsa.

All these chapters make up the chief contents of the Vinaya Ṭṭakā. The book is interesting and may be useful in studying the Vinaya rules. Vide also *The Vinayaṭṭakam and Early Buddhist Monasticism in its Growth and Development* by Sukumar Dutt (Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. X, 1923. Cal. Univ.). The Vinayagūlhatthadīpanī is an explanation of difficult passages in the Vinaya Ṭṭakā (Mabel Bode, *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, p. 18).

Jan Jaworski, *La section des remèdes dans la Vinaya des Mahīśāsaka et dans le Vinaya Pāli.*

J. Przyłuski, *Fables in the Vinaya Ṭṭakā of the Sarvāstivāda School*, I.H.Q., Vol. V, March 1929.

M. Nagai's paper on *Buddhist Vinaya Discipline or Buddhist Commandments* (published in the *Buddhistic Studies*, edited by Dr. B. C. Law, pp. 365-382) is an admirable contribution. In this paper Nagai has discussed the following points: (a) the position of the Vinaya Ṭṭakā in the Buddhist Texts, (b) fundamentals of the Vinaya Ṭṭakā, (c) varieties of the Vinaya Ṭṭakā, (d) four Pārājikā, (e) thirteen Saṅghā-vaśeṣas, (f) thirty nihsargikā-pātayantikas, (g) ninety Pātayantikas, (h) one hundred śaiḱṣa, (i) meat and garlic, (j) motive underlying inhibitions, (k) commandments to Bodhisattva, and (l) five and ten commandments.

nal remedies, and legal procedure in case of schism, are also included in it. These rules are supposed to have been laid down by the Buddha himself as occasion necessitated their promulgation. Stories have also found a place in it, some of them give us fragments of the Buddha legend while others throw a flood of light on the daily life of ancient India. These stories are illustrative of the occasion when the Buddha was constrained to have recourse to folklore with a view to teach morality to his pupils. The greater portion of the Vinaya Piṭaka appears to be dry and the technicalities therein have rendered the work an unpleasant reading in spite of the narrative of events in the life of Buddha. The Vinaya Piṭaka is, in one word, an account of the Buddhist Church or Order (Saṅgha).

The Vinaya, as known in Burma, is the monastic code handed down by the Theravādin sect in Ceylon. The influence of Ceylon on Burma has been paramount in questions of monastic discipline and the code drawn up by the ancient Sinhalese theras has been carefully preserved by the Burmese fraternity in the letter and the spirit ever since its arrival in Burma in the 11th century. A great deal of the Vinaya literature, mostly explanatory and sometimes controversial, has grown up round the code from the time of the early commentators to the present day. The important works by Sinhalese authors on Vinaya formed the base of Burmese studies (Mabel Bode, *Pāli Literature of Burma*, p. 5).

The Vinaya Piṭaka consists of the following books: (1) Suttavibhaṅga, (2) Khandhakas, (3) Parivāra, and (4) Pātimokkha.

The first is subdivided into (a) Pārājika, and (b) Pācittiya. The second comprises (i) Mahāvagga, and (ii) Cullavagga.

1. The Suttavibhaṅga means the explanations or expositions of the suttas. The word 'Sutta' corresponds to the Sanskrit 'Sūtra' and literally means 'thread'. "It is applied to a kind of book, the contents of which are, as it were, a thread, giving the gist or substance of more than is expressed in them in words. This sort of book was the latest development in Vedic literature just before and after the rise of Buddhism" (Rhys Davids, *American Lectures, Buddhism, its history and literature*, pp. 53-54). The

Buddhists used this word to mean a discourse, or a chapter. In the language of Rhys Davids, a savant of hallowed memory, the Suttavibhaṅga "tells us firstly how and when and why the particular rule in question came to be laid down. This historical introduction always closes with the words of the rule in full. Then follows a very ancient word for word commentary so old that it was already about B.C. 400 (the probably approximate date of the Suttavibhaṅga) considered so sacred that it was included in the canon. And the old commentary is succeeded, where necessary, by further explanations and discussions of doubtful points. These are sometimes of very great historical value. The discussions, for instance (in the rules as to murder and theft), of what constitutes murder, and what constitutes theft, anticipate in a very remarkable degree the kind of fine-drawn distinctions found in modern law books. The passages when made accessible, in translation, to Western scholars, must be of law, as they are quite the oldest documents of that particular kind in the world."

The Suttavibhaṅga lays down and explains all the rules which are contained in the Pātimokkha. It is divided into two books : (a) Pārājika (Chinese Po-lo-i), and (b) Pācittiya (Po-yeh-to) after the two main heads into which offences are divided, viz. (i) Pārājikas the punishment for which was expulsion from the Order, and (ii) Pācittiyas for which some expiation was laid down. Both the Pārājika² and the Pācittiya³ deal with two hundred and twenty-seven rules for the guidance of the bhikkhus in determining the offences and the disputes of the bhikkhus and formulating punishment. The two hundred and twenty-seven rules are divided into eight sections, viz. Pārājika dhammā (rules concerning those acts which bring about defeat)⁴, Saṅghādisesa⁵ (Chi-

² This section consists of four only according to the Chinese.

³ It includes 90 rules but the Pāli book gives 92 rules.

⁴ Defeat in a bhikkhu's endeavour to achieve the end for which he entered the Order in order to reach the supreme goal of Arahatship.

⁵ It includes 13 rules requiring a distinct confession before an assembly of not less than five Brethren and the infliction of penance according to their decision.

nese Seng-kia-po-sha) dhammā (rules which require formal meetings of the Order), Aniyatā dhammā (rules regarding undetermined matters), Nissaggiyā pāciyyiā dhammā (Pacittiya rules involving forfeiture), Pācittiā dhammā (rules requiring repentance), Paṭidesaniyā dhammā (rules regarding matters which ought to be confessed), Sekhiyā dhammā⁶ (Chinese Chung-hioh, rules of etiquette), and Adhikaraṇa-Samathā dhammā (rules regarding the settlement of cases) which form what is known as the Pātimokkha code of the Vinaya Piṭaka. We hold with Rhys Davids and Oldenberg that the Pātimokkha⁷ seems to have owed its existence to the ancient Indian custom of holding sacred two periods in each month, the times of the Full Moon (*Vinaya Texts*, I, S.B.E., p. x).

The Brothers and Sisters used to convene meetings⁸ twice in each month (on the fourteenth or fifteenth day) to confess to the assembly the sins and faults which they had committed. The object of the confession was to take upon themselves the punishment which, they believed, would atone for their sin. "The completion of the recitation is, therefore, the evidence that all who have taken part in it are pure in respect of the specified offences. And this is the origin of that second name, the Pātimo-

⁶ Sekhiyā dhammā means dhammas to be studied by way of personal discipline consisting of 100 rules but the Pāli list gives only 75 rules.

⁷ Read (i) Minayeff's Edition of the *Prātimokṣa sūtra*, St. Petersburg, Akad, 1869.

(ii) The Pāli Text with a translation and Notes by J. F. Dickson M.A., (J.R.A.S., New Series, 1876).

(iii) A valuable translation of the *Pātimokkha* from Pāli was published in 1839 by Rev. D. J. Gogerly in the *Ceylon Friend*, Vol. III, and was republished in 1862, together with a translation from Chinese by Rev. S. Beal (J.R.A.S., Second Series, Vol. XIX), and

(iv) Pandit Vidhusekhar Shāstrī's Devanāgarī Ed. with a Bengali translation of the *Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha* published in 1323 B.S. may be consulted. Noted wherever necessary are given therein.

⁸ The second book of the *Mahāvagga* contains proceedings of these gatherings.

kkha, which means the Acquittal, or Deliverance or Discharge.”

The Pātimokkha⁹ was composed to be used at such penitential assemblies. It contains a list of offences which require confession and expiation. The Pātimokkha consists of the following sections: (I) Pucchāvissajjanam: interrogatories relating to the requisites for forming a chapter, (II) Nidānam: introductory portion, (III) Pārājikā: four deadly sins, (IV) Saṃghādisesā: the thirteen faults involving temporary separation from the priesthood, (V) Aniyatā dhammā: two undetermined offences, (VI) Nissaggiyā pācittiya dhammā: the thirty faults requiring confession and absolution and involving forfeiture of the article in

⁹ So-sor-thar-pa or a code of Buddhist monastic laws: Being the Tibetan version of *Prātimokṣa* of the Mūla Sarvāstivāda School. Edited and translated by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B. The Tibetan text with an English translation corresponds to *Po-lo-ti-mo-ca* in Chinese or *Pātimokkha* in Pāli which signifies literally “disburdenment of each individual's sins” but includes in fact a complete code of monastic laws. A short summary of the So-sor-that-pa is well received in Tibet. In every respectable monastery it is recited with reverence by the senior Lama on the full-moon and new-moon days. It contains a set of rules to be observed by monks. This book contains 258 rules while the Pāli Pātimokkha, 227 rules. The Pāli Pātimokkha passed through the three Buddhist councils was reduced to writing in Ceylon in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (104-76 B.C.). Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa has given a table to show the correspondence between the rules of the Tibetan So-sor-that-pa and those of the Pāli Pātimokkha. The Tibetan Pātimokkha contains four rules regarding defeat, 13 rules regarding suspension from monkhood, two rules regarding undetermined matters, 30 rules regarding sins which involve forfeiture, 90 rules regarding sins which require expiation, four rules regarding matter to be confessed, seven rules for the settlement of disputes, etc.

An interesting article on *Pātimokkha* by T. W. Rhys Davids is published in Hasting's Ency. of Religion and Ethics, Vol. IX, pp. 675-677. Cf. also E. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, Paris, 1844.

Vide Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 85-88.

There is a glossary on this work called Pātimokkhagaṇṭhi which interprets the laws of the Buddhist priesthood.

Read comparative arrangement of two translations of the Buddhist ritual for the priesthood known as the *Prātimokṣa* or *Pātimokkham* by S. Beal from the Chinese and D.J. Gogerly from the Pāli (J.R.A.S., 1862).

reference to which the offence has been committed, (VII) Pācittiyaḍḍhammā: 92 faults requiring confession and absolution, (VIII) Paṭidesaniyā dhammā: four offences requiring confession, (IX) Sekhiyā dhammā: 72 rules of conduct, (X) Adhikaraṇa-samathā dhammā: seven rules for settling cases. A brief summary of these chapters is given below. The Pātimokkha is rather a register of sins containing 227 articles. The number of the Pātimokkha rules varies in different countries : in Tibet they amount to 253 and in China 250. These articles were read out in the meetings referred to above and the assembled Brothers and Sisters were asked to confess the offences referred to if committed by them. The various offences have been grouped under two main heads —one for the Brothers and the other for the Sisters. The former is called Bhikkhupātimokkha¹⁰ while the latter is named Bhikkhuṇīpātimokkha. In each of these two parts, the offences have been divided into different classes in an unsatisfactory manner.

In the introduction (nidana) to the Pātimokkha we read that on the fifteenth day of the half month, the members of the Saṅgha assembled after performing the Uposatha ceremony, should recite the Pātimokkha which contains various rules of conduct of the Bhikkhus of the Order. The procedure is that each and every set of rules is recited before the Bhikkhus ; and immediately after the recitation, each and every one of them is thrice asked if he is guilty of any of these rules. If any Bhikkhu is guilty he should confess his fault before the assembly. If he has not incurred any such fault, he should remain silent, and his silence will give hint to the presiding Bhikkhu that he is pure.

PĀRĀJIKĀ DHAMMĀ

First of all, the four rules, concerning those acts which bring about defeat should be recited in a meeting of the Saṅgha.

¹⁰ Vide M. Nagai: *Comparaison du Bhikkhu-pātimokkha en chinois et en pāli.*

The four rules, in short, relate to four conditions of defeat in the effort to accomplish the object for which a Bhikkhu has entered the Order. If a Bhikkhu acquires the carnal knowledge of any one, down even to an animal, or takes a thing which is not given him, or deprives or helps to deprive a human being of his life or utters praises of death and self-destruction, or utters a fruitless falsehood with respect to his knowledge and insight, that Bhikkhu falls in defeat, and he is no longer in communion.

SAMGHĀDISESĀ DHAMMĀ

Next, the thirteen matters, which in their earlier as well as in their later stages, require formal meetings of the Order, are recited. If a Bhikkhu emits semen by design, or comes into contact with a woman in touch, words or thought, or acts as a go-between between a man and a woman, he violates a Saṃghādisesa rule. If a Bhikkhu builds for himself or for others as well without the approval of the fellow Bhikkhus a hut or residence on a dangerous site not having any open space around it and exceeding the due measurements, he violates a Saṃghādisesa rule. If a Bhikkhu in harshness, malice or anger harasses another Bhikkhu by a groundless or unimportant charge of having committed a Pārājikā offence, he commits a Saṃghādisesa offence. If a Bhikkhu or Bhikkhus causes or cause or even helps or help to cause a division in a community even after repeated warnings and requests to the contrary, that Bhikkhu or those Bhikkhus transgresses or transgress a Saṃghādisesa rule. If a Bhikkhu refuses to listen to what is spoken to him, or himself speaks to others according to the Dhamma, and insists on such conduct even after repeated requests, the Bhikkhu commits a Saṃghādisesa offence. If a Bhikkhu leads a life hurtful and of bad effect to the faith, and he insists on it even after warnings, he too is guilty of transgressing a Saṃghādisesa rule. If any Bhikkhu is guilty of transgressing any of these rules, he should be on probation for as many days

as he has knowingly concealed his sin. Next, for six further days, he should undergo the Mānatta discipline¹¹ and after that he should be reinstated in a congregation of at least twenty Bhikkhus.

ANIYATĀ DHAMMĀ¹²

The two rules regarding undetermined matters are next recited. If a Bhikkhu takes a seat with a woman in secret suitable for sexual intercourse, and if a trustworthy woman seeing it charges him under one or other of the three rules—the Pārājikā, the Saṁghādisesa, or the Pācittiya—that Bhikkhu, if he acknowledges his offence, should be dealt with accordingly. Even if his seat be such as convenient for addressing wicked and alluring words, and if he is charged under the Saṁghādisesa or Pācittiya rules, he should be dealt with accordingly, in case he acknowledges his offence.

NISSAGGIYĀ PĀCITTIYĀ DHAMMĀ

The thirty Pācittiya Rules involving forfeiture are next recited. If a Bhikkhu keeps a robe even beyond the time limit of ten days after the settlement of the robes and the performance of the Kaṭhina ceremony by the Bhikkhu, or, if he, in similar circumstances, be without his three robes, even for a single night, unless with the permission of the other Bhikkhus, in each

¹¹ Vide *Cullavagga*, II, 6-8. This is the name of some sort of penance or punishment attached to the commission of a Saṁghādisesa offence, mānattam deti or samādiyati means to undergo penance. Mānatta may be either apaṭicchanna, that is, penance for an offence which has been confessed or paṭicchanna, that is, penance for an offence which has been concealed; in the latter case it is combined with parivāsa (Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 235 and *P.T.S. Dictionary*, p. 152).

¹² Aniyato literally means uncertain, doubtful. Aniyatā dhammā means "undetermined offences" because it depends upon circumstances whether they are to be treated as Pārājika, Saṁghādisesa, or Pācittiya (*vide* Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 35).

case he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture. When the robes have been settled and the Kāṭhina ceremony performed by the Bhikkhu, if then a set of insufficient robes is offered to him, he may keep it till the end of a month in course of which he may hope to be supplied with the deficiency. But if he keeps it beyond one month, he commits a Pācittiya offence requiring forfeiture. If a Bhikkhu accepts a robe except in exchange, or has it washed or dyed or beaten by a Bhikkhuṇī not related to him, he commits a similar offence. If a Bhikkhu asks a householder or his wife, not related to him, for a robe, except at the right season, he commits a similar offence. If his asking is granted, he should accept only the just required portion of inner and outer robes ; if he takes more, he commits a similar offence. If a Bhikkhu desirous of a fine robe, makes suggestions to the party or parties concerned for a particular kind of robe according to his wish, he commits a similar offence. If any agent of a Bhikkhu accepts robe-fund (i.e., money) from any lay-devotee to provide his chief (i.e., the Bhikkhu) with robes, then the Bhikkhu concerned may remind his agent, up to the sixth time, that he is in need of a set of robes. If he does not get his robes even then, he should not make any further request ; if he does, he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture.

If a Bhikkhu possesses a rug or mat made of silk¹³ or made of pure black wool of goat's hair, he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture. If a Bhikkhu makes a new rug without taking two parts of pure black wool, the third of white, and the fourth of tawny and if he makes another new rug within a period of six years unless with the permission of the Bhikkhus, in each case, he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture. If a Bhikkhu makes a new seat-rug without taking two parts of pure black wool, the third of white, and the fourth of tawny and if he makes another new rug within a period of six years unless with the permission of the Bhikkhus, in each case, he commits a Pācittiya offence

¹³ Kosiyaṃissakāṃ santhataṃ. The correct spelling is santata meaning a rug or mat.

involving forfeiture. If a Bhikkhu makes a new seat-rug without taking the breadth of the accepted span from all round the old one, if he accepts and then carries himself or with the help of a porter some goat's wool beyond a distance of three leagues, if he gets goat's wool washed, dyed or combed out by a Bhikkhuṇī not related to him, if he receives, directly or indirectly gold or silver or engages himself in any one of the various transactions in which silver is used or in any one of the various kinds of buying and selling then in each case, he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture.

If a Bhikkhu keeps a spare bowl beyond the limit of ten days, or gets another bowl in exchange for an old one broken in less than five places or stores up medicine-ghee, butter, oil, honey, and molasses-beyond the limit of seven days, he commits in each case, a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture. If a Bhikkhu provides himself with materials for robes for the rainy season when more than a month of the hot days has yet to run, or makes and wears them when more than half a month of the summer has yet to run, he commits a similar offence. If a Bhikkhu takes back a set of robes given by him to another Bhikkhu or himself asks for yarn and has it woven by weavers into cloth for a set of robes, he is guilty of the same offence. If a Bhikkhu gives suggestion to a weaver to whom a lay-devotee has given orders for a set of robes to be woven for that particular Bhikkhu, then in that case also he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture for his having given directions to the weaver even before the offer was made. If a Bhikkhu keeps a robe that has fallen to his lot as a special gift, ten days before the full-moon night in the month of Kartic beyond the time when the robes are settled, he commits a similar offence with similar results. If a Bhikkhus separates himself from any one of his three robes beyond the sixth night except by permission from the Bhikkhus, or causes to be diverted to himself any benefit already dedicated to the Saṅgha, in each case he commits a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture.

PĀCITTİYĀ DHAMMĀ¹⁴

If a Bhikkhu tells a deliberate lie or uses abusive language or speaks ill of another Bhikkhu or causes one not received into the higher grade of the Order to recite the Dhamma, clause by clause or lies down to sleep for more than three nights in the same place with one not received into the higher grade of the Order, or lies down in the same place with a woman or preaches the Dhamma in more than five or six words to a woman without a man arrived at years of discretion, or tells one not received into the higher grade of the Order that he or any other Bhikkhu has extraordinary spiritual gifts, or that any other Bhikkhu has fallen into any grave offence or digs the ground or has it dug, then that Bhikkhu commits, in each of these cases, a Pācittiya offence.

If a Bhikkhu exhorts the Bhikkhuṇīs without being deputed thereto or even when deputed does so after sun-set or goes to the dwelling place of the Bhikkhuṇīs to exhort them there except on the right occasion or exhorts them for the sake of gain or gives a robe to a Bhikkhuṇī who is not related to him except in exchange or makes up a robe or has it made up for a Bhikkhuṇī who is not related to him or travels by appointment, along a high road in company with a Bhikkhuṇī except on the right occasion or in similar circumstances goes on board the same boat except for the purpose of crossing over to the other side or knowingly eats food procured by the intervention of a Bhikkhuṇī or takes seat in a secret place with a Bhikkhuṇī —then, in each of these cases, that Bhikkhu commits a Pācittiya offence.

If a Bhikkhu (who is not sick) takes more than one meal at a public rest house or goes in a body to receive a meal except on the right occasion or takes food in turn except on the right occasion or accepts more than two or three bowls full of sweetmeats and cakes when invited to a house to take as much as he likes, or partakes of food that has not been left over, even after he has once finished his meal or after he has finished his meal

¹⁴ Pācittiya means expiatory. There are 92 Pācittiya Dhammā or priestly offences requiring confession and absolution.

again eats food offered by a Bhikkhu desirous of deliberately stirring up longing in him or takes food at the wrong time or eats food that has been put by or takes when he is not sick, ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses, flesh, fish, milk, and curd or places, as food, within the door of his mouth, anything not given to him, save only water and a toothcleaner, then in each of these cases, he commits a Pācittiya offence.

If a Bhikkhu gives with his own hand food to an Acela, or a Paribbājaka, or a Paribbājikā ; or takes in company a Bhikkhu for a meal to the neighbouring village or town, but abruptly sends him away and gets rid of him in order to gain a purpose of his own or forces his way into a house where a meal is going on, or takes a seat in secret with a woman in a concealed place then in each of these cases, he commits a Pācittiya offence. If a Bhikkhu who has already been provided with a meal, goes out without having previously spoken about it to a Bhikkhu, (if there is any one there), goes out a begging either before or after meal-time, except on the right occasion, or accepts a standing invitation with regard to the requisites for more than four months (unless there be a second or perpetual invitation) or goes out to see an army drawn up in battle-array, or to the numbering or drawing up of forces, or to a review while remaining with the army, then in each of these cases, he transgresses a Pācittiya Dhamma.

If a Bhikkhu drinks fermented liquor or strong drinks, or pokes another person with the finger, or sports in the water, or shows disrespect¹⁵ towards a Bhikkhuṇī or frightens a Bhikkhuṇī, or in order to warm himself, kindles a fire without sufficient cause, or takes bath at intervals of less than half-a-month except on the proper occasion, or makes use of a new robe without choosing one or other of the three modes of disfigurement, or continues to make use of a robe, which he has already given over to another Bhikkhu, Bhikkhuṇī Sikkhamāna, Sāmaṇera, or Sāmaṇerī, as a thing not formally given, or hides or causes another to hide a Bhikkhu's absolute belongings, then in each of these cases, he commits a Pācittiya offence.

¹⁵ The Pāli word is *anācariya*.

If a Bhikkhu deliberately deprives any living thing of life or knowingly drinks water with living things in it, or stirs up for decision a matter which has already been settled according to the Dhamma, or conceals a serious offence committed by another Bhikkhu or admits a person under twenty years of age to the higher grade of the Order, or travels, by appointment, with a caravan of robbers, or does so by appointment, with a woman, or brings false accusations against the Blessed One even after repeated warnings and admonitions or eats, dwells, or sleeps with a Bhikkhu who similarly brings false witness against the Blessed One or acts similarly with a novice who has been expelled for bringing in false witness against the Blessed One, then in each of these cases, he commits a Pācittiya offence.

If a Bhikkhu refuses to submit to the admonitions of fellow Bhikkhus in respect of some precepts in accordance with the Dhamma, or disregards precepts of the Pātimokkha, or fails to take the Pātimokkha to heart when it is being recited, and fails to attend to it with care, or being angry or displeased gives a blow, or makes a threatening gesture to another Bhikkhu, or harasses a Bhikkhu with a Saṃghādisesa charge without ground, or intentionally suggests difficulties of conscience to a Bhikkhu with the idea of giving him trouble or overhears other Bhikkhus engaged in disputes or quarrels. Or grumbles about proceedings though he has already declared his consent to formal proceedings according to the Dhamma or rises from his seat and goes away without declaring his consent, when the Saṃgha is conducting a formal enquiry, or grumbles about a robe which he has already given away in a regularly constituted Saṃgha, or knowingly diverts to the use of any individual a property dedicated to the Saṃgha, then in each of these cases, he commits a Pācittiya offence.

If a Bhikkhu crosses without having announced the threshold of an anointed Khattiya King, when the King and the Queen have not gone forth, or picks up or causes another to pick up, except in a grove or in a dwelling place, a jewel or the like, or enters in unearthly hours, a village without having informed a

Bhikkhu (if one is present) except on business, or uses a needle case made of ivory, bone or horn, or makes a new bedstead that exceeds the due measurement, or uses a chair or bedstead stuffed with cotton, or uses a rug or mat-seat not made of the right measurement or a garment for the rainy season not made of the right measurement or an itch-cloth that exceeds the due measurement, or uses a robe that is equal to or larger than the measurement of the robe of the Master, then, in each of these cases, there is a Pācittiya offence.

PATIDESANIYĀ DHAMMĀ¹⁶

The four rules regarding matters which ought to be confessed are next recited. If a Bhikkhu accepts and eats food given by a Bhikkhuni not related to him, that is an offence which he should confess. If a Bhikkhuni stands and gives direction as to serving the dishes to a number of Bhikkhus who are taking a meal, and the Bhikkhus fail to rebuke her, then that is an offence which the Bhikkhus should confess. If a Bhikkhu accepts, without having been previously invited, food with his own hand in a household under discipline, then that is also an offence which ought to be confessed. If a Bhikkhu living in an insecure and dangerous forest-dwelling accepts food with his own hand at his place without having previously given notice of the danger to those who enter the forest, then that too is an offence which ought to be confessed.

SEKHIYĀ DHAMMĀ¹⁷

The rules regarding matters connected with discipline should be next recited.

A Bhikkhu should put on his undergarment and robe all around him. He should go and take his seat properly clad amidst

¹⁶ Paṭidesaniyā means that which ought to be confessed.

¹⁷ Minor precepts regulating the conduct of the priest and applying to his mode of dress, deportment, eating, etc. They are also known as Sekhiyavattam (Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 472).

the houses, with his body under proper control, his eyes down-cast, and his robes not pulled up.

He should not laugh loudly, should make but little sound, and he should not sway his body, arms or head, while going and taking his seat amidst the houses.

He should not put the hands on the hips (i.e., to keep arms not akimbo), or keep his head covered, or walk on his heels or toes, or loll (i.e., make rest with his hands or with a cloth) while going and taking his seat amidst the houses. He should keep his mind alert and receive alms with attention to his bowl and with equal curry and equally full.

He should eat the alms with mind alert and with attention to his bowl. He should beg straight on from house to house and eat the alms placed in his bowl with equal curry, but without pressing down from the top. He should not cover the curry or condiment with the rice in order to make it nice. He should neither ask curry nor rice for his own particular use (unless he is sick), nor should he with envious thoughts look at others' bowls. He should make his food into round mouthfulls and not into too large balls.

He should not open his mouth till the foodball is brought close, nor should he put his whole hand into the mouth. He should not talk while the food is in his mouth, nor should he toss the food into his mouth. He should eat without nibbling at the balls of food, without stuffing his cheeks, without shaking his hands about, without scattering the lumps of boiled rice, without putting out his tongue, and finally without smacking his lips.

He should eat further without making a hissing sound and without licking his fingers or his bowl or his lips. He should not take hold of the water-jar with a hand soiled with food, nor throw into the inner court the rinsings of the bowl mixed with lumps of boiled rice. He should not preach the Dhamma to a person with a sunshade or a staff, or a sword, or a weapon in his hand (unless he is sick).

He should not preach the Dhamma also to a person wearing slippers or sandals, or seated in a cart, or lying on a couch,

or lolling, or with a turban on his head, or with his head otherwise covered unless he is sick. He should not preach the Dhamma himself seated on the earth, or on a low seat, or standing, to a person who is respectively seated on a seat, or on a high seat, or sitting (unless he is sick).

He who is walking behind or by the side of the path, should not preach the Dhamma to a person who is walking respectively in front of him or walking on a path unless he is sick.

He should not ease himself standing on growing grass or into water.

All these are rules of discipline which ought to be observed.

THE ADHIKARAṆA-SAMATHĀ DHAMMĀ

The seven rules regarding the settlement of cases are next recited.

They are:

- (1) Proceeding in presence (Sammukhāvinaya).
- (2) Proceeding for the consciously innocent (Sati vinaya)
- (3) Proceeding in the case of those who are no longer out of their mind (Amūḷha vinaya).
- (4) Proceeding on confession of guilt (Paṭiññāya).
- (5) Proceeding by majority of the Chapter (Yebhuyyasikā).
- (6) Proceeding for the obstinate (Tissapāpiyyasikā).
- (7) Proceeding by covering over as with grass (Tiṇavatthāraka).

These are the words of the Blessed One handed down in the suttas, and they should be recited every half-month. All Bhikkhus are fully expected to train themselves accordingly in concord, in pleasantness and without dispute.

(2) The Khandhakas or Treatises in set fragments comprise two divisions:

- (i) The Mahāvagga and (ii) The Cullavagga.

The Mahāvagga¹⁸ is the greater division. It gives in the first

¹⁸ Read C. Bendall, *Notes and Queries on passages in the Mahāvagga*. J.P.T.S., 1883.

chapter in a dignified archaic language an account of Gautama's attainment of enlightenment, determination of preaching the law and his winning the first disciples. The first sermon of the Buddha at Benares, the well-known Fire Sermon and the ordination of Rāhula are also related herein. This book lays down rules for admission into the order, the observance of the Uposatha ceremony and the Pātimokkha, the place of residence during the rainy season, the observance of the Pavāraṇā ceremony,¹⁹ foot-clothing, seats, conveyances, dress, etc. It prescribes rules for the determination of the validity and invalidity of the formal acts of the Saṅgha, and for the restoration of order in the Saṅgha. Certain medicines for certain specified diseases are also prescribed herein for the bhikkhus. "We obtain quite incidentally", says Rhys Davids, "a very fair insight into a good deal of the medical lore current at that early period, that is about 400 B.C., in the valley of the Ganges. It is a pity that the current authorities on the history of law and medicine have entirely ignored the details obtainable from these ancient books of Buddhist Canon Law."²⁰

It is worth mentioning here that in the Mahāvagga we find evidence of the existence of an "ancient commentary" on which has been based the Suttavibhaṅga. The "ancient commentary" was a word for word commentary on the Pātimokkha rules without relating why, when, where and concerning whom the said rules were formulated by the Master. These have been later on included in the Suttavibhaṅga. Hence the Suttavibhaṅga is an improvement on the ancient commentary which is found verbatim in the above work. The Mahāvagga refers to Buddha's stay at Uruvelā on the banks of the river Nerañjarā just after he had become Sambuddha and it relates the account of the events which happened under the Bodhi tree. Then it describes what passed under the Ajapāla tree, the Mucalinda tree and the Rājāyatana tree. It gives us the account of the conversion of Tapussa and

¹⁹ It is the name of the festival held at the end of the Buddhist vassa or lent.

²⁰ Rhys Davids, *American Lectures on the history of Religions, Buddhism, its history and literature*, pp. 57-58.

Bhallika into Buddhism by the Buddha. This account has to say nothing about the three weeks immediately following the period spent under the great Bo-tree. The omission may however be due to incompleteness of the text itself. From the conversion of Tapussa and Bhallika, the thread of narrative runs to give an account of the meeting of the Buddha with Upaka, the Ājīvaka, on his way to Benares via the city of Gayā, and of the preaching of the first sermon in the well-renowned Deer Park near Benares and the conversion of the first five disciples Aññakondañña, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Assaji, and Mahānāma. It records the history of the conversion of Yasa. Māra²¹ approached the Buddha and had a conversation with him. Hearing the utterances of the Buddha, he vanished. Buddha converted three Jaṭila brothers, Uruvela Kassapa, Nadi Kassapa, and Gayā Kassapa. An account of the ordination of Sāriputta and Moggallāna is given in it. Duties towards an upājjhāya (preceptor) and a saddhivihārika (fellow priest) are detailed in it. In the account of Jivaka Kōmārabhacca given in the Mahāvagga, we read that five diseases prevailed among the Magadhans, leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, and fits. The people affected with these five diseases went to Jivaka who used to treat King Bimbisāra of Magadha and the members of the royal family. The Mahāvagga furnishes us with an interesting account of Upāli. Besides, there are various other topics discussed in it, e.g. ten precepts for novices, regulations for the Upasampadā or ordination, Uposatha ceremonies, and the recital of the Pātimokkha by the bhikkhus, the residence during the rainy season (vassa).

Soṇa Kōlīvisa was ordained by the Buddha who instructed him to use shoes having one lining. He had eighty cart-loads of gold and a retinue of seven elephants. The bhikkhus were instructed by the Buddha not to wear shoes having edges of a blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange or yellowish colour.

²¹ Vide Dr. B.C. Law's *Buddhist Conception of Māra* published in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference held at Madras. Vide also J. Przyluski, *La place de Māra dans la mythologie bouddhique*, pp. 483-493, J.A., Vol. ccx January-March, pp. 115-123.

Shoes with heel-coverings are not to be worn by the bhikkhus. The bhikkhus are not to wear shoes in the open ārāma. Wooden shoes²² are not to be worn by them. Foot coverings made of tālipat leaves are not to be worn. Shoes made of tina-grass; muñja-grass, etc. are not to be used. The bhikkhus are allowed to use three kinds of clogs fixed to the ground, e.g. privy-clogs, urinal-clogs, and rinsing clogs. Calves should not be killed by them. The bhikkhus are allowed to use a sedan chair. Lofty and large things to recline upon are not to be used by them. Some skins, e.g. lion, tiger, panther, for skins are not to be used. The bhikkhus are allowed to sit down on seats arranged by laymen but not to lie down on them. They are allowed to have bath constantly in all the border countries which are situated beyond Mahāsāla, beyond the river Salalavatī, beyond Thuna²³ and beyond Usīradhaja.²⁴ Shoes with thick linings are allowed for the bhikkhus to use in all these border countries. The Mahāvagga prescribes the five medicaments, e.g. ghee, butter, oil, honey, and molasses. The bhikkhus are permitted to use them at the right time and at other times. The bhikkhus are allowed to use the fat of bears, fish, alligators, swine, and asses if received at the right time, cooked at the right time, mixed at the right time, to be partaken of with oil. The use of certain roots as medicines are allowed for the bhikkhus—turmeric, ginger, orris root, white orris root, ativisa, black hellebore, usira root, bhaddamuttaka. The use of astringent decoctions as medicine is allowed—nimba, pakkava,²⁵ nattamāla, kuṭaja,²⁶ etc. The use of leaves and fruits as medicines is allowed, e.g. leaves of nimba, tulasi, kappasika, etc., pippala, haritaka, āmalaka, etc. The use of gums and salts is allowed as medicines, hiṅgu, sipāṭikā, etc., sea-salt, black salt, rock salt, red-salt, etc. The use of raw flesh and blood is permissible in case of disease. The use of eye ointments is permissible.

²² Kaṭṭhapādukā — *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. I, p. 189.

²³ A brahmin village in the Majjhimadesa (*Jātaka*, Vol. VI, pp. 62, 65).

²⁴ A pabbata in the Majjhimadesa.

²⁵ A kind of creeper.

²⁶ An antidote to dysentery.

The bhikkhus are allowed the use of a little oil on the head, use of a double bag, a decoction of oil. The practice of taking medicine through the nose is permissible. The bhikkhus are allowed the use of three kinds of pots, e.g. bronze pots, wooden pots, and pots made of the shells of fruits. They are allowed the use of hot baths in water in which the medicinal herbs have been steeped. The use of artificial and natural juice is allowed. The bhikkhus can cook in-doors. No surgical operation is to be performed within a distance of two inches round the anus and a clyster is not to be used. The bhikkhus are not to eat elephants' flesh, dogs' flesh, serpents' flesh, lions' flesh, and hyenas' flesh. They are to take rice-milk and honey-lumps. The Mahāvagga gives us an idea of the dress of the bhikkhus and it describes the Kathina ceremonies. The bhikkhus are allowed the use of a mantle, silk mantle, and woollen garments. They are also allowed the use of a dye-ladle or a scoop with a long handle and they can have the use of a trough for dyeing cloth in. The bhikkhus can use an under-robe of torn pieces, an upper-robe of torn pieces, and a waist cloth of torn pieces. They are allowed the use of garments for the rainy season, the use of mat, the use of an itch-cloth when the bhikkhus have the itch and the use of a cloth to wipe the faces with. There is a chapter dealing with validity and invalidity of formal acts of the Saṅgha. If an act is unlawful and performed by an incomplete congregation, such an act is objectionable and invalid on account of its unlawfulness and of incompleteness of the congregation. An official act which requires the presence of four persons if performed by a congregation in which a bhikkhuṇī is the fourth is no real act and ought not to be performed. An account of the schisms of the Saṅgha is given in the Mahāvagga.

It will be interesting to note that the Mahāvagga in presenting a systematic history of the developments of the Buddhist Order only records a few episodes in the life of the Buddha. It leaves the life of Siddhārtha out of account and starts the history just from the Buddhahood of Gautama. The justification for the inclusion of such a life history of the Buddha seems to be this that with the Buddhists, the whole set of laws regulating their life

and conduct derived their authority from the Buddhahood and personality of the Master.

(ii) The Cullavagga is the smaller division. In it is found a number of edifying anecdotes, all connected with the life of the Buddha and history or constitution of the Order. It contains twelve khandhas. The first nine chapters deal with disciplinary proceedings, different offences and expiations, settlement of disputes among the fraternity, the daily life of the bhikkhus, residence, furniture, duties of bhikkhus towards one another, and the exclusion from the Pātimokkha ceremony. The tenth chapter describes the duties of the nuns. The last two chapters, eleventh and twelfth, furnish us with an account of the first two councils of Rājagaha²⁷ and Vesālī and are regarded as later supplements. The rules are generally preceded by a history of the occasion on which the Buddha was supposed to have made them.

The Cullavagga deals with the 12 cases of a proceeding (Kamma) which is against the law and 12 cases of a proceeding which is according to law. There are six permissible cases of Tajjaniya kamma (act of rebuke). A bhikkhu against whom the Tajjaniya kamma has been carried out, ought to conduct himself aright. He ought to confer upasampadā or ordination; he ought not to provide himself with a sāmaṇera or a novice, he ought not to accept the office of giving exhortation to the nuns and if he has accepted the office, he ought not to exhort the nuns. There are eighteen duties which follow on a Tajjaniya kamma and there are 18 cases in which there ought to be no revocation of the Tajjaniya kamma and there are 18 cases in which there ought to be a revocation.

Pabbājaniya kamma (act of excommunication) has been carried out by the Saṃghā against those bhikkhus who are followers of Assaji and Punabbasu to the effect that those bhikkhus who are followers of Assaji and Punabbasu are not to dwell on the Kiṭā Hill. The Saṃgha approves of it.

²⁷ Vide Przyluski's *Le Concile de Rājagaha*, 1928. It is an interesting and instructive treatise on the subject. Mrs. Rhys Davids in the 19th section of her *Sākyā or Buddhist Origins* has ably discussed Buddhist councils, pp. 348 foll.

There are three kinds of bhikkhus against whom the Saṅgha, if it likes, should carry out the Pabbājaniya kamma, that is to say, one who is frivolous in action, in speech, and both in action and speech.

There are acts of reconciliation (paṭisāraṇiya kamma). "The paṭisāraṇiya kamma has been carried out against the bhikkhu Sudhamma with the words, 'You are to ask and obtain pardon of Citta, the householder'. The Saṅgha approves the motion. There are five kinds of bhikkhus against whom the Saṅgha, if it likes, should carry out the paṭisāraṇiya kamma, that is to say, one who goes about to bring loss on the laity, etc."

There are acts of suspension for not acknowledging, and for not atoning for an offence. Channa, the bhikkhu, has been subjected by the Saṅgha to the Ukkhepaṇiya kamma (act of suspension) for not acknowledging a fault.

There are 18 cases in which a revocation of the Ukkhepaṇiya kamma on not renouncing a sinful doctrine should be carried out.

If a meeting of four bhikkhus, of whom one is a probationer, should place a bhikkhu on probation or throw him back to the beginning of his probationary course, or subject him to the mānatta discipline or if a meeting of 20 bhikkhus, of whom one is a probationer, should rehabilitate a bhikkhu, that is an invalid act and need not be obeyed.

There are three ways of interruption of the probationary period of a bhikkhu who has been placed under probation. The bhikkhu who has been placed under probation is to go up to a single bhikkhu and arranging his robe on one shoulder and squatting down on his heels and stretching forth his hands with the palms together, he is to say "I take my probation again upon myself". Then the probation is resumed or he is to say "I take the duties of a probationer upon myself again". Then also is the probation resumed.

The bhikkhus are to follow three kammavācās, one for the throwing back, one for the inclusive probation, and one for the new mānatta.

There are proceedings on the breach of the first Saṅghādisesa. Let the Saṅgha impose upon the bhikkhu a probation for a further month for those two Saṅghādisesa offences concealed for two months. If a bhikkhu while he is undergoing probation, becomes a Sāmaṇera, there can happen no probation to him so long as he is a Sāmaṇera.

There are 36 cases of fresh offences being committed whilst under probation.

If a bhikkhu who is undergoing probation is guilty meanwhile of a number of Saṅghādisesa offences and concealing them throws off the robes and he, when he has again received the upasampadā, does not conceal those offences —the bhikkhu ought to be thrown back to the commencement of his term of probation and an inclusive probation ought to be imposed upon him corresponding to the period which has elapsed since the first offence among those offences which he has concealed.

There are nine principal cases in which a bhikkhu is not purified by undergoing a term of probation.

The bhikkhus assembled in the Saṅgha were unable to settle the disputed question (that was brought before them) since they became violent, quarrelsome and disputatious and kept on wounding one another with sharp words. They were allowed to settle such a dispute by the vote of the majority.

There are four kinds of legal questions requiring formal settlement by the Saṅgha, that is to say, legal questions arising out of (1) disputes, (2) censure, (3) offences, and (4) business.

The bhikkhus are allowed to appoint on the jury a bhikkhu possessed of ten qualities. There are three ways of taking votes—the secret method, the whispering method, and the open method. A bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to make the voting tickets of different colours and as each bhikkhu comes up to him he is to say to him thus, "This is the ticket for the man of such an opinion ; this is the ticket for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like." When he has chosen (he is to add) "Don't show it to anybody". If he ascertains that those whose opinion is against the dhamma are in the majority, he is to re-

ject the votes as wrongly taken. If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the dhamma are in the majority, he is to report the votes as well taken. This is the secret method of taking the votes.

A bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to whisper in each bhikkhu's ear, "This is the ticket of those of such an opinion ; this is the ticket of those of such an opinion. Take whichever you like." When he has chosen (he is to add) "Don't tell anybody (which way you have voted)". If he ascertains that those whose opinion is against the dhamma are in the majority, he is to reject the votes as wrongly taken. If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the dhamma are in the majority, he is to report the votes as well taken. This is the whispering method of taking the votes.

If a bhikkhu ascertains (beforehand) that those whose opinion is in accordance with the dhamma are in the majority, the vote is to be taken undisguisedly, openly. This is the open method of taking the votes.

The bhikkhus are not to wear long hair. They are not to smooth the hair with a comb. They are allowed the ordinary mode of shampooing with the hand. They are not to look at the image of their faces in a looking-glass or a bowl of water ; but they are allowed to do so only when they are ill. They are not to anoint their faces nor to rub ointment, etc. into their faces. They are not to go to see dancing, or singing, or music. They are not to wear woollen cloth with long fleece to it. They are not to put away their bowls with water in them. They are allowed to dry their bowls for a short time in a warm place and then to put them away. They are allowed the use of a mat made of grass, the use of a small cloth, the use of bags to carry their bowls in. They are not to put their bowls on the bed or on a chair. They are not to keep their bowls on their laps. They are not to put them down on a sunshade. They are not to open the door with their bowls in their hands. They are allowed the use of a blade and of a sheath (for the blade) made of felt. They can use needles and needlecase made of bamboo. They are allowed the use of a

grass-mat, false threads, a box or drawer in the workshop. The bhikkhus are allowed to line the basement of a hall or a shed with facing of three kinds-brick facing, stone facing, and wooden facing ; the use of stairs of three kinds-brick stairs, stone stairs, and wooden stairs and the use of a balustrade. They are allowed to provide a railing for the cloister. They are allowed to face round the lower half of the wall with bricks. The use of a chimney is allowed. They are allowed the use of clay to spread over their faces, if their faces are scorched. A trough can be used by the bhikkhus to moisten the clay in. They are allowed to lay the floor with flooring of 3 kinds-brick flooring, stone flooring, and wooden flooring. The use of a drain to carry off the water is allowed. The use of stools for the bathroom is allowed. They are allowed to enclose the bathroom with three kinds of enclosures-brick walls, stone walls, and wooden fences. The bhikkhus can have an antechamber in the bathroom. Outlet in the antechamber of the bathroom is also allowed. The hall to the bathroom is allowed. Water vessels of three kinds can be used-brass pots, wooden pots, and skins. The bhikkhus are allowed to make use of a towel and to wipe the water off with a cloth. They are allowed a tank. A stand for the bowl can be used. The bhikkhus are allowed the use of small jars and brooms, the use of fans and flower-stands, and the use of mosquito-fans. They are allowed to cut their nails according to the length of the flesh. They are allowed the use of razors, of a stone to sharpen the razors on, of powder prepared with sipātika-gum to prevent them rusting, of a sheath to hold them in, and of all the apparatus of a barber. They are not to have their beards cut by barbers, not to let them grow long nor to wear them long on the chin like a goat's beard. They are allowed the use of an instrument to remove the wax from the ear. They are allowed the use of a loom and of shuttles, strings, tickets, and all the apparatus belonging to a loom. They are not to wear their under-garments arranged as laymen do, nor to wear upper-garments as the laymen do. Tooth-sticks four finger-breadths long at the least are allowed. They are allowed to eat onions when diseased. They are not to follow

manifold evil practices. Abodes of five kinds are allowed for the bhikkhus, e.g. vihāras, addhayogas,²⁸ storied dwellings, attics, and caves. Bedsteads made of laths of split bamboo are allowed. A rectangular chair, an arm-chair, a sofa, a sofa with arms to it, a state chair, a cushioned chair, a chair raised on a pedestal, a chair with many legs, a board (to recline on), a cane-bottomed chair, a straw-bottomed chair are also allowed. Supports to bedsteads are allowed to the bhikkhus. Pillows half the size of a man's head and bolsters of five kinds are allowed ; use in the vihāras of whitewash, black colouring, and red colouring is allowed. Curtains can be used. Chambers in shape like a palankeen, chambers in shape like a quart measure, chambers on an upper storey, pins in the wall and bone hooks are allowed ; verandahs, covered terraces, inner verandahs, and overhanging eaves are allowed. A service hall, a water-room, and a watershed are allowed. The bhikkhus are enjoined upon that paying of reverence, rising up in reverence, salutation, proper respect, and apportionment of the best seat, and water and food, shall be according to seniority. But property belonging to the Saṅgha shall not be exclusively appropriated according to seniority. The bhikkhus are to sit down on seats arranged by laymen excepting three, namely, large cushions, divans, and mattresses but not to lie down upon them. The bhikkhus are allowed to appoint a bhikkhu possessed of five qualifications as an apportioner of lodging places. They are allowed the use of stuffed couches after having broken off the legs. There are rules authorising the fraternity to place a vihāra in charge of an individual monk temporarily while it is under construction. The bhikkhus are allowed to barter either of these things in order to increase the stock of legally permissible furniture. They are allowed to appoint a bhikkhu as distributor of lodging places.

There are regulations as to the duties of the bhikkhus towards one another. If the resident bhikkhu be senior, he ought to be saluted ; if junior he ought to be made to salute (the

²⁸ Name of a sort of house which is said to be a house shaped like a garuḍa bird.

incomer). If a vihāra be unoccupied, he ought to knock at the door, then to wait a minute, then to undo the bolt, and open the door and then still standing outside, to look within. If the vihāra is covered with cobwebs, they should first be removed with a cloth. If the cell or the storeroom or the refectory, or the room where the fire is kept, or the privy, is covered with dust, it should be swept out. If there is no drinking water, or water for washing, they should be provided. If there is no water in the rinsing-pot, water should be poured in. The bhikkhus are allowed to leave the hall, if necessary, after informing the bhikkhu sitting immediately next. The bhikkhus are allowed to recite the Pātimokkha to the bhikkhus. They are allowed to tell bhikkhuṇīs how to recite the Pātimokkha. They must tell bhikkhuṇīs how they should confess their faults. They are allowed to receive the confession of a fault from bhikkhuṇīs. A bhikkhuṇī is not to wear robes that are all of a blue, light yellow, crimson, black, brownish-yellow or dark yellow colour.

A bhikkhuṇī is not to assault a bhikkhu.

The bhikkhus are to take seats according to seniority.

The bhikkhus are allowed the use of a carriage which is given to a sick bhikkhuṇī. A bhikkhuṇī is not to adopt the forest life. The bhikkhus are allowed the use of a stable. A separate residence for bhikkhuṇīs is allowed. The building operations are to be carried on for the benefit of the bhikkhuṇīs. Certain places are assigned to live in to individual members of the Order. Bhikkhuṇīs are not to bathe in a steam bath. A bhikkhuṇī is not to bathe at a place which is not a common bathing place. She is not to bathe at a bathing place used by men. She is not to bathe against the stream.

Bhikkhuṇīs and therīs were exempted from all sorts of punishment for any offence committed before entering the Order. Once a Licchavi wife committed adultery. Her husband resolved to kill her, so she went to Sāvattihī and succeeded in getting herself ordained by a bhikkhuṇī. Her husband came to Sāvattihī, saw her ordained, and complained to King Pasenadi of Kosala. He also informed the King that his wife had become a bhikkhuṇī.

The King said that as she had become a bhikkhuṇī, no punishment could be inflicted on her (Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga, *Samghādisesa*; II, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. IV, p. 225).

Conditions for entering the Order

There were eight conditions on which a woman could enter the Order. The conditions are as follows:

(1) A bhikkhuṇī even if she is of a hundred years standing shall pay respects to a new bhikkhu.

(2) A bhikkhuṇī must not spend the lent in a district in which there is no bhikkhu.

(3) Every half month a bhikkhuṇī must ask the bhikkhu-saṅgha as to the date of the Uposatha ceremony, and the time when the bhikkhu will come to give the exhortation.

(4) After the expiry of the lent, a bhikkhuṇī is to hold Pavāraṇā (to enquire whether any fault can be laid to her charge) before both the bhikkhu and the bhikkhuṇīsaṅghas in respect of what she has seen, heard, or thought of.

(5) A bhikkhuṇī is to undergo the mānatta discipline towards both the Saṅghas if any serious offence is committed.

(6) A bhikkhuṇī shall ask for upasampadā from both the Saṅghas after she has learnt six precepts for two years.

(7) A bhikkhuṇī must not abuse or speak ill of any bhikkhu.

(8) A bhikkhuṇī must not talk with a bhikkhu but a bhikkhu can give instructions to a bhikkhuṇī (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. II, p. 255).

The rules for the guidance of a bhikkhuṇīsaṅgha

The bhikkhuṇīsaṅgha has several rules which the bhikkhuṇīs are required to abide by. The rules, as will be evident from their character, are very strict. They are as follows:

(1) A bhikkhuṇī must not collect more than one alms bowl in a vihāra.

(2) A thing asked for by a bhikkhuṇī from any upāsaka or upāsikā cannot be taken in exchange for another thing.

(3) The thing given to a bhikkhuṇī for a purpose must be used by her for that purpose only.

(4) A bhikkhuṇī cannot ask for anything, the value of which is more than 16 kahāpaṇas from any person although she is requested by the person to ask for something from him.

(5) She must not take any white onion.

(6) She must not accept paddy.

(7) She should not throw impurities on the road through the window and also in the field.

(8) She should not attend to dancing, singing, and instrumental music.

(9) She should not talk with any person alone in the dark.

(10) She should not sit and talk with any man in a covered place.

(11) She should not do so even in moonlight by sitting on the meadow when there are no other persons.

(12) She should not talk with any man alone in the public street or cross roads where there are crows.

(13) She should not go away from the house where she gets her food daily without taking permission from the head of the house.

(14) She should not sit or lie down in a house where she enters in the afternoon without taking permission from the head of the house.

(15) She cannot curse anybody.

(16) She cannot take her bath being naked.

(17) Two bhikkhuṇīs cannot lie on the same bed and cannot cover their bodies with the same covering.

(18) If a bhikkhuṇī fall ill, the companion bhikkhuṇī should nurse her or cause her to be nursed by others.

(19) A bhikkhuṇī should not drive out or cause to be driven out another bhikkhuṇī to whom she has given shelter.

(20) She should not associate herself with a householder or householder's son.

(21) She should walk around with weapons within her own country in times of fear of robbers, dacoits, and other wicked persons.

(22) During the lent she must not travel from place to place.

(23) After lent she must not stay in the vihāra.

(24) A bhikkhuṇī must not go to see a palace, royal-garden, picture-gallery, pleasure-garden, garden-tank having beautiful flowers, etc.

(25) She must not enjoy a valuable couch or a beautiful bedstead.

(26) She must not serve a householder.

(27) She must not give food with her own hands to a householder, a paribbājaka or a paribbājikā.

(28) She must not leave her dwelling place without placing it in charge of any other bhikkhuṇī.

(29) She must not learn any art for her livelihood.

(30) She must not teach any art to anybody.

(31) She must not enter any hermitage where a bhikkhu dwells not having taken the necessary permission.

(32) She must not abuse a bhikkhu.

(33) she must not take food beforehand when invited to take food in another's place.

(34) She must not be attached to any particular family.

(35) She must not spend the lent in a hermitage having no bhikkhu.

(36) She must go to take instructions from a bhikkhu.

(37) She must not make any female her disciple who has not received her parents' consent to give up household life.

(38) She must not go in a conveyance when fit.

(39) She must not put on ornaments and take her bath in perfumed water.

(40) She must not take her seat in the presence of a bhikkhu without his permission.

(41) She must not put any question without taking the bhikkhu's permission.

(42) She is prohibited from going out alone at night.

(43) The bhikkhuṇīs should learn the precepts common to the bhikkhus and bhikkhuṇīs, and the precepts specially meant for the bhikkhuṇīs, and the precepts specially meant for the bhikkhus should be learnt by the bhikkhuṇīs (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, II, p. 258).

(44) The bhikkhuṇīs should not wilfully touch the bodies of laymen. They are also prohibited to touch the bodies of the bhikkhus with lustful thoughts (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, IV, pp. 220-221).

(45) In all assemblies where there is a sāmaṇerī or a bhikkhuṇī, the Pātimokka should not be recited and also in the Pavāraṇā ceremony (*V.P.*, I, p. 167).

The *Vinaya Piṭaka* informs us that a robe once given to a bhikkhuṇī should not be taken back (Vol. IV, p. 247).

The bhikkhuṇīs should not be saluted by the bhikkhus (*V.P.*, II, pp. 257-258).

The bhikkhuṇīs should not help a bhikkhuṇī who is excommunicated by the Saṅgha.

Violation of Order

A bhikkhuṇī who knowingly hides any pārājikā offence of any other bhikkhuṇī, is also guilty of pārājikā.

If a bhikkhuṇī follows a bhikkhu excommunicated by the bhikkhusaṅgha, she will be guilty of pārājikā.

A bhikkhuṇī cannot bring any suit against any householder, or householder's son, slave, employee, even samaṇa or pari-bbājaka. If she does so, she will be guilty of Saṅghādisesa offence.

If a person with evil motive sends presents to any bhikkhuṇī and if she knowingly accepts them, the bhikkhuṇī will be guilty of Saṅghādisesa offence.

Buddha's prediction on the effect of the admittance of women into Order

"If, Ānanda, women had not received permission to go out from the household life and enter the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata,²⁹ then would the pure religion, Ānanda, have lasted long, the good

²⁹ It means one who has trodden the right path. *Vide* Lord Chalmers, *Tathāgata*, J.R.A.S., 1898, 391 foll. It is indeed an useful article. See also Prof. Walleser's learned article on the origin of the Tathāgata published in the *Journal*, Taisho Univ., 1930.

law would have stood fast for a thousand years. But since, Ānanda, women have now received that permission, the pure religion, Ānanda, will not now last long, the good law will now stand fast for only five hundred years. Just, Ānanda, as houses in which there are many women and but few men are easily violated by robbers or burglars, just so, Ānanda, under whatever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go out from the household life into the homeless state, that religion will not last long. And just, Ānanda, as when the disease called mildew falls upon a field of rice in fine condition, that field of rice does not continue long ; just so, Ānanda, under whatsoever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go forth from the household life into the homeless state, that religion will not last long. And just, Ānanda, as when the disease called blight falls upon a field of sugar-cane does not continue long ; just so, Ānanda, under whatsoever doctrine and discipline women are allowed to go forth from the household life into the homeless state, that religion does not last long. And just, Ānanda, as a man would in anticipation build an embankment to a great reservoir, beyond which the water should not overpass ; just even so, Ānanda, have I in anticipation laid down eight chief rules for the bhikkhuṇīs, their life long not to be overpassed (*Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., pt. III, pp. 325-326).

Buddha's prediction was fulfilled when many troubles arose on account of the frequent meetings between the bhikkhus and the bhikkhuṇīs, and the bhikkhuṇīs and the lay people as we find in the case of Thullanandā and Dabba the Mallian, and also Abhirūpanandā and Sālho, grandson of Migāra, the banker of Sāvattī (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, IV, p. 211).

(3) The Parivārapāṭha is a digest of the other parts of the Vinaya and consists of nineteen chapters. It appears to be of later origin, being probably the work of a Ceylonese monk. It is a manual of instruction in the Vinaya Piṭaka. In some stanzas which are found at the end of the Parivārapāṭha, it is stated to have been composed by "the highly wise, learned, and skilful Dīpa, after he had inquired here and there into the methods

(literally the way) followed by former teachers.”³⁰ “It is a very interesting bit of evidence,” says Rhys Davids, “on early methods of education.” Readers are referred to the introduction to the Vinaya Texts translated from the Pāli by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg. The introduction is a learned review of the whole of the Vinaya Texts.

(4) The Pātimokkha (vide *ante* in the section on the Sutta-vibhaṅga).

In the Colombo Museum the following manuscripts are available:

1. Pārājika (Burmese and Sinhalese characters).
2. Pācittiya (Burmese and Sinhalese characters).
3. Mahāvagga (Burmese and Sinhalese characters).
4. Cullavagga (Burmese and Sinhalese characters).
5. Parivārapāṭha (Burmese and Sinhalese characters).

Khuddakasikkhā and Mūlasikkhā which are the mediaeval compendiums of the Vinaya have been edited by E. Muller in the J.P.T.S., 1883. They are mostly in verse, a few passages being given in prose. It is difficult to say anything about the date of these works. The language is more modern than that of the Mahāvamsa. It deals with the four pārājikās, monk's garments, pavāraṇā festival, alms-bowl, pācitti, kamma, kāyabandhana, requisites of a monk, instructions, uposatha ceremony, suddhi, etc.

³⁰ Pubbācariyamaggañ ca pucchitvā va tahiṃ tahiṃ Dīpa nāma mahāpañño sutadharo vicakkhano imañ vitthārasamkhepañ sajjhāmaggena majjhime cintayitvā likhāpesi sissakānañ sukhāvahaṃ (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. V, p. 226).

Section II. Sutta Piṭaka

As the Vinaya Piṭaka is the best source of information relating to the ancient Buddhist Order and the monk-life, so also is the Sutta Piṭaka or "the Basket of Discourses", the main source for the Doctrine of the Buddha as expounded in argument and dialogues and also for that of his earliest disciples. The Sutta Piṭaka contains prose dialogues, legends, pithy sayings, and verses. It contains, in prose and verse, the most important products of Buddhist literature grouped in five collections named nikāyas. The first four of these consists of suttas or discourses which are either speeches of the Buddha or dialogues in prose occasionally diversified by verses. These four are cognate and homogeneous in character. A number of suttas reappear in two or more of them. There is little difference in the doctrines they contain. The same mode of discussion prevails in these nikāyas.

The Sutta Piṭaka is divided into five nikāyas, 1. Dīgha, 2. Majjhima, 3. Saṃyutta, 4. Aṅguttara, and 5. Khuddaka.

A. DĪGHA NIKĀYA

The Dīgha Nikāya¹ or Dīghāgama or Dīgha Saṃgaha is the first book of the Sutta Piṭaka and is a collection of long discourses. It is divided into three parts, (i) Sīlakkhandha, (ii) Mahāvagga,

¹ The P.T.S. editions, Vols. I and II by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter and Vol. III by J. E. Carpenter ; *Dīgha Nikāya* published by W. A. Samarasekars, Colombo, 1904.

The Chinese Dīghāgama Sūtra is to be compared with the Pāli text of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, collection of long suttas, 34 in number.

and (iii) Pātheya or Pāṭikavagga. It contains thirty-four suttas, each of which deals fully with one or several points of Buddhist doctrine. The first of these suttas is called the Brahmajāla Sutta which may be translated as the 'excellent net'. Prof. Rhys Davids explains it as the 'perfect net' or the net whose meshes are so fine that no folly of superstition, however subtle, can slip through.² Be it noted that in the Sutta itself the Buddha is represented as suggesting other alternative titles such as athajāla, dhammajāla,

The following six sūtras included in the Dīrghāgama Sūtra [the sūtra: on the four castes, on the Edottara (dharma), on the Trirāsi (-dharma), on (the city) 0—tho—i (?), on the pureness of practice, and on the record of the world] seem not to be given in the Pāli text, or at least with different titles. At the same time, the following ten suttas seem to be left out in the Dīghāgama Sūtra : Mahāli Suttanta, Jāliya Suttanta, Subha Sutta, Mahāsu-dassana Sutta (this is, however, found in the Chinese Madhyamāgama Sūtra), Mahāsatipatṭhāna Sutta, Pāṭika Sutta, Aggañña Suttanta, Pāsādika Sutta, Lakkhaṇa Suttanta, and Āṭṭhānāyika Sutta (see Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, pp. 135-138).

Read *The Relation of the Chinese Āgamas to the Pāli Nikāyas* (correspondence, J.R.A.S., 1901) by Dr. Anesaki—The materials of both are much the same but the arrangement is different. The author has cited the following comparisons, e.g. Kosalasāmyutta, Mārasāmyutta, Bhikkhuṇīsāmyutta, Vaṅṅīsāmyutta. The Mahāparinibbāna, which is the 16th suttanta in the Pāli Dīgha, is the 2nd in the Chinese. The names mentioned in the Chinese remind us of some of the scriptures mentioned in the Asokan inscriptions. *Vide* also *The Chinese Nikāyas* by A. J. Edmonds, published in the *Buddhist Manual of Ceylon*, 1931.

Read R. O. Franke, *Die gāthās des Dighanikāya neit ihren parallelen*; K. E. Neumann, *Reden Gotamo Buddha's aus der langeren sammlung Digha Nikāya des Pāli-Kanons übers*, Bd. I, II. München, 1907, 1912; *Buddhist Suttas*, S.B.E., XI. This work has been translated into English by T.W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids under the title of *The Dialogues of the Buddha* (Sacred Books of the Buddhists). *Vide* Ch. Akanuma, *Kanyaku agon to Pālinikāya no taisho (comparaison entre les Āgamas chinois et les Nikāyas pāli)*. This book contains a comparative catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pāli Nikāyas. It is no doubt a laborious production and should be often consulted. *Vide* my paper on *A Study of the Digha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka* published in the *Young East*, Volume IV, No. 4, September, 1928.

² Rhys Davids, *Buddhism, its History and Literature* (American Lectures on the history of religions).

diṭṭhijāla, anuttarasamgāmajaya. The incidents to which this sutta owes its origin, are interesting from the standpoint of philosophy and may be narrated here. Suppiya was a disciple of Sañjaya, the paribbājaka. He followed the Buddha with his pupil, Brahmadata. On the way Suppiya was speaking ill of the Buddha while his pupil, Brahmadata, was praising him. The conversation held between Suppiya and his pupil gave rise to the occasion for the entire discourse.

*The Brahmajāla Sutta*³ (*Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 1-46*) is very important in the history of Buddhism. It explains the sīlas or moral precepts in three successive sections: Cūla (the concise), majjhima (the medium length), and mahā (elaborate).⁴ It further deals with the various types of current philosophical views, e.g. Sassatavādā⁵ (eternalism of the world and the soul maintained on four grounds), Ekaccasassata and Ekaccasassatavādā (semi-eternalism-eternalism of something and non-eternalism of something maintained on four grounds), antānanta (extensionism), amarā-vikkhepa (eel-wrigglers), adhicca-samuppāda (fortuitous origination), uddhamāghātana (condition of soul after death), ucchedavāda (annihilationism), and diṭṭhadhammanibbāna-vādā (the doctrine of happiness in the present life).⁶

³ In Pāli sutta and suttanta are the same (Suttam eva suttanto). It means a thread, string, a dialogue, a discourse, a rule, or an aphorism. Certain portions or chapters of the Buddhist scriptures are called suttas. They may be either in verse or in prose and vary in length. A sutta is complete in itself consisting of a connected narrative or a collection of verses on one subject. Some of them are didactic and consist mainly or wholly of a discourse of Buddha in prose or verse.

⁴ These terms have been explained by Rhys Davids as (1) short paragraphs on conduct, (2) the longer paragraphs on conduct, and (3) long paragraphs on conduct.—*Dialogues of the Buddha*.

⁵ *Vide my Historical Gleanings*, p. 33.

⁶ Among the Jains, there are similar schools of thought, e.g. Ātmaśāsthavādins, Tajjivatacchariravādins, Nāstikavādins, Śunyavādins, Sātavādins and Ājivikas, besides the Kiriāvādins, the Akriāvādins, the Ajñānavādins, and the Vinayavādins. *Vide Dr. Barua's Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, pp, 282 foll., 295, 303, 306, 318 foll., 332 foll.

The sections dealing with the silas throw much light on the various conditions of life, arts, handicrafts, sports, pastimes, different kinds of sacrifices, different occupations of the people, development of astronomy and astrology, arithmetic, accountancy, royal polity, medicine, surgery, architecture, palmistry (aṅgaṃ), divining by means of omens and signs (nimittaṃ), fortune-telling from marks of the body (lakkhaṇaṃ), counting on the figures (muddā), counting without using the figures (gaṇanā), summing up large totals (saṅkhānaṃ), sophistry (lokāyata), practising as an occultist (sālākiyaṃ), practising as a surgeon (sallakattikaṃ), fixing a lucky day for marriage or giving in marriage (āvāhanaṃ vivāhanaṃ), fixing a lucky time for the conclusion of treaties and for the outbreak of hostilities (saṃvadaṇaṃ vivadaṇaṃ), auguries drawn from thunderbolts and other celestial portents (uppādaṃ), prognostication by interpreting dreams (supinaṃ), sacrificing to Agni (aggi-homaṃ), looking at the knuckles (aṅgavijjā), etc., and after muttering a charm to divine whether a man is well born or lucky or not, determining a proposed site for a house which would be lucky or not (vatthu-vijjā), advising on customary law (khatta vijjā), laying ghosts (bhūta vijjā), knowledge of the charm to be used when lodging in an earth house (bhuri vijjā), foretelling the number of years that a man has yet to live (pakkhājjhānaṃ), using charms to procure abortion (viruddha-gabbha karaanāṃ), incantations to bring on dumbness (jivhā-nittaddanaṃ), keeping a man's jaws fixed by charms (hanusamhananaṃ), and fixing on lucky sites for dwellings and consecrating sites (vatthu kammaṃ vatthu parikiraṇaṃ). This sutta tells us of two classes of gods, the *Khiḍḍāpadosikā* and the *Manopadosikā*. Both these classes are of a rather low order. Thus the Buddha says that the *Khiḍḍāpadosikā* gods spend their time in laughing, playing, and enjoying sensual pleasures. For this reason they lose control over their mind, as a result of which they fall down from their position and are reborn in the human world. Of the second class, the Buddha says that they think much of one another. In consequence of excessive thinking their mind becomes polluted and on account of pollution of their mind they

fall down from that situation and are reborn in the human world.

The world of radiance (ābhassaraloka) described in this *suttanta* is one of the higher brahmalokas.

This *suttanta* tells us that at the beginning of a new world system a being falls from the ābhassaraloka on account of loss of life or merit and he is reborn in the brahmavimāna which is then empty, and there he dwells with his mental body, living in joy, having a lustrous body and moving in the sky. The Buddha relates later on in the same *suttanta* that this God who is first reborn in the brahmavimāna is the Great Brahmā ; he considers himself superior to the other ābhassaradevas.

Rhys Davids rightly points out that this *suttanta* sets out in sixty-two divisions various speculations or theories in which theorists, going out always from various forms of the ancient view of a 'soul' — a sort of subtle manikin inside the body but separate from it and continuing, after it leaves the body as a separate entity—attempt to reconstruct the past or to arrange the future. All such speculation is condemned. It is certain from the details given in this *suttanta* that there were then current in Northern India many other philosophic and theosophic speculations besides those the priests found it expedient to adopt and have preserved for us in the Upanishads. (*Dialogues of the Buddha, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Introduction to the Brahmajāla Sutta*) This *sutta* really deals with the most fundamental conceptions that lay at the root of the Buddha's doctrine, his Dharma, his ethical and philosophical views of life.

The second is the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp. 47-86*) or 'Discourse on the reward of Buddhist mode of holy life'. This *sutta* discusses the following topics : joy and seclusion, freedom and safety, miracle, the divine ear, memory of one's own former births, knowledge of the other people's former births, etc. This *suttanta* says that Mahāvira, the celebrated founder of Jainism, is said to have laid great stress on the four-fold self-restraints (*cātuyāmasamvara*). A short and malicious fragment in this *sutta* tells us that Gosāla divides actions into act, word, and thought : thought being regarded as half karma.

The Buddha was staying at Rājagaha in the mango grove of Jīvaka with many bhikkhus. On a full-moon night Ajātasattu of Magadha asked his ministers as to which Sramaṇa or Brāhmaṇa should be approached or worshipped to pacify the troubled mind. Followers of five heretical teachers who were present there advised the king to visit their preceptors but Jīvaka advised him to see the Buddha. Ajātasattu (Ajātasattu) acted according to the advice of Jīvaka. The Magadhan monarch was converted to the Buddhist faith and made considerable progress in his spiritual insight but on account of his great sin of killing his father he could not attain even the first stage of sanctification. So, like the Brahmajāla, the Sāmaññaphala Sutta creates a psychological situation in the garb of a historical narrative which is guilty of an anachronism in so far as it represents all of the six teachers as persons who could be interviewed by King Ajātasattu. It should be further noted that the literary art of this sutta was plagiarized later on in the Milinda Pañha. Rhys Davids in his introduction to the Sāmaññaphala Sutta⁷ says that this sutta puts forth Buddha's justification for the foundation of the Order, for the enunciation of the Vinaya, the practical rules of the canon law by which life in the Order is regulated. The list of ordinary occupations given in this sutta is interesting evidence of social conditions in the Ganges valley at the time of the composition of the Dīgha Nikāya. The list is briefly as follows : elephant riders (hatthārohā), cavalry (assārohā), charioteers (rathikā), archers (dhanuggahā), slaves (dāsaka puttā), cooks (ālārikā), barbers (kappakā), bath-attendants (nahāpakā), confectioners (sudā), garland-makers (mālākārā), washermen (rajakā), weavers (pesakārā), basket-makers (naḷakārā), and potters (kumbhakārā). And the introductory story in which the king explains how he had put a similar question to the founders of six other orders and gives the six replies he received, is interesting evidence of views held by the authors of the Dialogue as to the beliefs current at the time. The answer which the Buddha is represented to have

⁷ T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.B., Vol. II.

given to the question raised by the king takes the form of a counter-question. The king confesses that he would treat a person who has joined the Order as one worthy of honour and respect. The Buddha shows the advantages of the life of a recluse not necessarily of a follower of his own. And most of what he says would apply as much to his strongest opponents as to the members of his Order. This suttanta only purports to set forth the advantages the early Buddhists held to be the likely results of joining, from whatever motive, such an order as their own. This suttanta also states Gosāla's main thesis rather narrowly when it says that fools and wise alike wandering in transmigration make an end of pain (*sandhāvitvā saṃsaritvā dukkhassantaṃ karissanti*).

The third is the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp. 87-110*) which deals mainly with the subject of caste. This sutta cannot, however, be safely utilized as a source for the study of castes in Ancient India. It appears from the manner of interrogation and rejoinder (between the Buddha and Ambaṭṭha, a brahmin youth) that the compilers of this sutta have made a fool of Ambaṭṭha. Ambaṭṭha is versed in the three Vedas and the Buddha is an 'Incomparable Religious Teacher'. But Ambaṭṭha's replies to the Buddha's questions and the Buddha's clenching the arguments are not at all convincing. This is for two reasons. Either the followers of the Buddha purposely made a fool of Ambaṭṭha so that the Master would shine by contrast or that some intervening portions in this sutta have been omitted carelessly. Moreover we do not know the other side of the question, that is to say, what the Brāhmaṇas have got to say on the point. It is to be borne in mind, however, that the Brahmanical books give preference to the Brāhmaṇas over the Kṣatriyas and in the Buddhist and Jain records Khattiyas are given precedence over the Brāhmaṇas. So the relative position of both is a point of controversy. There are also discussions on the pride of birth, asceticism, and luxury of brahmins. We learn from this sutta that a young brahmin named Ambaṭṭha who went to Kapilavastu on business had an opportunity of visiting the motehalls of the Sākyas where

he saw the young and the old seated on grand seats.

It is sufficiently evident, as Prof. Rhys Davids points out in his introduction to the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*,⁸ from the comparative frequency of the discussions on the matter of Brahman pretensions that the subject of caste was a burning question at the time of the composition of the *nikāyas*. No other social problem is referred to so often ; and the *Brāhmaṇas* would not be so often represented as expressing astonishment or indignation at the position taken up regarding it by the early Buddhists unless there had really been a serious difference on the subject between the two schools. But the difference, though real, has been gravely misunderstood. Rhys Davids further remarks that the disastrous effects from the ethical, social, and political points of view of these restrictions and of caste as a whole have been often grossly exaggerated and the benefits of the system ignored. We are entirely unwarranted in supposing the system, as it now exists, to have been in existence also at the time when Buddhism arose in the valley of the Ganges. Our knowledge of the actual facts of caste even as it now exists, is still confused and inaccurate. The theories put forward to explain the facts are loose and irreconcilable. There was a common phrase current among the people which divided all the world into four *vaṇṇā* (colours or complexions): *Khattiyā*, *Brāhmaṇā*, *Vessā*, and *Suddā*. The priests put themselves first and had a theological legend in support of thier contention. But it is clear from the *piṭakas* that this was not admitted by the nobles. And it is also clear that no one of these divisions was a caste. There was neither *connubium* nor *comensality* between all the members of one *vaṇṇa* nor was there a governing council for each. The fourth was distinguished from the other by social position. And though in a general rough way the classification corresponded to the actual facts of life, there were insensible gradations within the four classes, and the boundary between them was both variable and undefined (cf. *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, *Madhura Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*

⁸ *Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.B., Vol. II.

dealing with the subject of caste. Dr. Fick has collected the evidence found in the Jātaka book in his work *Die Sociale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas zeit*. The theory of caste or jāti easily breaks down when we see that a Brahmin and a Caṇḍāla do not differ in their physical constitution and can procreate children. In the Vāseṭṭha Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta the Buddha opposes the caste system on grounds drawn from biology. The theory of caste is untenable as it introduces species within species. Buddha gives a list of species of various animals, insects, and plants and holds that such a variety of species is not to be found among men (cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, Verse 14).

The fourth is the *Sonadaṇḍa Sutta* (*Dīgha*, I, pp. III-126) which deals with the question of what constitutes the essential quality which makes a man a Brāhmaṇa. This sutta informs us that a brahmin is he who is well born on both sides, of pure descent, through the father and through the mother, back through seven generations, with no slur put upon him, and no reproach in respect of birth—a repeater of the sacred words, knowing the mystic verses by heart, one who has mastered the three Vedas (tiṅṇaṃ vedānaṃ pāraḡu) with the indices (sa nighaṇḍu-ketubhānaṃ), the ritual, the phonology, and the exegesis, and with the legends as a fifth, one who is learned in the etymologies of the words and in the grammar, versed in lokāyata (nature-lore or sophistry), and in the theory of the signs on the body of a great man (mahāpurisalakkhaṇesu anavayo).

The man who knows, says Prof. Rhys Davids, wisdom and conduct (wisdom in the sense of that which is contrary of avijjā or ignorance of the action of Karma, of the Four Noble Truths, and of the doctrine of the āsavas or intoxications), who finally and permanently out of the jungle and in the open, quite beyond the stage of wasting his wonder on the fabulous soul, has attained to, and remains in this state of Nirvāṇa in Arahatsip, is not only in Buddhist terminology called a Brāhmaṇa but is, in fact, declared to be the only true brahmin. Rhys Davids is right in pointing out that the doctrine of brahmin supremacy was intellectually indefensible. It was really quite inconsistent with the

ethical standard of the time, which the brahmins in common with the rest of the people fully acknowledged (see introduction to the Sonadaṇḍa Sutta in the *Dialogues of the Buddha* by Rhys Davids, S.B.B., Vol. II). As to the characteristics of a true brahmin we can refer to the Brāhmaṇavagga of the Dhammapada, the Vāseṭṭha Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta, the Brahmāyu Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, the Brāhmaṇa Saṃyutta of the Saṃyutta Nikāya, the Jānussoṇi Sutta of the Aṅguttara Nikāya, the 99th sutta of the Itivuttaka, and so forth. "It is clear", says Rhys Davids, "that the word 'Brahmin' in the opinion of the early Buddhists conveyed to the minds of the people an exalted meaning, a connotation of real veneration and respect". He further says that if the contention of the Buddhists had been universally accepted, that is to say, if the word 'brahmin' had come to mean not only a man of certain descent, but exclusively a man of certain character and insight, then the present caste system of India could never have grown up. There is much grain of truth in what Rhys Davids says that the caste system was gradually built up into a completely organized system. The social supremacy of the brahmins by birth became accepted as an incontrovertible fact. And the inflood of the popular superstition which overwhelmed the Buddhist movement, overwhelmed also the whole pantheon of the Vedic gods. Buddhism and Brahmanism alike passed practically away and modern Hinduism arose on the ruins of both (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.B., Vol. II, p. 142).

The fifth is the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* (*Dīgha*, I, pp. 127-149) in which the Buddha in discussing right and wrong modes of sacrifices suggests a gradation of them according to the superior and inferior spiritual values. Kūṭadanta spoke to the brahmins about the qualities of the Buddha. He went to the Master, listened to his religious instructions, and became a devoted lay supporter of the Buddha. It is interesting to note what Rhys Davids says on this sutta. Whoever puts this sutta together must have been deeply imbued with the spirit of subtle irony that plays no lesser part in the suttas than it does in so many of the Jātakas. Rhys Davids attaches great importance to the right understanding of

early Buddhist teaching, of a constant appreciation of this sort of subtle humour. He says it is a kind of fun quite unknown to the West. The humour is not at all intended to raise a laugh scarcely even a smile. In this suttanta the brahmin Kūṭadanta is very likely meant to be rather the hero of a tale than an historical character. Buddha was approached for advice about the modes of the ritual to be performed at the sacrifice and about the requisite utensils, the altar-furniture to be used in making it. The brahmin of this suttanta wants to know the three modes in which the ritual is to be performed. The three modes are declared in the legend to be simply three conditions of mind or rather one condition of mind at three different times, the harbouring of no regret either before or during or after the sacrifice at the expenditure involved. It is the hearty co-operation with the king of four divisions of his people, the nobles, the officials, the brahmins, and the householders. That makes four articles of furniture. And eight personal qualifications of the king himself. That makes other eight. And four personal qualifications of his advising brahmins make up the total of the sixteen articles required. No living thing, either animal or vegetable, is injured. All the labour is voluntary. And all the world co-operates in adding its share to the largesse of food, on strict vegetarian principles, in which, alone, the sacrifice consists. It is offered on behalf, not only of the king himself, but of all the good. In the opinion of Rhys Davids, this sutta is merely the oldest extant expression, in so thorough and uncompromising a way, of an ancient and widely held trend of opinion. On this occasion as on the question of caste or social privileges, the early Buddhists took up, and pushed to its logical conclusions, a rational view held also by others. For a detailed discussion of lokāyata or casuistry, readers are referred to Rhys Davids' introduction to the Kūṭadanta Sutta (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.B., Vol. II. pp. 166 ff.).

It is to be noted that the view involved in this suttanta is in some respects similar to the idea which we find in the Vedas and Upanishads, especially the Chāndogya.

The sixth is the *Mahāli Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp. 150-158*) which deals with the means of the attainment of divine eye and ear. It contains discussions whether body and soul are same or different. While the Buddha appreciates the mode of thinking which leads one to endorse one or the other opinion, he on his own part does not follow this mode of thinking at all. This sutta further narrates that Mahāli, a Licchavi, listened to the Buddha's discourse and rejoiced over it. Rhys Davids remarks in his introduction to the Mahāli Sutta that the form of this sutta is remarkable. We have two distinct subjects discussed. First, the question of the ability to see heavenly sights and hear heavenly sounds being raised, the Buddha says that it is not for the sake of acquiring such powers that people join the Order under him. And being asked what their object then is, he gradually leads the questioner on to saintship (arhatship) as the aim, along the Eightfold Path. There the sutta might appropriately have ended. But the Buddha himself then raises a totally different question, whether the soul and the body are the same. And though he gives no answer, he leads the discourse again up to Arhatship, along the series of mental states set out in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*. This sutta contains only the *śīlas* in the second part. Rhys Davids gives us a list of eight different modes of speaking of or to a person : (1) a nickname arising out of some personal peculiarity, (2) a personal name-this has got nothing to do with personal peculiarity, (3) the name of the gotra or a surname or family name, (4) name of the clan or the *kulanāma*, (5) name of the mother, (6) name of the position in society or the occupation of the person addressed, (7) a mere general term of courtesy or respect, and (8) local name. It is interesting to note that the name of the father is never used in this way.

The seventh is the *Jāliya Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp. 159-160*). This sutta like the preceding one contains a discussion on soul and body. Is the soul distinct from the body? This is no doubt the most important problem involved in this sutta. Rhys Davids is right in pointing out that the Mahāli Sutta must have already

included the Jāliya episode. For there would otherwise be no reason for the Mahāli Sutta being put into the Silakkhandhavagga, the silas being contained only in that episode (S.B.B., Vol. II, *Dialogues of the Buddha*).

The eighth is the *Kassapasihanāda Sutta* (*Dīgha*, I, pp. 161-177) which contains Buddha's discussion with a naked ascetic regarding asceticism. The sutta alludes to certain peculiar practices of the naked ascetics which characterised the life of the ājīvikas and a general account of them is also found in this sutta. The same account is incorporated in the Aṅguttara Nikāya and other texts without any variation, which is a medley of laws and customs that obtained amongst the various religious orders of the time, most of which were weavers of garments. We are further informed that Kassapa went to the Buddha and exchanged friendly greetings with him. He afterwards became an Arahat. Regarding this sutta, Rhys Davids remarks that there is both courtesy and dignity in the method employed. It is clear that at the time when this sutta was put together, the practice of self mortification had already been carried out to a considerable extent in India. No doubt in most cases the ascetics laid claim to special virtue. In the suttas dealing with the practices of ascetics, Gotama in laying stress on the more moderate view, takes occasion also to dispute this claim. He maintains in this sutta that the insight and self control and self-mastery of the path or of the system of intellectual and moral self-training laid down for the bhikkhu are really harder than the merely physical practices so much more evident to the eye of the vulgar.

The episode of Nigrodha mentioned in section 23 of this sutta is described in full in the *Udumbarika-Sihanāda Sutta* of the Dīgha Nikāya.

The ninth is the *Potṭhapāda Sutta* (*Dīgha*, I, pp. 178-203) which contains a discussion on the mystery of trance and incidentally deals with the question of soul. It further discusses about the infinity and eternalism of the world. When the Blessed One was at Jetavana in the ārama of Anāthapiṇḍika, a paribbājaka named Potṭhapāda went to the ārama of Mallikā with a large

retinue of paribbājakas. The Master came to him and Poṭṭhāpāda received him with due respect.

This sutta contains a list of topics discussed by the paribbājakas or wandering teachers, which is of great historical importance as indicating the manner in which they gradually paved the way for a science of polity in India (*vide my Historical Gleanings*, pp. 13 foll.).

Rhys Davids remarks that when the 'soul' was away the body lay still, without moving, apparently without life, in trance, or disease or sleep. When the 'soul' came back, motion began again, and life. Endless were the corollaries of a theory which, however, devoid of the essential marks of a sound scientific hypothesis, underlies every variety of early speculation in India, as elsewhere. In this suttanta it is, in the first place, the gradual change of mental conditions, of states of consciousness : and then, secondly, the point that personality, individuality is only a convenient expression in common use in the world and therefore made use of also by the Tathāgata but only in such a manner that he is not led astray by its ambiguity, and by its apparent implication of some permanent entity (*S.B.B.*, Vol. II, pp. 241 and 243).

The tenth is the *Subha Sutta* (*Dīgha*, I, pp. 204-210) which is a short one and is almost identical with the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* differing from it only in dividing the states of mind under three heads of *sīla* (conduct), *samādhi* (concentration), and *paññā* (wisdom). The chief reason for this suttanta being treated as separate one is that *samādhi* includes the *jhānas*,⁹ but also other and very different things. These are the habit of guarding the doors of one's senses ; constant mindfulness and self-possession and the faculty of being content with little. From the negative point of view it is said to include emancipation from ill-temper, inertness of mind and body, worry and perplexity; from the positive point of view it is said to include a constant state of joy and peace (*S.B.B.*, II, 265).

⁹ Mrs. Rhys Davids has ably discussed this topic in her recently published work *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*, pp. 171 foll.

The eleventh is the *Kevaddha Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp. 211-223*) which deals with the practice of wonders or miracles, and traces the means whereby the manifestation of gods gradually becomes clear to a self-concentrated man. Some of the heavens are referred to in this sutta, e.g. Cātummahārājika, Nimmānarati, Paranimittasavattī, and Brahmaloaka.¹⁰

The twelfth is the *Lohicca Sutta* (*Dīgha, I, pp. 224-234*) which discusses some points on the ethics of teaching and enumerates three blameworthy teachers and the blameless teachers. It also lays stress on the duty of spreading the truth. This sutta further informs us that everyone should be allowed to learn ; that everyone having certain abilities should be allowed to teach ; and that, if he does teach he should teach all and to all, keeping nothing back, shutting no one out. But no man should take upon himself to teach others unless and until he has first taught himself, and has also acquired the faculty of imparting to others the truth he has learnt.

The thirteenth is the *Tevijja Sutta*¹¹ (*Dīgha, I, pp.235-253*) in which the Buddha criticises the position of the Brāhmaṇas who based their religious life on the system of the three Vedas. This sutta speaks of the ten representative sages who were authors of the Vedic mantras, viz. Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessāmitta, Aṅgīrasa, Bharadvāja, Vāsetṭha, Kassapa, Yamataggi, and Bhagu. The Buddha discusses the three vijjās of the Brāhmaṇas and explains the three vijjās of his own. In this sutta the Tathāgata¹² is highly praised. He is the most exalted, the Excellent, the Charioteer of mankind, the Charioteer of gods, the Buddha, and the

¹⁰ Vide B. C. Law's *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, pp. 1-2.

¹¹ Translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids in the S.B.E., Vol. XI.

¹² Mrs. Rhys Davids says that Tathāgata was a worthy name for one who had worked to help men as other men had done before him. It is like the word Messias. She further points out "it was not a name of my day. The name always comes up when men are honouring me for something I did not merit. It is the name given me by those 'Porāṇas' (men of old) who were a hundred years and more after my time. They honoured the man they knew had once been leader". (*Gotama the man*, p. 44.)

Blessed One. A bhikkhu becomes pious by giving up life-slaughter and is restrained in killing animals.¹³ The law has been well explained by Gotama in various ways. Buddhaghosa adds that because Manasāketa was a pleasant place, the brahmins built huts there on the bank of the river and fenced them in, and used to go and stay there from time to time to repeat their mantras (*S.B.B.*, Vol. II, p. 300 f.n.). This sutta speaks of the union of men with Brahmā, but there Brahmā appears to stand more for *Brahma* of the Brahmanical system than Brahmā, the creator-god. *With this sutta ends the first volume of the Dīgha Nikāya.*

The fourteenth is the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 1-54). The word 'Apadāna' used in the title signifies legend or life-story of a Buddha.¹⁴ It is also used as the title of the thirteenth book of the Khuddaka Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka and it means the legend or life-story of an Arahat. In later books, Apadāna is never used to mean the legend of a Buddha. The Mahāpadāna may mean the story of the Great Ones (Seven Buddhas). It is rendered into English by Rhys Davids as the sublime story. In laying down the general conditions of the advent of the Buddha, this suttanta introduces an account of the seven Buddhas by way of illustrations. But it is only the life of Vipassi, first of the seven previous Buddhas, which finds an elaborate treatment in it. It should be noted that the Cullaniddesa (p. 80) cites this suttanta as a typical instance of the earlier Jātakas. This sublime story in Pāli may be held in a way to be the historical basis of the Mahāvastu, the Book of the Great Story. Further, it may be seen that this suttanta interprets the term Pātimokkha not in the vigorous sense of a penal code of the monks but in a higher sense of ethical discipline attainable by the imitation of the lives of the Great Masters.

It is interesting to note what Prof. Rhys Davids says regarding this sutta. "We find in this tract the root of that Bīraṇa weed

¹³ bhikkhu pānātipātā pahāya pānātipātā paṭivirato hoti- Tevijja Sutta, *Dīgha*, Vol I, p. 250.

¹⁴ See Dr. B. C. Law's *A Study of the Mahāvastu* (supplement), pp. 4-8—Jātaka and Avadāna or Apadāna contrasted.

which, growing up along with the rest of Buddhism, went on spreading so luxuriantly that it gradually covered up much that was of virtue in the earlier teaching, and finally led to the downfall, in its home in India, of the ancient faith. The doctrine of the Bodhisatta, of the Wisdom-Being, drove out the doctrine of the Aryan Path. A gorgeous hierarchy of mythological wonder-workers filled men's minds, and the older system of self-training and self-control became forgotten." He further points out that even at its first appearance here the weed is not attractive. The craving for edification is more manifest in it than the desire for truth (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. S.B.B., Vol. III, p. 1).

The fifteenth is the *Mahānidāna Suttanta*¹⁵ (*Digha*, II, pp. 55-71) which explains fully the doctrine of paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination), and discusses soul, seven kinds of beings, and eight kinds of vimokkhas.¹⁶ Besides, it treats of the cause of jāti (birth), jarā (old age), and maraṇa (death). In this suttanta we also read that Ānanda said to the Buddha, "It is strange that the Dharma which is deep and profound appears to me to be very easy." Buddha told Ānanda not to say so and said that on account of ignorance and non-realisation of his Dharma, people were entangled in this world and could not overcome hell.

Prof. Rhys Davids is right in pointing out that the doctrine of paṭiccasamuppāda or dependent origination finds in this suttanta the fullest exposition accorded to it throughout the piṭakas. The Dīghabhāṇakas (reciters of long discourse) excluded the first two of the twelve nidānas (chapters), viz., avijjā (ignorance) and saṃkhāra (confections) and that in the Paccayākāra-vibhaṅga of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka the formula is reiterated

¹⁵ Cf. *Nidāna Saṃyutta of the Saṃyutta Nikāya*, pt. II, P.T.S. Ed.

¹⁶ The eight vimokkhas or stages of emancipation are the following: the condition of rūpa, arūpa, saññi (rūpi is nearly always combined and contrasted with arūpi formless, incorporeal) recognition of subha, realisation of ākāśānañcāyatana (infinity of space), of viññānānañcāyatana (infinitude of life-force or mind. matter), of ākiñcaññāyatana (realm or sphere of nothingness), of neva-saññānasaññāyatana (neither perception nor non-perception), of saññāvedayitanirodha (cessation of consciousness and sensation).

and analysed with greater variety of presentation. But in this sutta the doctrinal contents are more fully worked out. Although the formula as expounded in this sutta ends in the usual way — 'such is the uprising of the whole body of III' the burden of the dialogue is in no way directly concerned with III, pain or sorrow. In certain other passages where the nidāna chain occurs, dukkha occupies the foreground (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. II, p. 42, S.B.B., Vol. III).

The sixteenth is the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*¹⁷ (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 72-168) which is one of the most important suttas as it furnishes us with a highly interesting historical narrative of the peregrination of the Buddha during the last year of his mortal existence. The several sets of the conditions of welfare of a community taught by the Buddha to the mendicants bespeak the developed ideas of perfect organisations, in the history of social, political or religious thought at the time of Gautama Buddha.¹⁸ The Pāli passages, clothing as they do, the Buddha's teachings, contain reiteration of certain words ; but the symphony of these repetitions does not make them an unpleasant reading. In the third chapter of the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, Buddha gives us a description of his visit to Vaisālī. The figurative expressions as used by the Buddha, according to Rhys Davids, have become a fruitful soil for the outgrowth of superstitions and misunderstandings. The train of early Buddhist speculation in this field has yet to be elucidated (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. II, p. 115, f.n. 2).

¹⁷ An English translation of this sutta by Childers has been published in J.R.A.S., 1876, New Series, Vols. 7 and 8. See also *Tripitāka*, J. Takakusu et K. Watanabe Ed. *Taisho en Vol. 55. Japonaise du Tripitāka chinois en 100 volumes*. M. Finot has contributed a paper on *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta and Cullavagga* to the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June, 1932) in which he has collected several data which entitle us to suppose that the account of the councils of Rājagaha and Vesālī once formed the latter part of a larger historical work, which, at the time of the compilation of the *Tripitāka*, was severed into two sections, the former being converted into the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* and the latter annexed as *Capitula extravagantia* to the tenth *Khandhaka* of the *Cullavagga*.

¹⁸ *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 73-81.

The sixth chapter of the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta records the most important of all events affecting the fate of Buddhism. In it we find the passing away of the Founder of the Faith. The wailings, described in Chapter V, of men and women of countries far and near on hearing that the Exalted One would pass away too soon, and the honour with which the relics of the Buddha were received and cairns made over them, as found in chapter VI, go to show how deeply were the people moved by the preachings and personality of the Buddha. The last word of the Tathāgata, viz. "Decay is inherent in all component things. Work out your salvation with diligence" (vayad ammā saṁkhārā, appamādena sampādetthāti, *Dīgha Nikāya*, P.T.S., Vol. II, p. 156), strikes the key-note of the Buddha's philosophy and mission.

This suttanta further deals with Vassakāra Brāhmaṇa's visit to the Buddha, seven conditions of welfare of the Bhikkhusaṁgha, lineage of faith, eight causes of earthquake, eight causes of subduing others, Buddha's visit to Cunda, four places of pilgrimage of any faithful householder, efficiency of erecting dhātucaityas, former greatness of Kusinārā, visit of Subhadra to Buddha and his conversation with the Lord, passing away of the Lord, homage of the Mallas, cremation of the Buddha's dead body, quarrel over the relics, the amicable distribution of relics by Doṇa and erecting the stūpas over them. It further narrates the fact that when the blessed One heard that Ajātasattu of Magadha determined to approach the Vajjians, he remarked that so long as the Vajjians fulfilled the seven conditions of welfare, there would not be any danger for them. The Buddha then went to Ambalaṭṭhikā. Here there were talks about sīla, samādhi, etc. The Master then went to Nālandā where he stayed as long as he liked. Sāriputta met him here.

The upāsakas (lay disciples) of Pāṭaligāma received the Buddha cordially. The Buddha mentioned the five disadvantages for not observing the precepts by householders and also five advantages for observing precepts by householders. The Blessed One accepted the invitation of two ministers of Magadha, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, who fed him together with the assembly of monks.

He then went to Koṭṭigāma and addressed the monks on the four Noble Truths. Further he proceeded to Nādikā where he dwelt at the Ginjakā abode. He then came to Vesālī where he accepted the invitation of the famous courtesan, Ambapālī. While the Buddha was passing through Vesālī on his way back from the alms-seeking, he gazed at Vesālī with an elephant look and then addressed the venerable Ānanda and said, "This will be the last time that the Tathāgata will behold Vesālī". Buddha then visited Veluva and the following Caityas, Udena, Gotama, Sattambaka, Bahuputtaka, Sārandada, and Cāpāla. At Bhaṇḍagāma the Buddha delivered a discourse on meditation, emancipation, precepts, wisdom, etc. He spoke of Dhamma and Vinaya. The Master dwelt at Bhoganagara and then at Pāvā. Here at Pāvā the Master took shelter in the mango-grove of Cunda, the son of a blacksmith. Buddha accepted the invitation of Cunda and after having taken food at Cunda's place, he got an attack of dysentery. He then went to Kusīnārā, a township of the Mallas where the Buddha passed away between the twin sāla trees. As narrated before, as soon as the Mallas heard of the news of the death of the Tathāgata, they, both males and females, began to cry and paid homage to the departed. Kassapa saluted the feet of the Buddha whose relics were distributed amongst the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, Ajātasattu of Magadha, Licchavis of Vaiśālī, Sākyas of Kapilavastu, Bulis of Allakappa, Koliyas of Rāmagāma, a brahmin of Veṭṭhadips,¹⁹ Mallas of Pāvā and Kusīnārā who built stūpas over them.

In this suttanta we are introduced to a renowned religious teacher named Ālāda Kālāma²⁰ who had as his disciple a caravan merchant named Pukkusa, a young Mallian. Pukkusa used

¹⁹ In Beal's *Sī-Yu-Ki*, Veṭṭhadīpa has been stated to be situated on the way from Masār in the Shahabad district to Vaiśālī. It may be assumed that Allakappa belonging to the Bulis lay not very far from Veṭṭhadīpa.

²⁰ Mrs. Rhys Davids in her learned and interesting work on *Gotama the man* ably points out that the Buddha esteemed the man but not his method. The Buddha admits that Ālāra disappointed him (p. 26). She further says, "He is by some to-day in accordance with certain records reckoned to have

to speak highly of the spiritual attainments of his preceptor whose ecstatic trance, as declared by Pukkusa, was so very deep and profound that a long train of heavily laden carts passed by unperceived by him. The sutta also records that the inhabitants of Rāmagāma belonged to the serpent race. It further informs us that the Buddha mentions that the gods had their parisā or assemblies which are as follows : assembly of the Cātummahārājika gods, the assembly of the Tāvātimsa gods, the assembly of Māra, and the assembly of Brahmā.

The seventeenth is the *Mahāsudassana Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 169-199). There is a Jātaka known as Mahāsudassana Jātaka (No. 95) in Fausboll's edition of the Jātakas, but it differs from the suttanta in some important particulars. The Sudassana story in a suttanta form finds mention in the Cullaniddesa (p. 80) as a typical example of the Jātakas then known to the Buddhists. "The suttanta commences with a long description of the riches and glory of Mahāsudassana and reveals in its details", says Rhys Davids, "the instructive fact that the legend is nothing more or less than a spiritualised sun-myth" (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. II, p. 196). The Mahāsudassana Suttanta "seems to afford a useful example both of the extent to which the theory may be accepted, and of the limitations under which it should always be applied. It must at once be admitted that whether the whole story is based on a sun-story, or whether certain parts or details of it are derived from things first spoken about the sun or not, it is still essentially Buddhistic" (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. II, p. 197). The Mahāsudassana Suttanta is like a fairy tale which describes the greatest glory and majesty of the greatest king, the royal city and its palace of Righteousness. It describes the extent of his kingdom and his enjoyment. The object of this suttanta is perhaps to show that all is vanity except righteousness. This sutta also teaches us that everything is impermanent, that which has

been of the Sāṅkhyan school. He knew of its teachings but he did not teach them. He was a devotee of the very opposite practice to the clear, systematic thinking taught in that school—the practice of rapt musing called in the books, *jhāna*" (*Gotama the man*, p. 25).

come into being must pass away. To attain this object the author had recourse to rhetorical phrases and other figurative expressions, the use whereof was not peculiar to Buddhist literature. M. Senart in his valuable work, *La Légende du Bouddha*, has traced the rhetorical phrases used in the description of the seven treasures mentioned in this suttanta to their earliest appearance in the Vedic hymns. But this does not exhaust the interesting bearing of Buddhist literature on the history of philosophy so far as Buddhist forms of speech are concerned.

The eloquent description in the Mahāsudassana Suttanta of the magnificence and lost glory of the ancient city Kusāvati, the capital of King Sudassana, was a literary development in Pāli in the edification of the Buddha's explanations offered in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, for his choosing as the place for his passing away in a daub town like Kusinārā of his day.

The eighteenth is the *Janavasabha Suttanta* (*Dīgha, II, pp. 200-219*) in which important topics, such as rebirths of the faithful upāsakas of Gautama, effect of name, great ways of iddhi (miracle), the three ways of bliss, and the seven requisites of samādhi or concentration, have been mentioned. Prof. Rhys Davids says that after the prologue the story turns into a fairy tale, quite well told and very edifying and full of subtle humour. This sutta further refers to the Tāvātimsa gods, the gods of Paranimmita Vasavattī, Nimmānarati, Yāma, Cātummahārājika heavens, and the assembly of King Vessavana Kuvera. This suttanta further informs us that 24,00,000 upāsakas of Magadha obtained Sotāpattiphalaṃ (fruition of the first stage of sanctification) by following Buddha's instructions.

The nineteenth is the *Mahā-Govinda Suttanta* (*Dīgha, II, pp. 220-252*) which is of great importance from the standpoint of ancient Indian history and geography. For a Buddhist conception of the shape of India, we have to turn to this suttanta which states that India is broad on the north whereas in the south it is sakaṭamukhaṃ, i.e. has the form of the front portion of a cart and is divided into seven equal parts. The description of the shape as given in this suttanta agrees wonderfully with that given by the

Chinese author Fah-kai-lih-to. It is really very important in the history of Pāli literature. It is no less important as one of the earliest examples cited in the Cullaniddesa (p. 80) of the Jātakas that in a way served as a model for the birth stories in the later commentaries. It introduces us to the Sudhamma or Mote Hall of the gods of Tāvātimsa Heaven, where all the gods with Sakka, king of gods, as President, are found to have assembled and rejoiced at the increase in their numbers "through the appearance in their midst, of new gods produced by the good karma of the followers of the new view of life put forward by Gotama". Sakka (lord of the gods) uttered eight paragraphs in eulogy of the Buddha. Next we find Mahā-Brahmā's views of an ideal brahmin. The facts of the Mahā-Govinda Suttanta are found in different phraseology and order in the Mahāvastu²¹ (Govindīya Sūtra). In the absence of sufficient materials it is still a difficult task for historians to ascertain with exactitude the relation between the Dīgha Nikāya and the Mahāvastu.²² The possible explanation of the most astounding fact yet known about the Mahāvastu is given by Rhys Davids in his *Dialogues of the Buddha* wherein it is stated, "Now we do not know exactly when and where Buddhists began to write in Sanskrit, though it was probably in Kashmir some time before the beginning of our era. They did not then translate into Sanskrit any Pāli book. They wrote new books. And the reason for this was two-fold. In the first place, they had already come to believe things very different from those contained in the canon : they were no longer in full sympathy with it. In the second place, though Pāli was never the vernacular of Kashmir, it was widely known there and even very probably still used for literary work; translations were therefore not required" (pt. II, p. 256).

The Mahā-Govinda Suttanta also deals with Nirvāṇa, the path leading to it, practice of piety, danger of delay, the lower and higher ways. It also gives us an account of Mahā-Govinda's renouncing the world with a large number of followers and his seven wives.

²¹ Vide B. C. Law's *A Study of the Mahāvastu* pp. 145-149, or Senart's Ed. of the Mahāvastu, Vol. III, p. 197.

²² See *Buddhistic Studies* edited by Dr. B. C. Law, p. 837.

The twentieth is the *Mahā-Samaya Suttanta* (*Dīgha, II, pp. 253-262*) which is of special importance to the historians of religion in so far as it bears testimony to the continual change in animistic belief prevalent in India at the time. In this connection Rhys Davids says, "The poem is almost unreadable now. The long list of strange names awakes no interest. And it is somewhat pathetic to notice the hopeless struggle of the author to enliven his unmanageable material with a little poetry. It remains save here and there, only doggrel still. There are three parts to the poem. The first is the list of gods, the second, the framework, put into the Buddha's mouth, at the beginning (after the prologue) and at the end, the third the prologue, with the verses of the four gods of the Pure Abode. The prologue has been preserved as a separate episode in the *Saṃyutta, I, 27*. The way in which the list is fitted into the framework in our sections 4, 5, and 6 is very confused, and awkward ; and the grammar of the framework is inconsistent with the grammar of the list. It is highly probable therefore that the list itself and also the epilogue, had been handed down as independent works in the community before our suttanta was composed. The framework may be the work of the editor. The legends here told were intended to counteract the animistic delusions about them (names contained in the suttantas) then so prevalent in the Ganges valley. They are almost the only evidence we have as yet outside the priestly books" (*Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. II, pp. 282-283*). This sutta mentions some gods who are found in this earth and also in the regions above. It gives us a long list of gods and we get a similar list with the addition of Siva in the *Mahāvastu* (*Senart, Vol. I, p. 245, Vol. III, pp. 68, 77*).

The twenty-first is the *Sakkapañha Suttanta* (*Dīgha, II, pp. 263-289*) which is, in some respects, the most interesting of all mythological dialogues. It is quoted by name at *Saṃyutta, III, 13* ; *Mahāvastu, I, 350* ; *Milinda, 350* ; *Sumaṅgalavilāsini, I, 24* (where it is called *vedalla*). The last passage is repeated in the *Gandhavaṃsa, 57*.

Sakka, king of the Thirty-three, finding it difficult to approach the Buddha who was then in deep meditation, sought

the aid of a Gandhabba named Pañcasikha who by the sweet play of his lyre sang in praise of the Awakened One, the Truth, the Arahant, and the love. The verses sung by the Gandhabba were addressed to a lady by one who received no return for his love for her as she was then in love with another. The song put into the mouth of the heavenly musician is clothed in words conveying a double meaning, one applicable to the Buddha and the other to the lady. The Buddha being moved by the music conversed with the Gandhabba who in the course of conversation informed Buddha of the advent of Sakka. Then Sakka came forward and paid homage to the Exalted One. He put to the Buddha several questions mostly dealing with ethics and psychology. Buddha answered the questions to the great satisfaction of Sakka who was thereafter converted to the Buddhist faith. The conversion of the king of the Thirty-three appears, at first sight, to be preposterous, but the analysis of the meaning in which the word 'Sakka' is used, leads us to hold that the king of gods is not free from the three deadly evils, lust, ill-will, and stupidity (cf. A.N., I, 144 ; S.N., I, 219), nor from anxiety (S.N.I, 219). He is still subject to death and rebirth (A.N., I, 144 ; cf. A.N., IV, 105), and as such, he desires to be reborn in some higher planes²⁵ of celestial beings.

Some other topics are discussed in the *suttanta* :

- (1) causes of malice and avarice,
- (2) causes of favour or disfavour,
- (3) path leading to *papañca* (any of the evil conditions), *saññā* (consciousness), and *saṃkhāranirodha* (cessation of confections), and
- (4) how a *bhikkhū* can be said to follow the rules of the *Pātimokkha*.

The *Sakkapañha Suttanta* refers to the Buddha dwelling in the Magadhan kingdom, and to a Sākya princess named Gopikā. She was pleased with the Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṃgha. She used to observe precepts fully, became disgusted with woman life, and meditated to become a man.

²⁵ There are twenty-six planes of celestial beings.

The twenty-second is the *Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 290-315). In it the Buddha urges his disciples to set up mindfulness (*sati*). The doctrine expounded in this *suttanta* may be said to be very important in early Buddhism. The Aryan Path is obtained by practising mindfulness only. Rhys Davids says, "Sati does not occur in any ethical sense in pre-Buddhistic literature, it is possible that the Buddhist conception was, in one way, influenced by previous thought. Stress is laid on the Upanishad ideal on intuition, especially as regards the relation between the soul, supposed to exist inside each human body, and the Great Soul. In the Buddhist protest against this, the doctrine of *Sati*, dependent not on intuition but on grasp of actual fact, plays an important part. This opposition may have been intentional. On the other hand, the ethical value of Mindfulness (in its technical sense) would be sufficient, without any such intention, to explain the great stress laid upon it" (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, 323). In brief, the four kinds of meditation on impurities and impermanency of body and impermanency of *vedanā* (sensation), *citta* (thought), and *dhamma* (condition) are enumerated.

This *suttanta* speaks of the five hindrances, seven parts of wisdom, four truths, five *khandhas* or aggregates, and the various stages of inhalations and exhalations. This *suttanta* breaks up in the *Majjhima Nikāya* into two portions each representing a separate discourse such as *satipaṭṭhāna* (chapter on *sati* or recollection) and *saccavibhaṅga* (exposition of truth).

The twenty-third is the *Pāyāsi Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, II, pp. 316-358). *Pāyāsi* was a chieftain of *Setavya*, a city of the *Kosalans*. He entertained doubt as to the existence of another world, of beings reborn otherwise than from parents, and of results of good or bad deeds. Touching these questions, *Pāyāsi* had a long discussion with *Kumāra Kassapa* while the latter was staying at *Setavya* with a large retinue of *bhikkhus*. *Kumāra Kassapa* had recourse to similies and advanced childish arguments to establish his doubt depending on analogy, the most dangerous of all snares, put forward counterarguments to prove the futility of *Pāyāsi's* arguments and at length succeeded in dispelling his

doubt altogether. Pāyāsi became Kassapa's disciple. The second part of the dialogue which is a sequel to the first is similarly a dialogue between Pāyāsi and his disciple, Uttara, in which the latter succeeds in persuading the former to set up gifts in faith. The dialogue closes with a reference to the heaven where the teacher and the pupil were reborn after death. The third part which is a sequel to the second is also a dialogue between the Venerable Gavampati and the god Pāyāsi in the lonely Serissaka Mansion. "The story of Pāyāsi's conversion and pious gifts with their heavenly reward, seems to have been invented in order just to allay the fear caused in theological circles by atheistical propaganda of the powerful chieftain and philosopher, Pāyāsi" (*Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, Appendix, p. XVI). It is interesting to note that Pāyāsi who thought on the line of Ajita Kesakambali stated his predecessor's thesis in clear and unequivocal terms. In the language of the Sthānaṅga such a doctrine is aptly designated "na santi poralokavādā". Mahāvira and Buddha were right to suppose Ajita's doctrine of non-action because Ajita destroyed the ultimate ground of moral distinctions by denying the possibility of personal continuity and thus deprived life of its zest. The Pāyāsi Suttanta deals with moon god and sun god, message from the dead, escape of the soul, search for the soul, and right and wrong sacrifices.

This suttanta has a Jaina counterpart in the Rāya Pasesi which is but a somewhat later and magnified legend of the chieftain Pāyāsi. Comparing the two versions of the legend it appears that Kumāra Kassapa of the Buddhist tradition was the same personality as Kesī, the Jaina and that Paesi (Pradeshi), and not Pāyāsi, was the designation of the chieftain. *With this suttanta closes the second volume of the Dīgha Nikāya.*

The twenty-fourth is the *Pāṭika Suttanta*²⁴ (*Dīgha*, III, pp. 1-35). This sutta testifies to the fact that Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta predeceased Buddha by a few years. Prof. Rhys Davids gives a fair and uncontroverted comment on the style and contents of this

²⁴ Vide F. Weller, *Ueber den Aufbau des Pāṭikasuttanta II Uebersetzung des chinesischen Texts.*

suttanta. In his introduction to this suttanta, he writes that it is concerned really with only two topics, firstly that of mystic wonders and secondly that of the origin of things. The former has been dealt with much better and more fully in the Kevaḍḍha Suttanta, the latter, here treated quite curtly and by way of appendix only, is fully discussed below in the Aggañña Suttanta (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. III, S.B.B., Vol. IV, p. 2).

The treatment here is clumsy. It is no doubt intended to be both humorous and edifying. But the humour is far removed from the delicate irony of the Kevaḍḍha and the Aggañña. The fun is of the pantomime variety, loud, and rather stupid. It is funny perhaps to hear how a corpse gets slapped on the back, wakes up just long enough to let the cat out of the bag, and then falls back dead again ; or how an incompetent medicine-man gets stuck fast to his seat, and wriggles about in his vain endeavours to rise. But this sort of fun would appeal more strongly to a music-hall audience, or to school boys out for a holiday, than to those who are likely to read it in this volume. And the supposed edification is of the same order. As an *argumentum ad hominem*, as propounded for the enlightenment of the very foolish Sunakkhatta (and this just, after all, what it purports to be), it may pass muster. Whether it can have appealed to (or was even meant to appeal to) wiser folk is very questionable. One gets rather bored with the unwearied patience with which the Tathāgata is here represented as suffering fools gladly. And it is difficult to bear with an author who tells stories so foolish merely to prove that the Tathāgata is as good a magician as the best, and who has the bad taste to put them into the mouth of the Tathāgata himself. Not only in style and taste does this suttanta differ from the others. In doctrine also it is opposed to them (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. III, p. 1). The subject-matter is that Sunakkhatta, a Licchavi, was at first a pupil of the Buddha. Thereafter he left Buddha's Order and misinterpreted the doctrine of the Buddha. The Master refuted his arguments and himself explained his own doctrine.

The twenty-fifth is the *Udumbarika-Sihanāda Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, III, pp. 36-57) which deals with different kinds of asceticism. The Buddha explains the evil effect of them. He explains the life of a real brahmacārī.

The twenty-sixth is the *Cakkavatti-Sihanāda Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, III, pp. 58-79) which describes that the Buddha instructed his disciples to practise four satipaṭṭhānas, and it deals with the life of Daḷhanemi, a universal monarch. It is rather like a fairy tale, the moral whereof is the use and influence of the Norm. The moral has been proclaimed in a thorough-going and uncompromising manner, but not in so argumentative a way as is found in modern treatises on ethics or philosophy. The authors have stated their views merely leaving the gospel to be accepted or rejected by the hearers. "The Buddha is represented in this suttanta as setting out his own idea of conquest (not without ironical reference to the current ideas) and then as inculcating the observance of the Dhamma —the Norm— as the most important force for the material and moral progress of mankind" (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. III, p. 53).

The *Cakkavatti-Sihanāda Suttanta* teaches us that corruption leads to the decline of life. It further points out that if morals improve, life lengthens. The suttanta closes by saying much about the condition of prosperity. It states that the Buddha predicted that when the lease of life of human beings would be 80,000 years, Bārāṇasī would be known as Ketumatī which would be the capital of Jambudīpa and the king would be Saṅkha who would be the universal monarch possessing seven gems.

The twenty-seventh is the *Aggañña Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, III, pp. 80-98). In dealing with the claims of the Brāhmaṇa, this suttanta establishes that good conduct is higher than caste. The evolution of the world, man, and society has been treated of herein²⁵ but the treatment does not appear to be satisfactory in the face of the scientifically developed modern ideas on the subject. This suttanta also deals with the origin of the four castes, Kṣatriyas,

²⁵ Cf. *Mahāvastu* (Senart's Ed.), Vol. I, p. 338 and B.C. Law's *Study of the Mahāvastu* (supplement), pp. 37-39.

Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, and concludes by preaching that righteousness is above lineage.

The *Aggañña Suttanta* mentions that the Blessed one was at Pubbārāma in the palace of Migāramātā and that King Pasenadi of Kosala was aware of the Blessed One's renouncing the world from the Sākya family. Though Pasenadi was of the same age as Buddha, yet he used to show respect to the Buddha out of consideration for his eminence as a great teacher.

The twenty-eighth is the *Sampasādanīya Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, III, pp. 99-116) which speaks of the excellence of the Buddha in a manner both edifying and comprehensive. It mentions that the Blessed One was at Pāvārika's mango-grove where Sāriputta went and saluted the Buddha.

The twenty-ninth is the *Pāsādika Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, III, pp. 117-141). The notable feature that is of some importance to a student of religion, is the condition of a perfect religion. Interesting reading is the mention of the characteristics of the Tathāgata. The treatment of wrong views about the past and the future appears to be common place and has no special importance from a literary point of view.

We learn from this suttanta that it was Cunda, the novice of Pāvā, who conveyed the news of the discussion to Ānanda, which led to the breaking up of the Jaina Order and the latter at once saw the importance of the events and communicated the same to the Buddha who delivered a long discourse.

The thirtieth is the *Lakkhaṇa Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, III, pp. 142-179) which mentions in detail thirty-two signs, the possessor whereof is marked as a great man or superman as termed by Rhys Davids in his *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. III, p. 134.

This suttanta contains in a framework of prose a series of didactic stanzas, elegant in composition and restrained in tone. The enumeration of some of the moral principles bears a close resemblance to that in Aśoka's dhamma, "sacce ca dhamme ca dame ca saṃyame soceyya silālayuposathesu ca, Dāne ahimsāya asāhase rato dāhaṃ samādāya samattarā ācari" (*Dīgha*, III, p. 147). Prof. Rhys Davids aptly says that this suttanta seems gravely

ironical in the contrast it makes between the absurdity of the marks and the beauty of the ethical qualities they are supposed in the suttanta to mean. It mentions the fact that the Blessed One dwelt at Sāvattihī in the Jetavana-ārāma of Anāthapiṇḍika.

The thirty-first is the *Siṅgālovāda Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, III, pp. 180-193) which deals with the duties of a householder. It has been translated into English by Grimblot in *Sept Suttas Palis* (Paris, 1876), by Gogerly in J.R.A.S., Ceylon Branch, 1847, and by R. C. Childers in the *Contemporary Review*, London, 1876.

We agree with Rhys Davids when he says that anyway the Buddha's doctrine of love and good will between man and man is here set forth in a domestic and social ethics with more comprehensive detail than elsewhere. In a canon compiled by members of a religious order and largely concerned with the mental experiences and ideals of recluses, and with their outlook on the world, it is of great interest to find in it a sutta entirely devoted to the outlook and relations of the layman on and to his surroundings. Rhys Davids further points out that the discourse was felt to possess this interest in the long past by Buddhaghosa, or by the tradition he handed on, or by both (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. III, pp. 168-169). Concerning this sutta, Buddhaghosa says "Nothing in the duties of a householders is left unmentioned" and so it passed current as a gihivinaya (Dr. Barua, *Note on the Bhabrū Edict*, J.R.A.S., 1915). The real interest of this sutta centres round a scheme of the law of persons interpreted as a code of moral duties. Mrs. Rhys Davids rightly points out that the sigāla saying is much valued now because the others are nearly all of them lost (*Gotama the man*, pp. 205-206).

The thirty-second is the *Ātānāṭiya Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, III, pp. 194-206) which mentions gods, gandhabbas, and yakkhas who are not pleased with the Buddha, It treats of driving them away if they attack Buddha's upāsakas and upāsikās. It is a saving chant (rakkhā-manta) to get rid of evil spirits. In this suttanta mention is made of the Kumbhaṇḍa petas who had a lord named Viruḷha in the quarter of the south and he had many sons. We are further told by this suttanta that the petas were backbiters and

murderers, brigands, craftyminded rogues, thieves, and cheats.

The thirty-third is the *Saṅgīti Suttanta*²⁶ (*Dīgha*, III, pp. 207-271) which deals with Sāriputta's explanation of the Dhamma. The importance of this suttanta lies in the numerical groupings of the dhammas obviously on the method followed in the Ekuttara or the Aṅguttara Nikāya. This suttanta corresponds, as pointed out by Prof. Takakusu, to the Saṅgītiparaya Sūtra forming one of the six Abhidhamma treatises of the Sarvāstivāda school.

The subject-matter of the Puggalapaññatti is puggala or person. In the treatment of the subject, the author gives a table of contents of the whole work, and then follows the method of the Aṅguttara Nikāya. He first gives the grouping of human types under one term, then under two, and so on, up to the grouping under ten terms. Again, in its form the Puggalapaññatti is indebted to the Saṅgīti Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya. This Dīgha Nikāya suttanta treats of the dasadhammā or ten conditions (single doctrine, double doctrines, triple doctrines, fourfold doctrines, etc.) much in the same way as the Puggalapaññatti deals with the dasa puggalā or ten individuals (i.e., the varieties of those walking in the Four Paths).

Occasionally we find the two subjects overlapping, that is to say, puggalas are mentioned in the Saṅgīti Suttanta, and dhammas are referred to in the Puggalapaññatti. Amongst the cattāro dhammā of the Saṅgīti Suttanta, immediately following the cattāro ariya vohārā, mention is made of cattāro puggalā (*Dīgha*, Vol. III, p. 232) exactly in the same words as in the Mātikā of the Puggalapaññatti (*Puggalapaññatti*, p. 7). Amongst the satta dhammā of the Saṅgīti Suttanta we find satta puggalā dakkhineyyā (*Dīgha*, Vol. III, p. 253), corresponding to the Mātikā of the Puggalapaññatti, P.T.S., pp. 30-36.

The thirty-fourth and the last is the *Dasuttara Suttanta* (*Dīgha*,

²⁶ Vide F. Weller: *Ueber die Rahmenerzählung des Saṅgīti-Suttanta im Pāli Kanon*, Asia Major, V, fasc. I, 1928. This sutta has been translated into English from Pāli by Suriyagoda Sumaṅgala Swāmi and published in a book form by the M.B.S., Colombo, 1904.

III, pp. 272-293) which provides us with a sort of compendium of the dhamma in ten numerical settings and as shown by Dr. Takakusu corresponds to one of the six Abhidharma treatises of the Sarvāstivāda school. *With this sutta the third or the last volume of the Dīgha Nikāya comes to an end.*

B. MAJJHIMA NIKĀYA

The Majjhima Nikāya¹ is the second book of the Sutta Piṭaka. It is known as the 'Middle Collection' or the collection of discourses of medium length. It is divided into three books each consisting of fifty suttas (pannāsas). But the text in the P.T.S. edition contains 152 suttas, the third book containing two suttas in excess of fifty. The Chinese Madhyamāgama Sūtra is to be compared with the Pāli text of the Majjhima Nikāya, collection of middle suttas, 152 in number (see Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, p. 127). This nikāya deals with almost all the points of Buddhist religion. The suttas of this nikāya throw light not only on the life of Buddhist monks but also on such subjects as Brāhmaṇa sacrifices, various forms of asceticism, the relation of the Buddha to the Jainas, and the social and political conditions prevailing at the time. The four noble truths of the Buddhist religion, the doctrine of form or action, refutation of the soul theories, different modes

¹ *Majjhima Nikāya*, P.T.S. Ed., Vol. I, by V. Trenckner; Vol. II pt. I, by R. Chalmers (Now Lord); and Vol. III, by R. Chalmers. *Indices to the Majjhima Nikāya* by Mabel Bode; *Majjhima Nikāya*, Colombo, 1895. The first fifty discourses from the collection of the medium length discourses of Gotama the Buddha, freely rendered and abridged from the Pāli by the bhikkhu Silācāra, V. I. Breslau: W. Markgraf, 1912 (Deutsche Pāli—Gesellschaft) *Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos : aus der mittleren Sammlung Majjhimanikāyo des Pāli-Kanons Zum ersten Mal uebersetzt von K. E. Neumann*, Leipzig; W. Friedrich, 1896-1902; *Discorsi di Gotamo Buddho del majjhimo Nikāyo*. Per la prima volta tradotti dal testo pali da K. E. Neumann, e.g. de Lorenzo. 3 vols.

For English translations of the suttas vide *Further Dialogues of the Buddha* by Lord Chalmers, vols. I and II.

of meditation, etc., are discussed in this nikāya.

The Majjhima Nikāya begins with the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta*² (*Majjhima, P.T.S., I, pp. 1-6*) which lays the scene of the discourse at the pleasure grove of Ukkaṭṭhā. The teaching is proclaimed to be one that strikes the keynote of the entire doctrine of Buddhism (Sabbadhamma mūlapariyāya). The popular aspect of this most important discourse is to be found in the narrative of the Mūlapariyāya Jātaka (Fausböll, *Jātaka, II, 259 foll.*). In this particular discourse the Buddha has critically surveyed the real position of the contemporary systems of philosophy, pointing out the difference that exists between the standpoint of these systems of philosophy and his own. It is apparent from this sutta that there were then current in India good many philosophical and theological beliefs, the most of which can be found in the philosophical and metaphysical works of the Hindus and in the books of the Jains. This sutta touches on the soul theory. A fair idea of Nirvāṇa³ can be gathered from this sutta. This sutta further informs us that the disciples of the Buddha who are greatly learned and ariyasāvakas (noble disciples) know Pajāpati, Brahmā, Ābhassara gods, Subhakiṇṇa gods, Vehapphala, Abhibhu, Ākāsānañcāyataṇa, Viññāṇañcāyatana, Ākiñcaññāyatana, Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana gods (*vide my Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, pp. 8 foll.*).

The object of the *Sabbāsava Sutta* (*M.N., Vol. I, pp. 6-12*) is to show how the banes (āsava) can be overcome. The Buddha says that relief from all banes comes to those who only can see and comprehend all things. Banes may be destroyed by a man who is wisely attentive. Banes may also be destroyed by discernment, restraint, carefulness, endurance, suppression, and men-

² This sutta which has been translated as a *Discourse on the original cause of all phenomena* has been translated into English from Pāli by Suriyagoḍa Sumaṅgala There and published in a book form by the Mahā Bodhi Society, Colombo, 1908. Dr. Neumann has translated this sutta into German.

³ Mrs. Rhys Davids is perfectly right when she gives an idea of Nirvāṇa by saying that it is merely the ending of the bad (*Gotama the man, p. 46*), and we should add, beginning of the good.

tal exercise. Those whose actions bring to sensual lust, craving for existence, thought for the past existence are blameworthy. They fall victims to the following views:

I have a self⁴

I have not a self.

By self I apprehend self... eternity and identity of the self;

and then fall into the net of diverse views. Those who pay attention to the worthy things get rid of these. If attention is paid only to the worthy things then no bane can come in.

Heirs of truth, Solitude, and the Middle Path are the topics of discussion in the *Dhammadāyāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 12-16). Here the Lord distinguishes between the two classes of monks, one that clings to the Dhamma and the other that clings to the food to enable him to practise Dhamma.⁵ The Lord praises the former, the keeper of the real truth. For contentment and quietness of mind will enable him to purge off the impurities.

Sāriputta is now introduced in the second part of the sutta and is delivering sermons on solitude. He says that there are three ways in which the disciples of the lonely master fail to practise solitude. He then explains the Middle Path which leads to the destruction of avarice, hatred, delusion, etc., and consequently to the attainment of Nibbāna. Note that this sutta falls into two parts. The first part is merely an introduction in which the Buddha relates the story of the two bhikkhus, Amisadāyāda and Dhammadāyāda. The Buddha then departs and Sāriputta takes up the thread of the discourse and explains the doctrinal points involved in this sutta.

⁴ Mrs. Rhys Davids has ably dealt with the subject of attā in Buddhism, vide Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya or Buddhist origins*, pp. 186 foll.

⁵ Mrs. Rhys Davids has written a very interesting and illuminating chapter on Dharma (Dhamma) in *Sakya*—See *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*, pp. 66-74. She in her *Gotama the man* says that it is better not to translate it. Dhamma, 'a thing as it may be' means a possibility. Sylvain Lévi's rendering of Dhamma by ideal is somewhat better but is only inadequate in that it words not the thing but only the idea of it (p. 56).

The subject-matter of the *Bhayabherava Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 16-24; fear and Terror) is how terror may arise in mind. The Lord says to Jānussoṇi the brahmin that fear only comes to him who comes into the depth of forests with heart filled with longings and desires or restless or witless and drivelling. This sutta explains why terror arises to some and not to others. The real value of this sutta consists in its being reminiscent of the fearless endeavours of the Buddha previous to his enlightenment. This portion occurs in the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* many times. In this discourse the subject of *jhāna*⁶ or 'raft musing' or 'abstraction' has been dealt with in glowing language.

The *Anaṅgaṇa Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 24-32; Freedom from depravity) points out that a man undepraved cannot be free unless and until he himself sees that he is really far from depravation, that is, unless he knows the pitfalls he may fall into.

Then *Sāriputta* says that there are some monks who seek position and who like pleasure. These monks are bad.

A reference to a naked ascetic *Paṇḍuputta* as cited by *Mahāmoggallāna* in the course of the discourse shows that the naked ascetics as a sect were in existence and they were not free from corruption.

This sutta does not claim to have come from the mouth of the Lord and is a mere discourse among the disciples while the Lord was still alive. Its inclusion within the *nikāya* shows first that the suttas were collected not only because they emanated from the Lord himself but also because of the seal of approval attached to them by the Master.

The *Ākaṅkheyya Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 33-36) teaches us that the Lord advises his disciples to observe the strict rules of the *śīla* (precepts) and *Pātimokkha* (*Pātimokkha saṃvara saṃbhuta*). Longing for fame and reputation and power to know others' minds may be in their hearts. But this should not be. The monks will only observe the rule, be subdued and restrained, and practise the precepts of conduct faithfully.

⁶ See Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*, pp. 171 foll.

In the *Vatthūpama Sutta* (M.N., pp. 36-40 ; parable of the cloth) the Lord exhorts the monks to be pure in mind and to wipe off all impurities. Let not impurities of mind remain. Let the monks know what impurities are and fully knowing they will abandon them. When they have abandoned them, they will have generated faith in the Buddha and in the rules that will guide him and the Saṅgha.

The Brāhmin Bhāradvāja of Sundarikā asks the Lord if he goes to the Bāhukā river. The Lord questions him the reason and when Bhāradvāja says that the river possesses the power of purifying, the Lord explains that to purify the mind one need not go there. Bhāradvāja is afterwards ordained.

Of the two parts of this sutta the second is relevant only if we take yet the faint connection of purifying power of the Bāhukā river with the purifying power of mind. Otherwise the episode of Bhāradvāja is out of place. There are two points worthy of notice : (1) that the parable of cloth may be interpreted as an illustration of the popular Buddhist conception of mind in *tabula rasa* or clean sheet of cloth, contaminated by impurities which being foreign to its nature (āgantukādosā) can be ultimately got rid of (B.M. Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 399), and (2) that it preserves a very ancient Pāli couplet mentioning seven important rivers, e.g. Bāhukā, Adhikakkā, Gayā, and the rest as holy waters in which the people bathed to wash away their sins and impurities, Gayā being represented the chief of all.

In the *Sallekha Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 40-46) the Blessed One in reply to Mahā-Cunda's question says that in order to get rid of the various false views current about self and the universe, an almsman should see with right comprehension that there is no 'mine', no 'this is I', no 'this is myself'. Each of the planes (the four ecstasies, infinity of space, of mind, of Naught —of neither perception nor imperception, etc.) is called by the Buddha not an expunging but an excellent state. According to the Buddha this is the way to expunge though others may be harmful, an almsman should be harmless ; others may kill and lie, but an almsman should not do so.

In the *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 46-55*) (Right Belief) we find that Sāriputta wants to know what right belief means. At this the monks themselves become anxious to know from him the meaning of it. Then Sāriputta says that right belief means the disciples' knowledge of good and evil with all their roots.

In the fold of evil are included:

(1) to kill, (2) to steal, (3) to be guilty of sex indulgences, (4) to speak falsely, (5) to spread scandal, (6) to speak harshly, (7) to speak roughly, (8) to speak frivolously, (9) to covet, (10) to cherish ill-will, (11) to entertain erroneous views;

within the fold of rest of evil are included :

(1) Desire, (2) Hatred, (3) Delusion ;

within fold of good are included :

(1) to abstain from (as above in evil) ;

within the root of good are included:

(1) Absence of attachment to passion, (2) Love, (3) Wisdom.

At the suggestion of the fellow monks, Sāriputta acknowledges the various ways leading to right belief, namely:

1. by knowing āhāro (nutriment) its origin, its cessation and the cause leading to its cessation

2.	Do.	Suffering	Do.
3.	Do.	Decay and death	Do.
4.	Do.	birth	Do.
5.	Do.	existence	Do.
6.	Do.	attachment	Do.
7.	Do.	sensation	Do.
8.	Do.	contact	Do.
9.	Do.	activity	Do.
10.	Do.	ignorance	Do.
11.	Do.	canker	Do.

In the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 55-63*) the Lord says to the monks that there is but one way that leads to the purifica-

tion of mortals and that is the four Satipaṭṭhānas,⁷ e.g. to keep watch over (1) body (kāya), (2) sensation (vedanā), (3) mind (citta), and (4) phenomenon (dhamma).

The tone of this long sutta, known as the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta, is always harmonious. The Buddha advises the monks to practise mindfulness. It is by the fourfold mastering of mindfulness and ills of body and of mind and obtain the right path and realise nirvāna.

The teachings in this sutta may be judged as the cornerstone of the whole of the Buddhist system of self-culture.

The *Cūlasihanāda Sutta* (M.N., I, 63-68) informs us that the Blessed One asks his disciples to tell the votaries of other paths that they excel them in the following:

1. Satharipasāda (faith in teacher),
2. Dharmepasāda (faith in the law),
3. Silesu paripūrakāritā (strict observance of sīlas),
4. Sahadhammikā piyāmanāpāgahaṭṭhā c'eva pabbajitā ca —agreeableness in the company of the dear fellow believers whether they are laymen or monks.

He explains to them that all ideas about self, eternity, non-eternity arise from the clinging to the self, i.e. non-comprehension of the law.

We find here that there are some philosophers who hold the existence of things to be eternal while others belief in the non-existence of things.

In the *Mahāsihanāda Sutta* (M.N., I, 68-83 ; great lion's roar) we read that Sāriputta informed the Blessed One that Sunakkhatta, a Licchavi prince, who had left the Order, spoke ill of him. At this the lion-like Lord began to roar that his teachings were such that if one pondered over them one would surely

⁷ It is interesting to note here the valuable remarks of Mrs. Rhys Davids in her *Gotama the man* (p. 222), "the same way of values in the other formula of ordered thinking called the four satipaṭṭhānas has, as two of its stages 'ideas' and 'mind', brought in the same two ideas here, where the training has a somewhat, but not wholly, different emphasis. And it will not be a true picture of my teaching, if the training in *iddhi* is passed over".

leave the world. Sāriputta further informed the Buddha that he was so powerful because he possessed the ten powers which included his capacity for knowing facts. He further declared that he possessed the four Vesārajjas (four kinds of confidence). He also knew the various classifications of beings, the birth of beings, the Nibbāna, the mind of men, and the five different destinies of men. This long sutta only glorifies the Buddha.

Reference is also made to the existence of certain kinds of religious men (1) who believe in purification by food, (2) who believe in purification by offering, and (3) who believe in purification by the fire rituals. The Lomadhamsapariyāya is an alternative title suggested in this discourse. A popular version of this discourse is to be found in the Lomahaṃsa Jātaka.⁸

The *Mahādukkhakkhandā Sutta* (M.N., I, 83-90) tells us that the monks were thinking as to the distinction between their school of thought and those of the other sects, particularly when both taught subjects of desire. They approached the Lord and the Lord asked them if they could put the question before the ascetics of the other sects as to the pleasures of senses, and escape from sensual pleasures, etc. Surely the ascetics of the other sects would be puzzled. This sutta informs us that it is the sensual pleasure that brings lots of troubles when kings fight, private persons engage in feuds, etc. So the end of sensual pleasure is happiness.

In this sutta we find a long enumeration of the offences that were punishable by the penal laws of ancient India, e.g. burglary, robbery, highway, adultery, etc. The kind of punishment for each offence is mentioned as follows : by flogging, by bastinado, by bludgeoning, by cutting off hands or feet, hands and feet, ears or nose, ears and nose or they are subjected to the tortures of the saucepan,⁹ the chank-shave or the lanthorn,¹⁰ the

⁸ Fausböll, *Jātaka*, Vol. I, pp. 389 foll.

⁹ The skull was first trepanned and then a red-hot ball of iron was dropped in so that the brains boiled over like porridge.

¹⁰ The mouth was fixed open with a skewer and a lighted lamp put inside. This torture was called the mouth of Rāhu because Rāhu, the asura, was supposed at an eclipse to swallow the sun.

wreath of fire,¹¹ the fiery hand, the hay-band,¹² the barkrobe, the black hart,¹³ the meat-hooks,¹⁴ the pennies,¹⁵ the pickle¹⁶, bolting the door¹⁷ or the palliasse¹⁸ or they are sprayed with boiling oil, or are given to starved dogs to devour, or are impaled alive. or have their heads chopped off.

There is a reference here to sects other than the order of Buddhist monks, for whom too sensual pleasure was the main point of attack and their identification will be of great interest.

There is also a mention of the kinds of profession that suited the householder, e.g.:

- | | |
|---------------|--------------------|
| 1. Muddā | conveyancing |
| 2. Gaṇanā | accountancy |
| 3. Saṅkhā | appraising |
| 4. Kasī | agriculture |
| 5. Vanijjā | trade and commerce |
| 6. Gorakkhā | cattle breeding |
| 7. Issattha | soldiery |
| 8. Rājaporisa | royal service |

and other arts and occupations, e.g. clerk of the signet, clerk of accompt, computer, estate-agent, purveyor, herd-man-ager, archer, member of the royal household.

¹¹ The whole body was oiled before ignition but māti suggests a coronal of flames just as the next torture is localized to the hands.

¹² From the neck downwards the skin was flayed into strips not severed at the ankles but there plaited like a hay-band to suspend him till he fell by his own weight. In the next torture the strips formed a kilt.

¹³ The victim was skewered to the ground through elbows and knees with a fire lighted all round him so as to char his flesh.

¹⁴ The victims were slung up by double hooks through flesh and tendons.

¹⁵ With a razor little discs of flesh were shaved off all over the body.

¹⁶ Into gashes salt or alkali was rubbed with combs.

¹⁷ The head was nailed to the ground by a skewer through both ear-holes.

¹⁸ The skin being left intact, the bones and inwards were pounded till the whole frame was as soft as a straw mattress (Lord Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. I, pp. 61-62 f.n.).

The *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha Sutta* (M.N., I, 91-95) informs us that Mahānāma the Sākya approached the Lord and asked him, "How is it that thoughts for craving, hatred, and delusion are the defilements of mind?" The Lord explained to him thus "something has not been cast out and for this such trouble comes to him again". In this sutta is found a description of the naked ascetics whom the Buddha is said to have met. Some of the naked ascetics lived in large numbers at the Black rock in Rājagaha. Their teacher was Nāthaputta who believed in bad works done by them in their past life for which they were to suffer. They believed that by suffering, happiness may be attained.

The object of *Anumāna Sutta* (M.N., I, 95-100) is to warn the monks in concrete cases to be careful.

Mahāmoggallāna advises the monks that if any of them goes astray and does not listen to the warnings of the fellow monks then the best way lies with them is to punish him by not mixing with him and not speaking to him.

Like the Mahāvagga and Pātimokkha this sutta enumerates offences and their punishments. Nowhere there is any mention of a citation of a standard book on these rules. And the principal figure here is not the Lord but Mahāmoggallāna. Buddha-ghosa informs us that this discourse was known to the ancients as Bhikkhuvinaya or treatises on discipline.

The *Cetokhila Sutta* (M.N., I, 101-104) lays down that there are five bolts of the heart, e.g. the doubt about the teacher, the doubt about the doctrine or confraternity or the course of training with the lack of bent towards ardour, zeal, perseverance and exertion and anger and displeasure towards fellows in higher life. The Buddha says that there are five cetaso vinibandhā (five mental enslavements or five bondages of the mind)¹⁹ from which

¹⁹ Attachment to sensual pleasures, attachment to the body, attachment to the visible forms, if after eating as much as his belly will hold, a bhikkhu is fond of his chair or bed or of slumber, then his heart's bent is not towards ardour, zeal, perseverance, and exertions. If a bhikkhu aspiring to belong to one of the deva communities practises morality saying unto himself that by practising this precept, vow, asceticism or austerity he would become a particular god, then his heart's bent is not towards ardour, etc.

every monk has to free himself in order to achieve the highest goal.

The sutta also lays down some Vinaya rules and illustrates the cases. It may be pointed out that the Buddhist term *cetokhila* corresponds to Jaina *dukkhasejjā* (the thorny bed).

In the *Vanapattha Sutta* (M.N., I, 104-108; Woodland Solitude) the Blessed One lays before his disciples a way of woodland solitude. The Master quotes instances of monks living in forests with an unbalanced mind and an unsteady recollection. Such monks could not achieve anything noble because they were not accustomed to live without necessities.

This sutta also exemplifies the Vinaya rules, as for example, a monk's needs in the matter of clothing, food, bed, and medicaments.

The *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta* (M.N., I, 108-114; the Daily morsel) points out that Daṇḍapāni, the Śākya, met the Blessed One and asked him what doctrine the latter held. At this the Blessed One explained to him that he held such a doctrine that both Brahmā and Māra were unable to hold. At this Daṇḍapāni retired. The Buddha then narrated the events to the disciples who also wanted to know what doctrine the Blessed One held. He then retired after telling them his doctrine in a nut-shell that there is an end of all inclinations to passion, pride, doubts, ignorance, and speculative ideas for a man if he does not adhere to obsessions, whatever be the origin. Then Mahākaccāna was sought after by the monk to explain the meaning of what the Blessed One had spoken so briefly. Thereupon Mahākaccāna explained to the fellow monks the psychological meaning of the sayings of the Buddha. Then the Lord also corroborated the same statement of Mahākaccāna.

The *Dvedhāvitakka Sutta* (M.N., I, 114-118) is very important so far as the history of Pāli literature is concerned. Mahākaccāna's exposition of what the Buddha had spoken shortly furnishes us at least with important data as to the way in which the system of exposition began, and that the system of Abhidhamma exposition based on philosophical thought and expla-

nation of what the Buddha had spoken may be found here. Here we may find the genesis of Abhidhamma and the author was the same Mahākaccāna. Mahākaccāna's duty was ever the same. No text is referred to as there was no text and the succeeding numbers of texts are nothing but embodiments of all philosophical expositions and Buddha's short teachings which are sought to have passed through the mouth of Buddha's disciples, e.g. Mahākaccāna.

The Blessed One explained to his disciples that he failed to achieve the highest object so long as he practised the habit of dividing things which gave rise in his heart to craving, considerations of ill-will and cruelty. But when he thought and pondered more on renunciation, then the thoughts of craving passed away. He gave them a number of parables and finally exhorted them to devote themselves to meditation so that they might not have to repent later on.

In the *Vitakkasanthāna Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 118-122*) we find that there are discussions which bring about merit and there are discussions which bring about demerit, suffering, etc. A bhikkhu should be called one who is well restrained in discussions when he discusses with one who wants discussion and refuses discussion with one who does not want it.

The *Kakacūpama Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 122-129*; parable of the saw) points out that the Blessed One spoke in very reproaching terms to Moliya-Phagguna and asked him to avoid the society of bhikkhuṇīs and to do as the senior bhikkhus instructed him to do. He should drive away all anger from his mind and should not give way to anger even if villainous bandits were to carve him limb from limb with a two-handled saw (*ubhatodaṇḍakena kakacena*).

In the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 130-142*; parable of the snake) Ariṭṭha says that what Buddha had laid down, so far as hindrance was concerned, was not yet sufficient. The monks tried to correct him and failing in this they approached the Buddha. Buddha sent for Ariṭṭha and when the latter arrived before him he approached him saying that the teachings were quite

sufficient but that Ariṭṭha had not well comprehended them and that he had been misguided.²⁰

The *Vammika Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 142-145; the parable of the ant-hill) deserves only a passing notice.

In the *Rathavināta Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 145-151) Puṇṇa Mantāniputta²¹ dwells upon the various stages in the path of the attainment of nibbāna.²² One cannot have nibbāna at once. Nibbāna is the goal and to attain that one is to pass through various states of mind, one leading to the other. First, purity of life will take one as far as purity of heart and no further, and purity of heart takes one only up to purity of views. In the same way one will have gradually the purity by dispelling doubts, the purity by the fullest insight into the way by which to walk, and the purity which insight gives. The question of Upatissa in this sutta is identified by Dr. Neumann with the passage, entitled *Upatissapasine* in *Aśoka's Bhābru Edict*. We agree with Dr. B. M. Barua in thinking that Buddhaghosa's encyclopaedic Visuddhimagga or even Buddhadatta's earlier Abhidhamma Manual, Abhidhammāvatāra, is nothing but an elaborate treatment of the topics suggested in the questions of Upatissa.

In the *Nivāpa Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 151-160) we find that the Buddha instructs the bhikkhus how to avoid the five pleasures of senses and thus become free from the clutches of Māra and his train. According to the Master such a bhikkhu is said to have passed the range of vision of the Evil One, who divested of pleasures and wrong states of mind abides in the First Ecstasy, the Second Ecstasy, the Third Ecstasy, the Fourth Ecstasy, the plane of infinity of space, the plane of infinity of consciousness, the plane of naught, the plane of neither perception nor non-perception, the plane where feeling and perception cease.

²⁰ Cf. *Vinaya Texts*, II, S.B.E., p. 377, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. II, *Cullavagga*, pp. 25 foll.

²¹ Vide Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Gotama the man*, pp. 111-113.

²² For an interesting discussion on Nibbāna, see *Buddhistic Studies* edited by B.C. Law, pp. 564 foll. It is true to say that nibbāna is not for many but for the very ripe few (*Gotama the man*, p. 174).

The *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 160-175) furnishes us with one of the earliest examples of legends of the early days of Buddhahood, and as such it forms the historical basis of later legendary accounts in the Jātakas and Avadānas.

In the *Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 175-184) the Buddha narrates to the brahmin Jānussoni the achievements of a Truth-finder. A Truth-finder preaches his doctrine which is conducive to good of all. He propounds a higher life that is wholly complete and pure. This doctrine is heard by the head of a house or his son or by one of any other birth, who hearing it forsakes the worldly life and becomes a bhikkhu. He keeps the sīlas (precepts), cūla (small), majjhima (middle size), and mahā (large). He becomes a master of this noble code of virtue and of control of his faculties of sense. He becomes a master of noble mindfulness and purpose in all he does. He resorts to a lonely lodging. His heart is set on mindfulness. His life is purged of all evils. He abides in the Four Ecstasies. This is the Truth-finder's footprint. The disciple of the Noble concludes that the Lord is Enlightened and he has truly revealed his Doctrine and his Order walks aright.

The *Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 184-191) is attributed to Sāriputta. Sāriputta says that just as the foot of every creature that walks the earth will go into the elephant's footprint, which is pre-eminent for size, even so are all right states of mind comprised within the Four Noble Truths—ill, the origin of ill, the cessation of ill, and the way leading to the cessation of ill. Sāriputta then explains the Noble Truth of ill and says that the Five Attachments to existence (visible shapes, feeling, perception, plastic forces, and consciousness) are ill. He next dwells upon the constituents of the attachment of visible shapes, viz. earth, water, fire and air, and concludes by saying that what is true of visible objects, is equally true of sound, smell, taste, touch, and mind.

In the *Mahāsāropama Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 192-197) the Buddha refers to Devadatta's secession from the Order²³ and says

²³ Cf. *Vinaya Texts*, III, S.B.E., pp. 238 foll.

that there are certain youths who outwardly being allured by the life of monks leave the household life. As monks, they receive presents, esteem, and repute. But these things so please them and so satisfy their aspirations that thereby they become puffed up and disparage others. Thus they grow remiss, and having become remiss, live a prey to ill. But there are also certain youths who do not fall a prey to ill.

In the *Cūlasāropama Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 198-205*) the Blessed One says to the brahmin Piṅgala-Koccha that the reward of the higher life is not to be found in presents, esteem, and repute, nor in a life of virtue, nor in rapt concentration, nor in Mystic Insight. It is immutable Deliverance which is the prize and the goal of the higher life. This is the Buddha's reply to the question of the brahmin Piṅgala-Koccha. The question is this: whether by reason of their own professed creed that all of the religious teachers, such as Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesa-Kambalī, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, and Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta²⁴ have, or have not, discerned truth, or that some of them have discerned it, while others have not. In this sutta Buddha simply reproduces verbatim what we get about these six teachers at *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini, I, pp. 142-4*.

In the *Cūlagosiṅga Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 205-211*) the Lord praises Anuruddha, Nandiya, and Kimbila²⁵ who by putting an end to evil desires have risen beyond the ordinary mortals.

In the *Mahāgosiṅga Sutta* (*M.N., i, pp. 212-219*) we find that in reply to the question what type of bhikkhu would illumine gosiṅga wood, Ananda speaks of one who treasures and hoards what he has been taught and learns by heart the ideas which declare the higher life in all its perfection and purity; Revata, of one who delights in meditation; Anuruddha, of one who is blessed with the celestial eye; Mahākassapa, of one who living in the forest recommends forest life and lives in solitude; Mahāmoggallāna, of one who holds discourse on the Abhidhamma

²⁴ Vide *Buddhist Studies* (edited by B. C. Law), pp. 73-88, chap. III, on *Six heretical teachers* by B. C. Law.

²⁵ Cf. the *Vinaya account*, S.B.E., XX, 228.

with another bhikkhu for gaining edification on it ; Sāriputta, of one who is master of his heart ; and the Buddha, of one whose heart is delivered from all evil desires.

In the *Mahāgopālaka Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 220-224*) the Buddha says that there are eleven good or bad qualities, in the case of a bhikkhu, which either enable him to show or disable him from showing progress in the doctrine and rites. A bhikkhu who knows the four elements, comprehends what marks the doings of the fool and the doings of the wise, develops control over his faculty of sight, goes from time to time to learned bhikkhus to ask and enquire of the difficult points of doctrine, has a perfect knowledge of the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*) and tends with special attention the experienced and senior Elders, can really show growth, increase, and progress in the doctrine. But a bhikkhu who has not these qualities cannot show progress in the doctrine.

In the *Cūḷagopālaka Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 225-227*) the Buddha says that those who will listen to and trust in the recluses and brahmins who are wrong about this world and hereafter, wrong about what is and what is not the realm of Māra,²⁶ wrong about what is and what is not the realm of Death, will long suffer and smart for it. They who follow the recluses and brahmins who rightly comprehend this world and the next, the realm of Māra and Death, will long enjoy weal and welfare.

In the *Cūḷasaccaka Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 227-237*) we have an account of a conversation between Saccaka and the Buddha. This Saccaka was the son of a Jain (woman), and was a great

²⁶ Mrs. Rhys Davids' interpretation of Māra is worth noticing. She says, "when we used the term 'māra' it was to speak of this or that man as a very type of will-worsener, either as a sceptic, or as an encourager of low desires... Māra is never a very devil or demon but just a man who wills evil. The name means death and evil leads ever to some sort of destroying. The many stories on Māra mean only that. Māra is never described save as some man or creature. Never as woman ! The daughters of Māra come nearest to that. Woman was reckoned as in herself Māra without the name" (*Gotama the man*, pp. 126-127). Read in this connection my paper on the Buddhist conception of Māra (*Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 257 foll.).

controversialist who gave himself out as learned and was held in high popular repute.

The *Mahāsaccaka Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 237-251) narrates the Lord's triumph over Saccaka whose aim was to discredit the Buddha and the Doctrine and the Confraternity. It appears from this sutta that Mahāvīra (Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta) is said to have laid equal stress on manokamma and kāyakamma on the ground of the interaction of the body and mind (cittaṅvayo kāyo hoti, kāyaṅvayaṃ cittaṃ hoti).

In the *Cūḷatanhāsariṅkhaya Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 251-256) the Lord explains briefly how a bhikkhu wins deliverance by the extirpation of cravings, so as to become consummate in perfection, in his union with peace, and in the higher life, and foremost among gods and men.

In the *Mahātanhāsariṅkhaya Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 256-271) we find the Buddha expounding his doctrine to Sati, a fisherman's son, who misunderstanding the Lord's teaching of the doctrine, holds that consciousness runs on and continues without break of identity.

In the *Mahā-Assapura Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 271-280) the Buddha enumerates the qualities which are essential for an ideal recluse. An ideal recluse should be conscientious and scrupulous and pure in deed, word, and thought. He should train himself to guard the portals of the senses and to moderation in food. He should be mindful and self-possessed and should live in solitude and sit in a charnel ground with his mind set on mindfulness. He should put away the five hindrances and abide in the four Ecstasies (jhāna is rapt musing or abstraction, according to Mrs. Rhys Davids). Such a bhikkhu is styled brahmin, noble, and saintly.

In the *Cūḷa-Assapura Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 281-284) the Lord also speaks of the recluse's regimen. A bhikkhu should not tread the recluse's path of duty. He should put away greed, malice, wrath, revenge, hypocrisy, fraud, and evil desires from him. It is not the robe which makes the recluse, nor living under a tree, nor intoning texts, nor having matted hair. It is by putting away

all the evil qualities that one becomes a true bhikkhu. Thus putting away the five hindrances and destroying the cankers a bhikkhu abides in the Four Ecstasies.

The *Sāleyyaka Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 285-290) narrates how the Buddha exhorted the brahmin householders of Sāla, a brahmin village of the Kosalans, convincing them of the truth of what he said. This sutta gives a list of all the gods of the Kāmaloka, Rūpaloka, and Arūpaloka in the proper order though without the details which, however, must have been known to the author of these suttas.

In the *Verañjaka Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 290-291) the Master instructed the brahmins who came to Sāvattī from Verañja on some business or other, convincing them of the truth of his doctrine.

The *Mahāvedalla Sutta*²⁷ (M.N., I, pp. 292-298) is a catechism of questions and answers of certain psychological topics, e.g. understanding consciousness, feeling, perception, pure mental consciousness isolated from the five faculties of bodily sense, eye of understanding, right outlook, types of rebirth, and first jhāna ('rapt musing or abstraction')

In the *Cūlavedalla Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 299-305) the bhikkhuni, Dhammadinnā, replies to the lay disciple Visākha's questions on personality, the Noble Eightfold Path (ariya aṭṭhaṅgikamagga), and the plastic forces (saṅkhāra).

In the *Cūladhammasamādāna Sutta* and the *Mahādhammasamādāna Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 305-317) the Master says that there are four ways to profess a doctrine. The first is pleasant for the time being but ripens to pain thereafter; the second is unpleasant for the time being and ripens to pain thereafter; the third is unpleasant for the time being but ripens to be pleasant thereafter; and the fourth is not only pleasant for the time being but also ripens to be pleasant thereafter.

²⁷ Read *The Vedalla Sutta as illustrating the psychological basis* by C. A. Foley, M.A. In this paper questions on matters mainly psychological are answered and some miscellaneous philosophical problems, psychological, ethical, logical, and metaphysical are raised and discussed, J.R.A.S., 1894.

Read also Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology*.

In the *Vimāṃsaka Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 317-320) the Buddha says that the enquiring bhikkhu who searches the heart of others, ought to study the Truth-finder. He ought to study the Truth-finder in respect of the two states of consciousness which come through eye and ear. He should see whether the revered man is restrained in fearlessness or through fear or whether it is solely by reason of passionlessness that he eschews pleasures of senses, having eradicated all passion. If any man's faith in the Truth-finder is planted by the foregoing researches, then such faith is based on insight and reason.

In the *Kosambiya Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 320-325) we are told that once disputes were ripe in Kosambī among the bhikkhus regarding certain Vinaya rules. The Master spoke on amity and its root in order to bring about a conciliation.

In the *Brahmanimantāṇika Sutta*²⁸ (M.N., I, pp. 326-331) we are told that the Buddha held conversation with Baka the Brahmā who conceived the pernicious view that this world was permanent with no rebirth thence. The Master explained what was true. Māra tried to conquer both the Buddha and Brahmā, but he failed to do so.

The *Māraṭṭajaniya Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 332-338) is one of those early dialogues which presents an episode of the Buddha and Māra, the tempter. The verses forming the epilogue of the sutta bear a favourable comparison with the Padhāna Sutta in the Sutta Nipāta. *With this sutta closes the first series of 50 suttas.*

In the *Kandaraka Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 339-349) Buddha speaks against asceticism. He denounces one who torments himself and is given to self-mortification; one who torments others and is given to tormenting others; and one who torments himself and others, and is given to tormenting both. He praises one who tormenting neither himself nor others dwells beyond appetites and in bliss and in holiness.

In the *Aṭṭhakanāgara Sutta*²⁹ (M.N., I, 349-353) Ānanda speaks

²⁸ Cf. *Saṃyutta*, I, 142. No mention of Māra in the Bakobrahmā Sutta. Many Brahmakāyikadevas are mentioned in this sutta.

²⁹ Cf. *Āṅguttara*, V. 342-7.

of the steps to Nirvāṇa. A bhikkhu divested of pleasures of senses and divested of wrong states of consciousness, enters on and dwells in the first, the second, the third, and the fourth rapt musings or jhānas. With radiant good will, pity and sympathy and poised equanimity, he pervades the four quarters of the world. By passing beyond perception of material objects, perception of sense-reactions, and perception of differences, he abides in the plane of infinity of space, the plane of infinity of consciousness, and the plane of naught.

In the *Sekha Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 353-359) Ānanda says how a disciple of the Noble is virtuous, keeps watch and ward over the portals of sense, is temperate in eating, vigilant, established in the seven virtuous qualities, and is able at will to induce the four rapt musings³⁰ which transcend thought and confer well-being here and now.

In the *Potaliya Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 359-368) the Buddha deals with what is true-giving under the law of the Noble. This includes abstention from killing, theft, lying, calumny, covetousness, taunts, anger and arrogance.

In the *Jivaka Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 368-371) the Buddha speaks of what is meant by lawful and unlawful meats. A bhikkhu should not take meat if there is the evidence either of his eyes or of his ears of if there are grounds of suspicion that the animal is slain expressly for him. They should take the same in other cases except these three.

In the *Upāli Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 371-387) the Buddha had a conversation with Upāli,³¹ a Jain, a follower of Nāthaputta, the

³⁰ See Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*, pp. 171 foll.

³¹ Mrs. Rhys Davids says "in his own way he was worldly enough ; the laity looked upon him as the mainstay of a dignified and self-respecting standard in the monk-world. He attached great importance to discipline" (*Gotama the man*, p. 215. Vide also my *Historical Gleanings*, p. 92). Mrs. Rhys Davids draws our attention to the fact that the three verses in the collection were not by this Upāli. He was not a poet. Nor are they by Upāli called the barber. They are by an Upāli of whom no memory remains ; the commentary is in double error here (*Gotama the man*, pp. 215-216).

Nigaṇṭha. According to the Nigaṇṭhas, there are three kinds of inflictions which effect and start demerit —those of deed, word, and mind. They hold that those of deed are the most criminal in effecting and starting demerit, the other two being less criminal. The gāthās uttered by Upāli in praise of the qualities of the Buddha are pieces of a remarkable composition characterised by majestic and dignified tone (cf. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, *Jaina Sūtras*, pt. II, pp. 414-417).

In the *Kukkuravatika-Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 387-392) we are told that to Puṇṇa Koliyaputta who was a man of bovine vow and Seniya, a naked ascetic who was a man of canine vow, Buddha says that the future state of both is either purgatory or rebirth as an animal. The Buddha says that there are four kinds of action (1) actions which are dark, with dark outcome, (2) actions which are bright, with bright outcome, (3) actions which are both dark and bright, with dark and bright outcome, and (4) actions which are neither dark nor bright, with an outcome neither dark nor bright, conducive to the destruction of Karma. Both Puṇṇa and Seniya took refuge in the Buddha.

In the *Abhayarājakumāra Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 392-396) we find that Abhaya-Rāja-Kumāra, a disciple of Nāthaputta the Nigaṇṭha, tried to discredit the Buddha. But the Buddha triumphed over him and the latter took refuge in the Buddhist Triad. It follows from the evidence available in this sutta that Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta was aware of the dissension between the Buddha and Devadatta (*vide my Historical Gleanings*, p. 93).

In the *Bahuvēdaniya Sutta*³² (*M.N.*, I, pp. 396-400) the Lord speaks on the various classes of feelings. Five in number are the pleasures of senses, namely, material shapes apparent to the eye, sound, smell taste, and touch. Every pleasant gratification which arises from these five pleasures of senses is called sensual pleasure. But this is not the highest pleasure. Beyond this, there is a pleasure more excellent. This is enjoyed by a bhikkhu who abides by the Four Ecstasies or rapt musings, plane of infinity of consciousness and plane of naught.

³² Cf. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, IV, pp. 223-8.

In the *Apaṇṇaka Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 400-413*) the Master expounds the sound doctrine to recluses and brahmins who held views which were diametrically opposed. He discards both and points out the doctrine which is sound, namely, the Master's own doctrine.

In the *Ambalaṭṭhikā Rāhulovāda Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 414-420*) the Buddha discourses about lying. He condemns it and advises the bhikkhus to win purity in deed, word and thought by constant reflection. This sutta supplies the Pāli counterpart of the tract referred to in the Bhābrū Edict under a descriptive title, *Lāghulavāda Sutta*, embodying the Buddha's discourse on the subject of falsehood.

In the *Mahā Rāhulovāda Sutta* (*M.N., I pp. 420-426*) Sāriputta admonishes Rāhula to develop mindfulness which comes from inhaling and exhaling (breathing exercises).

In the *Cūḷa-Māluṅkya Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 426-432*) we are told that Māluṅkyā-Putta was dissatisfied with the life of a recluse as the Buddha did not expound to him the various speculations about the past and present. The Buddha said that he did not expound them as they were irrelevant and not conducive to the higher life.

In the *Mahā-Māluṅkya Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 432-437*) the Buddha deals with the five bonds³³ which chain men to the lower life. He also suggests the means to put an end to the five bonds.

In the *Bhaddāli Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 437-447*) the Buddha admonishes Bhaddāli to be obedient and to conduct himself according to the Master's teachings.

In the *Laṭukikopama Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 447-456*) the Buddha says that there are foolish people who when told to give up something, think that it is a matter of no moment. They do not give it up. But this insignificant thing grows into a bond strong enough to hold them fast. The *Laṭukika Jātaka*³⁴ is nothing but a popu-

³³ The five Orambhāgiyāni samyojanāni are the following : Sakkāyadiṭṭhi (false view of individuality), Vicikicchā (doubt), Sīlabbataparāmāsa, (affectation of rites), Kāmacchanda (desire for sensual pleasures), and Byāpāda (malevolence).

³⁴ Fausböll, *Jātaka*, Vol. III.

lar illustration of the teaching of this sutta.

In the *Cātuma Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 456-462*) the Lord mentions the four terrors (temper, gluttony, the five pleasures of senses and women) which await those who, in this doctrine and rule (Dhammavinaya), go forth from home to homelessness as monks.

In the *Naḷakapāna Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 462-468*; the stimulus of example) the Truth-finder's object in saying that such and such a bhikkhu by tearing five bonds, has been translated to a heaven never to come back thence to earth, by tearing the three bonds he is safe from future states of punishment, is not to delude folk, nor to get for himself gains of fame, nor to advertise himself as revealing the respective states hereafter of his disciples, dead and gone. It is because there are young men who believe and are filled with enthusiasm and gladness, who, on hearing this revelation, concentrate their whole hearts on becoming like these, for their own abiding good and welfare. For a popular illustration of this teaching, one must turn to *Naḷakapāna Jātaka*.

In the *Gulissāni Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 469-473*) Sāriputta discusses the duties of a bhikkhu who comes in from the wilds to the confraternity and lives with the bhikkhus. Such a bhikkhu should show respect and consideration to his fellows in the higher life. He should be correct in the matter of seats, punctilious neither to displace seniors nor to oust juniors. He should not visit the village at too early an hour. He ought to keep watch over his faculties. He should be moderate in his eating and steadfast in good will.

In the *Kiṭṭhāgiri Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 473-481*) the Buddha admonishes two bhikkhus to put implicit faith in his teachings. He says that he has the knowledge of what is to be eschewed and that they should give it up.

In the *Tevijja-Vacchagotta Sutta* (*M.N., I, pp. 481-483*) we are told that Vaccha-gotta,³⁵ a wanderer, had a wrong idea of the lore possessed by the Buddha. The recluse Gotama tells the

³⁵ See Dr. B. C. Law's *Historical Gleanings*, p. 19.

wanderer that the threefold lore possessed by him is as follows: he can call to mind his past existences, with eye celestial he can see creatures in act to pass hence and reappear elsewhere, and by destroying evil desires he has won deliverance. In this sutta, Gotama points out that there is none among the Ājīvakas who after death has attained arahatship. He further says that he knows only one among them who has gone to heaven.

In the *Aggi-Vacchagotta Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 483-489) we are told that the Master got Aggivacchagotta as his disciple who put to him questions on the speculations about the past and the future.

In the *Mahāvaccagotta Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 489-497) we find that the Lord requested by Vaccha, explains to him what is right and what is wrong. Vaccha is impressed. By his discourses he acts up to the teachings of the Master. He is in a short time numbered among the Arahats.

In the *Dīghanakha Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 497-501) Buddha in reply to Dīghanakha's question says that those who are satisfied with all, hold a view which is allied to passion and pleasure. Those who are dissatisfied with all, hold a view which is allied to passionlessness and freedom. Others again partly take the former and partly the latter view. The Master then expounds the doctrine leading to deliverance. This sutta is referred to as *vedanāpariggaha Suttanta* in the *Dhammapadatthakathā* (P.T.S.), I, 96.

In the *Māgandiya Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 501-513) we are told that Māgandiya, a wanderer, described the Buddha in an opprobrious term as a repressionist (Bhūnahu).³⁶ Buddha said that he was not so. The truth-finder subjugated the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, consciousness and their respective functions. He preached the doctrine for the subjugation of these. The attainment of the highest gain can be obtained by destroying all these.

³⁶ In Sanskrit it is Brunahan, cf. *Isopanisad* in which the *Vājasaneyas* speak of some unknown opponents who were perhaps unmarried recluses as *ātmahanojanā* (*vide my Historical Gleanings*, p. 19).

In the *Sandaka Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 513-524) Ānanda refers to the four antitheses to the higher life. First, there is the teacher who holds that it does not matter whether actions are good or bad. Secondly, there is a teacher who holds that no evil is done by him who either acts himself or causes another to act, who mutilates or causes another to mutilate. Thirdly, there is a teacher who holds that there is no cause or reason for either depravity or purity. Lastly, there is the teacher who holds the Sattākāya doctrine.

Ānanda also speaks of four comfortless vocations. First, there is the teacher who is all-knowing and all-seeing. Secondly, there is the teacher who preaches a doctrine which is both traditional and scriptural. Thirdly, there is the teacher who is a rationalist of pure reason and criticism. Lastly, there is the teacher who is stupid and deficient. All these are false guides to the higher life. *The first volume of the Majjhima Nikāya ends with this sutta.*

In the *Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 1-22) the Master deals with the key to pupil's esteem —how a teacher can command the respect of his disciples. In this sutta we read that Sakuludāyi informed the Buddha that in the past Aṅga and Magadha were seething with sophistic activities. Lord Chalmers in his introduction to the *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. I, p. xix, points out that it is apparent from this sutta that each individual was left free, within generous limits, to choose the mode of living which suited his own particular needs, even if it included austerities which Gotama neither recommended to others nor practised in his own person.

In the *Samaṇamaṇḍikā Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 22-29) we are told that according to uggahamāna, a wanderer,³⁷ four qualities characterise a triumphant recluse who has won all that is to be won. He does nothing evil, he thinks nothing evil, and he gets his living in no evil way. According to the Buddha, however, there are ten qualities which make a bhikkhu a triumphant recluse who is imbued with the right, excels in the right, and has won all that is to be won.

³⁷ Vide my *Historical Gleanings*, p. 18.

In the *Cūlasakuludāyi Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 29-39) The Blessed One pointed out the emptiness of the tenets of the wanderer Sakuludāyi, who had a vague idea of what is perfection, and spoke on the Four Ecstasies or rapt musings or abstractions and other states of consciousness while explaining the world of absolute bliss and the sure way to realise it. Sakuludāyi was converted. This sutta further informs us that according to Mahāvīra the four precepts and self-privation are the recognised roads to the blissful state of the soul.

In the *Vekhanassa Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 40-44) the Lord proves the emptiness of the tenets of the wanderer Vekhanassa who had a very queer idea of what perfection is. Vekhanassa became a lay disciple of the Buddha. It may be noticed here that Buddha-ghosa says that Vekhanassa was the teacher of Sakuludāyi.³⁸

In the *Ghaṭikāra Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 45-54) the Blessed One spoke to Ānanda on Ghaṭikāra's (a potter by profession) devotion. Ghaṭikāra³⁹ had a friend named Jotipāla. Once they went together to Kassapa the Lord. Hearing the doctrine preached by the Lord himself Jotipāla decided to go from home to homelessness as a monk. Ghaṭikāra could not forsake the worldly life as he had to support his aged blind parents. But he in his devotion to the Lord Kassapa surpassed all others and he fulfilled the layman's duties as sanctioned by Buddhism. Once the Lord Kassapa was invited by Kiki, King of Kāsī. Kassapa accepted the invitation and went to Kiki. The King entreated the Lord to spend the vassāvāsa in his kingdom. But Kassapa told the king that he had already promised to Ghaṭikāra to stay at Vehaliṅga under his care. Kassapa then spoke very highly of Ghaṭikāra's devotion.

In the concluding lines Buddha identifies himself with Jotipāla.

In the *Raṭṭhapāla Sutta*⁴⁰ (M.N., II, pp. 54-74) we find that a

³⁸ Lord Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. II, p. 21 f.n.

³⁹ Cf. Dr. B. C. Law's *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, pp. 45 foll.

⁴⁰ There is a paper on the *Raṭṭhapāla Sutta* by Walter Lupton, I.C.S. The Pāli text together with a translation is given there. The writer has made use of the commentary wherever necessary, J.R.A.S., 1894. The same story is told in practically the same words about Sudiṇṇa in *Vinaya*, III, 11-15.

true bhikkhu goes from home to homelessness as a monk, when he knows, sees, and hears the following four propositions enumerated by the Master, e.g., the world is no protector or preserver ; the world owns nothing ; the world lacks and hankers being enslaved to craving: That cannot be called a true renunciation when one goes forth from home to homelessness as a monk, for old age, failing health, impoverishment, and death of kinsfolk. The gāthās uttered by Raṭṭhapāla giving out his religious experience are highly interesting as being the prototype of the poems in the Theragāthā (verses 769-788).

In the *Makhādeva Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 74-83) we find that Makhādeva, King of Mithilā, in order to seek pleasures celestial, renounced the world. His son also when he enjoyed fully worldly pleasures, left the worldly life. The last of three kings to do so was Nimi. Nimi's son Janaka broke this tradition. This sutta is mentioned in the Cullaniddesa (p. 80, Maghādeva) as one of the four earliest examples of Jātakas (cf. Makhādeva Jātaka, *Jātaka*, vol. I, No. 9).

In the *Madhura Sutta*⁴¹ (M.N., II, pp. 83-90) Mahākaccāna speaks against the Brahmanical claims that they are superior to all other castes.

In the *Bodhirājakumāra Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 91-97) we find that in reply to Bodhi's question how long it would take a bhikkhu with the Truth-finder as his guide to win the prize of prizes, Buddha says that there must be aptness, in a bhikkhu, to learn.

The *Aṅgulimāla Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 97-105) gives a vivid account of taming and conversion of the bandit, Aṅgulimāla by the Buddha. The gāthās uttered by Aṅgulimāla are precisely those attributed to him in the Theragāthā (verses 867-891).

In the *Piyajātika Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 106-112) the Lord by references to actual facts points out that dear ones do bring sorrow and lamentation, pain, suffering and tribulation.

⁴¹ Read a paper on the *Madhura Sutta* concerning caste by Robert Chalmers. The Pāli text and commentary together with a translation are given here. This paper reveals the Buddhist views of caste, J.R.A.S., 1894; cf. *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*, *Digha*, I, which also deals with the same topic.

In the *Bāhitika Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp. 112-117*) King Pasenadi conversed with Ānanda on the subject of right and wrong behaviour. This sutta teaches us that behaviour whether of act or of word or of thought is wrong which is blame-worthy, malevolent and which ripens into ill and which conduces to the harm either of one's self or of others or of both together ; and that behaviour is right which is divested of all these evils.

In the *Dhammacetiya Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp. 118-125*) King Pasenadi commends the doctrine in monumental words. He says that there is always strife going on between kings, nobles, brahmins, and householders, but the bhikkhus live in peace and concord. There are samaṇas and brahmins who are lean miserable creatures, but the almsmen are joyous and joyful beings free from care and worry.

In the *Kannakathala Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp. 125-133*) Pasenadi asked the Lord about omniscience, about the purity of the four classes of nobles, brahmins, middle-class people and peasants and about the supreme Brahmā. The Buddha explained these in a manner which gladdened the king. According to him at one and the same time, no brahmin could know and see everything. He further said, "a malign Brahmā does return to life on earth, while a benign Brahmā does not".

In the *Brahmāya Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp. 133-146*) the Buddha convinces both the brahmin Brahmāyu and his pupil Uttara that he possesses the thirty-two marks of a superman, viz., "(1) His tread is firmly planted ; (2) on his soles are the wheels, complete with a thousand spokes and with felloes and hubs; (3) his heels project ; (4) his digits are long ; (5) he has soft hands and feet; (6) his fingers and toes spring clean, without webbing between them ; (7) his ankles are over the exact middle of his tread ; (8) his legs are like an antelope's ; (9) while standing bolt upright, he can, without bending, touch and rub his knees with both hands at once ; (10) his privities are within a sheath ; (11) golden of hue is he ; (12) so fine is his skin's texture that no dust or dirt can lodge on it ; (13) each several hair on his body grows separate and distinct, each from its own individual pore ; (14) each hair starts

straight, is blue-black like collyrium, and curls to the right at the tip ; (15) he is as straight as a die ; (16) his body shows the same convexities ; (17) his chest is like a lion's ; (18) his back is flat between the shoulders ; (19) his proportions are those of the banyan tree, his stretch being the same as his height; (20) his sense of taste is consummate ; (22) he has the jaw of a lion ; (23) he has forty teeth ; (24) his teeth are all the same length ; (25) there are no interstices between his teeth ; (26) his teeth are sparkling white ; (27) his tongue is big ; (28) his voice is melodious as the cuckoo's note ; (29) the pupils of his eyes are intensely dark ; (30) his eyelashes are like a cow's ; (31) between his eyebrows grow soft white hairs like cotton-down ; and (32) his head is shapad like a turban" (Lord Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 72-73; cf. *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 137 foll.).

In the *Sela Sutta* (*M.N., II, p. 146*) the brahmin Sela, seeing the thirty-two marks⁴² in the body of the Buddha, took refuge in the Buddhist Triad.

In the *Assalāyana Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp. 147-157*) the Buddha speaks against the brahmanical pretensions that the brahmins are superior to all other castes. The *Madhura Sutta* (*Majjhima*) and the *Ambaṭṭha* (*Dīgha*) deal with the same subject. The importance of this sutta lies in its allusions to Yonakamboja region where the caste-system of the brahmins did not prevail.

In the *Ghoṭamukha Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp. 157-163*) Udena, a revered Buddhist monk, convinces Ghoṭamukha⁴³ of the inefficiency of self-torture. The *Kandaraka Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* also deals with the same subject.

In the *Carikī Sutta* (*M.N., II, pp. 164-177*) the Buddha condemns the brahmanical pretensions that the brahmins are superior to all other castes.

⁴² Cf. *Visuddhimagga* (P.T.S.), I, pp. 249-265; pp. 353-363; *Paramatthajōtikā on the Khuddakapāṭha*, I, pp. 41-68; *Sammohavinodanī* (Sinhalese Ed.), pp. 49-63.

⁴³ Such a name as Ghoṭamukha occurs in the *Kāmasūtra* by Vātsyāyana. We are entitled on the authority of the Buddhist texts to maintain that Ghotamukha was one of the contemporaries of Gotama.

In the *Esukāri Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 177-184) the brahmin Esukāri considers birth as the criterion of division of people. But Buddha does not support it.

In the *Dhānañjāni Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 184-196) we are told that the brahmin Dhānañjāni lacks in zeal for pious acts. This sutta furnishes us with an account of the various grades of gods, e.g., Cātummahārājika, Tāvātimsa, Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati, and Paranimmitavasavattī.⁴⁴ After these there is the Brahmaloaka.

In the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* (M.N., II, p. 196) the Lord expounds to the young brahmins, Vāseṭṭha and Bharadvāja, as to who is a real brahmin. This sutta recurs in the *Sutta Nipāta*⁴⁵ and forms the canonical source from which half the number of the verses of the Brāhmaṇavagga in the Dhammapada has been derived.

In the *Subha Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 196-209) the Lord explains to the brahmin Subha the real union with Brahmā.

In the *Saṅgārava Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 209-213) we are told that the young brahmin Saṅgārava hearing the exclamation of the brahmin lady Dhānañjāni in praise of the Buddha scolded her for paying respect to a shaveling of a recluse. Later on the young brahmin met the Buddha who, when asked by the brahmin, said that He discerned a Doctrine and so had by insight won the goal and achieved Perfection, recognising the foundations on which the higher life was based. It is interesting to notice that the Buddha in reply to Saṅgārava's question admitted that there were gods.

With this sutta closes the middle series of fifty suttas.

In the *Devadaha Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 214-228) the Buddha characterises the doctrine of the Nigaṅṭhas as fatuous. The Nigaṅṭhas hold that whatever the individual experiences might be, all come from former actions. Hence, by expiation of former misdeeds and by not committing fresh misdeeds, nothing accrues for the future.

In the *Pañcattaya Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 228-238)⁴⁶ the Buddha

⁴⁴ Vide Dr. B. C. Law's *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁵ Sutta No. 9, P.T.S., p. 115.

⁴⁶ Cf. Brahmajāla Sutta, *Dīgha*, I; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, III, pp. 213 foll.

refers to the various schools of thought. The various schools of thought make various assertions about futurity. Some assert that the self is conscious after death while others deny this. Some hold the theory of annihilation of the existing creature while the others do not ; Buddha does not support these speculations.

In the *Kinti Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 238-243) the Buddha admonishes the bhikkhus to school themselves in the higher lore, namely, satipaṭṭhāna (mindfulness), bala (five forces or potentialities), indriya (fivefold sphere of sense) and in unity and harmony without strife. If there be any quarrel between a bhikkhu and another on the Abhidhamma, if a bhikkhu be guilty of offence, everything should be settled amicably.

In the *Sāmagāma Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 243-251) the Buddha speaks on unity and concord. After the death of the Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta there arose quarrels among the disciples. Ānanda knowing this fact referred the matter to the Master. The Master expounded six conciliatory things which when embraced and practised would lead to no strife among the disciples. This sutta throws some light on the ways in which the wandering teachers spent their time.⁴⁷ This sutta is regarded as a Vinaya tract on Adhikaraṇasamatha. It testifies to the fact that mahāvīra⁴⁸ (Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta) predeceased Buddha by a few years.

In the *Sunakkhatta Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 252-261) we are told that Sunakkhatta enquired of the Buddha whether the bhikkhus professed all they had really won or extravagant in their professions. The Buddha said, "If a bhikkhu is in full control of his six sense-organs to see in attachments the root of ill, and therefore to detach himself and to find deliverance in removing attachments, such a bhikkhu cannot possibly either surrender his body or devote his thought to attachments".

In the *Āṇaṅjasappāya Sutta* (M.N., II, pp. 261-266) the Buddha speaks of what is real permanence. He also explains the

⁴⁷ *Digha*, I, Brahmajāla Sutta, paragraph 18.

⁴⁸ See my paper on *Mahāvīra the last Tirthankara of the Jains* (Osvāla Navayuvaka, Mahāvīra No., 1932).

several paths that lead to permanence, e.g., the subjugation of the pleasures of senses by developing the heart.

With this sutta ends the second volume of the Majjhima Nikāya.

In the *Gaṇakamoggallāna Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 1-7) we have an important discussion between the Buddha and the brahmin mathematician Moggallāna. The discussion brings home the fact that the brahmanical training was a thoroughly graduated system (anupubbāsikkhā, anupubbakiriyā). Although the Buddha claimed that the system as propounded by him also admitted of the idea of graduation, the sutta makes it clear that graduation in the case of Buddhism was suggested duly by expediency.

In the *Gopakamoggallāna Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 7-15) it is said that there is not a single bhikkhu who in every respect and in every particular has acquired all the qualities possessed by the Buddha. The Lord has traced out a path and his disciples follow him in the path which has come down to them from him.

In the *Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta* (M.N., III pp. 15-20) the question asked is how does the view of personality (sakkāya-ditṭhi) arise? The answer is that an uninstructed ordinary man who has no vision of the Noble Ones and is unversed and untrained in the doctrine of the Noble Ones, who has no vision of the Exalted Ones and is unversed and untrained in the doctrine of the Exalted Ones views form as self or self as possessing form or form in self or self in form. He does the same with feeling and perception, with the constituents and with consciousness. This view is not supported by the Buddha.

In the *Cūḷapūṇṇama Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 20-24) we read that the Buddha says that a bad man is bad in his nature, nurtured on bad, bad in his thoughts, speech, doings, views, resolves and in distribution of alms. He further says that a good man is good in his nature, nurtured on good, good in his thoughts, aims, speech, doings, views and in the distribution of alms. The bhikkhus rejoiced in what the Buddha had said.

In the *Anupada Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 25-29) the Buddha praises Sāriputta whose learning and understanding are vast. He has gone through the complete course of training as laid

down by the Master. He is consummate in rolling onwards the peerless wheel of the doctrine which the Truthfinder first set a-rolling.

In the *Chabbisodhana Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 29-37) the Blessed One speaks of the sixfold scrutiny by which a bhikkhu is to know whether one is justified in saying that rebirth is no more ; that he has lived the highest life. A bhikkhu should see by what manner of ken and vision one's heart has been absolutely delivered from the cankers with regard to the domain of vision, of hearing, of taste, of smell, of touch, and of apprehension.

In the *Sappurisa Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 37-45) the Lord informs a bhikkhu about the attitude of the good man and of the bad man.

In the *Sevitabba-Asevitabba Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 45-61) the Lord expounds what should be cultivated and what should not be cultivated. Behaviour in act, speech, and thought is not to be cultivated if thereby wrong dispositions wax apace while right dispositions wane, but to be cultivated if thereby wrong dispositions wane while right dispositions wax apace.

In the *Bahudhātuka Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 61-67) the Lord admonishes the bhikkhus to train themselves up to become informed by study in diverse approaches.

In the *Isigili Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 68-71) the Buddha relates the names of those Pacceka-Buddhas⁴⁹ who had long been residents on the Mount Isigili, one of the five hills surrounding Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha.

In the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 71-78) the Lord expounds to the bhikkhus right concentration (sammāsamādhi). Right views rank first.

In the *Ānāpānasati Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 78-88) the Lord speaks on breathing exercises.

In the *Kāyagatāsati Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 88-99) the Master deals with meditation on the body how is mindfulness of the

⁴⁹ Individual Buddha. He is inferior to the Sammāsambuddha. He is not omniscient. He has acquired the knowledge necessary to attain Nirvāṇa but he does not preach it to men.

body cultivated and developed so as to abound in fruit and blessings ? In reality like the Ānāpāna, the Kāyagatāsati Sutta is only a sectional presentation of the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta.

In the *Samkhāruppatti Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 99-103) the Buddha expounds to the bhikkhus how plastic forces (samkhāras) arise.

In the *Cūḷasuññata Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 104-109) the Lord deals with true solitude.

In the *Mahāsuññata Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 109-118) true solitude has been explained by the Master to the bhikkhus.

In the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta*⁵⁰ (M.N., III, pp. 118-124) Ānanda expounds fully the wonders and marvels of Truth-finder's nature.

The *Bakkula Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 124-128) deals with a saint's record. Bakkula said to Acela-Kassapa that during his 80 years of bhikkhuhood he did not commit any sin. He led a life of purity.

In the *Dantabhūmi Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 128-137) the Buddha speaks of discipline. He says it is impossible for one who lives in the lap of enjoyment and pleasure to know or see or realise what is to be known by renouncing worldliness. He should be under training if he likes to see what is to be attained by giving up worldliness.

In the *Bhūmija Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 138-144) the Buddha says that right outlook is essential in order to win the fruits of the higher life.

In the *Anuruddha Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 144-152) the venerable Anuruddha explains to the carpenter Pañcakaṅga what is boundless deliverance, and what is vast deliverance of the heart. If a bhikkhu dwells with radiant thoughts of love pervading all the quarters of the world, the whole length and breadth of the world, above, below, around, everywhere this is termed the heart's deliverance that is boundless. If the bhikkhu pervades

⁵⁰ See *The Nativity of the Buddha* by Chalmers dealing with the marvels and mysteries of the Buddha's nativity. This paper contains this sutta with Buddhaghosa's Commentary on it, J.R.A.S., 1895.

and imbues a single tree with the idea of vastness, that is termed vast deliverance of the heart. Anuruddha then speaks on the four states of rebirth, among the Paritābhā gods, the Appamānābhā gods, the Saṅkiliṭṭhābhā gods, and the Parisuddhābhā gods.

In the *Upakkilesa Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 152-162) we are told that once there was a strife among the Kosambī monks. The Buddha tried to settle the dispute, but he failed. He then retired elsewhere. He admonished Anuruddha, Nandiya, and Kimbila to do away with the blemishes which make the mental reflex (nimitta) fade away.

In the *Bāla-Paṇḍita Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 163-178) the Buddha speaks of men, wise and fool. The sutta forms a prose background of the Bālavagga and the Paṇḍitavagga of the Dhammapada.

In the *Devadūta Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 178-187) the Lord speaks of Heaven's warning messengers. King Yama punishes those that are reported to do evil in the world.

In the *Bhaddekaratta Sutta*, *Ānanda-Bhaddeka ratta Sutta*, *Mahākaccāna-Bhaddekaratta Sutta*, and *Lomasakaṅgiya-Bhaddekaratta Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 187-202) the Lord lays the whole emphasis on not having much to do with the past and the future but on that which concerns oneself mainly with what is immediately present.

In the *Cūḷa* and *Mahākammavibhaṅga Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 202-215) we find the young brahmin Subha Todeyyaputta asking the Buddha why is it that among human beings there are high and low. The Lord says that their deeds are their possessions and heritage, their parents, their kindred, and their refuge, and that it is their deeds which divide the beings into high and low.

In the *Salāyatanavibhaṅga Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 215-222) we have an exposition of the six spheres of sense more or less of the Abhidhamma type. Indeed this sutta is the sutta counterpart of the Abhidhamma exposition of āyatanas in the Vibhaṅga.

In the *Uddesavibhaṅga Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 223-229) Mahākaccāna says that an almsman's thinking should always be so conducted that, as he thinks, his mind may not either be externally diffused and dissipated or be internally set, and that through non-dependence he may be imperturbed, so that, with his mind thus secure, birth, old age and death and the arising of all ill do not happen.

In the *Araṇavibhaṅga Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 230-237) the Lord explains to the bhikkhus the detailed exposition of calm. A man should neither give himself over to pleasures of senses nor give himself over to self-mortification. He should follow the Noble Eightfold Path for complete deliverance. This sutta is essentially a philosophical discourse as to the judicious use of the local terms signifying distinct objects.

In the *Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 237-247) the Buddha expounds to the revered Pakkusāti the six elements, earth, water, fire, air, space, and consciousness. This forms the suttanta counterpart of the Abhidhamma exposition of dhātus in the Vibhaṅga.

The *Saccavibhaṅga Sutta*⁵¹ (M.N., III, pp. 248-252) corresponding to the Saccaniddesa in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya expounds fully the four Noble Truths⁵² and the Noble Eightfold Path.

⁵¹ The Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* consists of two parts. The first part deals with the four satipaṭṭhānas while the second part deals with the four Aryan Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path. In the *Majjhima Nikāya* the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta and the Saccavibhaṅga Sutta together contain what has been set forth in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta. In the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta only the four satipaṭṭhāna have been explained while the Saccavibhaṅga Sutta explains only the four Aryan Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path.

⁵² Cattāri ariyasaccāni, e.g. dukkha, dukkhasamudaya, dukkhanirodha and dukkhanirodhagāminipaṭipadā ; ariya aṭṭhaṅgikamagga, e.g. sammā-diṭṭhi, sammāsaṁkappo, sammāvācā, sammākammanto, sammā-ājīva, sammāvāyāma, sammā sati, and sammā samādhi, that is, right views, right thoughts, right speech, right action, right living, right exertion, right recollection and right meditation.

In the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 253-257) the Lord gives an analysis of almsgiving. Donations to individuals are ranked in fourteen grades, e.g. a Truth-finder, Arahat, All-Enlightened, Pacceka-Buddha, Truth-finder's arahat disciples, one on the way to become a perfected arahat, one who will never be reborn on earth, and so on.

In the *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 258-263) we are told that when Anāthapiṇḍika became seriously ill, he sent a man to go in his name to the Lord and the venerable Sāriputta, and bowing at their feet, to say how ill he was and how he bowed his head at the feet of the Lord and the venerable Sāriputta. Sāriputta accompanied by Ānanda came to Anāthapiṇḍika's house. Sāriputta exhorted the householder not to be a creature of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and mind. He should not also be a creature of the elements such as earth, water, fire, wind, space, and consciousness. He should not be a creature of the plastic forces, of the Realm of Infinity of space, of the Realm of Naught, and of the realm of neither perception nor non-perception. The exhortation was over, Sāriputta⁵³ and Ānanda rose up and departed; nor had they gone long when the householder Anāthapiṇḍika, at his body's dissolution after, passed away to the Tusita heaven.

The *Channovādo Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 263-266) deals with Channa's suicide. Channa became seriously ill and was bent on committing suicide. Sāriputta exhorted him not to do so. But Channa did not listen to Sāriputta's exhortation and used the knife on himself.

In the *Puṇṇovāda Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 267-270) Puṇṇa asked the Buddha how having listened to the Lord's doctrine, he should live alone and aloof, strenuous and purged of self. The Lord gave counsel to puṇṇa.⁵⁴

⁵³ A leading and eloquent pupil of the school of Saṅjaya, the dialectician. Among debaters Sāriputta was eminent and could get the better in any argument (*Gotama the man*, p. 109).

⁵⁴ He was a man of iron will, but, wilful, he willed to go his own way. He understood the real object of the Jhāna-musing. More than most men he dwelt 'lokuttara' beyond this world (*Gotama the man*, p. 113).

The *Nandakovāda Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 270-277) deals with Nandaka's homily to bhikkhuṇīs. Nandaka preaches to bhikkhuṇīs on the impermanency of sight, forms, and six groups of perception.

In the *Cūlarāhulovāda Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 277-280) the Lord admonishes Rāhula, who is ripe in the qualities which mature into deliverance, in order to school him in the eradication of the cankers. He speaks of transitoriness of things material.

In the *Chachakka Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 280-287) the Lord explains to the bhikkhus the six sixes—six internal senses (senses of hearing, sight, smell, taste, touch, and mind), six external sense-objects (forms, sounds, odours, savours, touch, mental objects), six groups of perceptions (sight and forms, hearing and sounds, smell and odours, taste and savours, touch and tangible objects, mind and mental objects), and six groups of cravings. *With this sutta ought to have closed the third or the last group of fifty suttas.*

In the *Mahāsaḷāyatanika Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 287-290) the Blessed One instructs the bhikkhus in the import of the six great domains of sense (the sense of sight, the sense of hearing, the sense of smelling, the sense of taste, the sense of touch, and the sense of comprehending).

In the *Nagaravindeyya Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 290-293) we are told that once the Lord went to the brahmin village of Nagara-vinda in Kosala. The brahmins of Nagara-vinda went to the Lord who spoke on the types of recluses and brahmins who should or should not receive honour, reverence, and devotion. The Lord said that those recluses and brahmins should get honour who had shed all lust in connection with the six domains of sense.

In the *Piṇḍapātapaṇisuddhi Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 293-297) the Master speaks of the perils of the daily round.

In the *Indriyadhāvanā Sutta* (M.N., III, pp. 298-302) the Lord speaks on the culture of faculties. The brahmanical culture of the faculties was according to him faulty. It is when a man neither sees forms with his eyes nor hears sounds with his ears. But according to the rule of the Noble it is when a bhikkhu is indifferent to something agreeable or disagreeable which results ei-

ther from his seeing forms with the eyes or from his hearing sounds with the ears. *With this sutta ends the third or the last volume of the Majjhima Nikāya.*

C. THE SĀMYUTTA NIKĀYA

The Sāmyutta Nikāya is the third nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka. Mrs. Rhys Davids translates it by 'grouped suttas' or 'the Book of the Kindred Sayings'. This book has been edited for the P.T.S., in five volumes by Leon Feer. The sixth volume¹ containing indexes has been prepared by Mrs. Rhys Davids. The Sāmyutta Nikāya has been translated into English by Mrs. Rhys Davids assisted by Suriyagoda Sumaṅgala Thera in pt. I, and assisted by F. L. Woodward in pt. II, and in pts. III, IV, and V, F. L. Woodward has done the entire translation work. There is a German translation of this text by W Geiger, München, 1925.² The Sinhalese³ and Burmese editions of this work are available. The Sāmyutta Nikāya consists of the following sāmyuttas or groups:

Part I. Sagāthavagga:

1.	Devatā Sāmyutta consisting of 8 chapters.		
2.	Devaputta	"	3 "
3.	Kosala	"	3 "
4.	Māra	"	3 "
5.	Bhikkhūnī	"	
6.	Brahma	"	2 "
7.	Brāhmaṇa	"	2 "
8.	Vaṅgīsa	"	
9.	Vana	"	
10.	Yakkha	"	
11.	Sakka	"	3 "

¹ In this volume Mrs. Rhys Davids acknowledges her indebtedness to her deceased husband in quoting references given to words, parallel passages, etc. from her husband's annotations and dictionary collectanea.

² Vols. I and II have been published (II first and then I), *Sagāthavagga* and *Nidānavagga*.

³ *Sāmyutta Nikāya*, Ed. B. Amar Sinha, Welitara, 1898.

Part II. Nidānavagga:

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|-----|
| 1. | Nidāna Saṃyutta consisting of 9 chapters. | | |
| 2. | Abhisamāya " | | |
| 3. | Dhātu " | " | 4 " |
| 4. | Anamatagga " | " | 2 " |
| 5. | Kassapa " | | |
| 6. | Lābhasakkāra " | " | 4 " |
| 7. | Rāhula " | " | 2 " |
| 8. | Lakkhaṇa " | " | 2 " |
| 9. | Opamma " | | |
| 10. | Bhikkhu " | | |

Part III. Khandhavagga:

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|-----|
| 1. | Khandha Saṃyutta divided into three sections of 5 chapters each. | | |
| 2. | Rādha Saṃyutta consisting of 4 chapters. | | |
| 3. | Diṭṭhi " | " | 2 " |
| 4. | Okkantika " | | |
| 5. | Uppāda " | | |
| 6. | Kilesa " | | |
| 7. | Sāriputta " | | |
| 8. | Nāga " | | |
| 9. | Supaṇṇa " | | |
| 10. | Gandhabbakāya " | | |
| 11. | Valāha " | | |
| 12. | Vacchagotta " | | |
| 13. | Jhāna (or Samādhi) Saṃyutta. | | |

Part IV. Saḷāyatanaavagga:

- | | | | |
|----|--|---|-----|
| 1. | Saḷāyatana Saṃyutta divided into 4 sections of which the first three 5 chapters each and the last 4 chapters only. | | |
| 2. | Vedanā Saṃyutta consisting of 3 chapters. | | |
| 3. | Mātugāma " | " | 3 " |
| 4. | Jambukhādaka " | | |
| 5. | Sāmaṇḍaka " | | |
| 6. | Moggalāna " | | |

7.	Citta	"		
8.	Gāmani	"		
9.	Asaṅkhata	"	"	2 "
10.	Avyākata	"		

Part V. Mahāvagga

1.	Magga Saṃyutta consisting of 8 chapters.			
2.	Bojjhaṅga	"	"	18 "
3.	Satipaṭṭhāna	"	"	10 "
4.	Indriya	"	"	17 "
5.	Sammappadhāna	"	"	5 "
6.	Bala	"	"	10 "
7.	Iddhipāda	"	"	8 "
8.	Anuruddha	"	"	2 "
9.	Jhāna	"	"	5 "
10.	Ānāpāṇa	"	"	2 "
11.	Sotāpatti	"	"	7 "
12.	Sacca	"	"	11 "

The Saṃyutta Nikāya is a compilation of suttas with their main bearings on psycho-ethical and philosophical problems. In the preface to the *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, part I (pp. V-VIII), Mrs. Rhys Davids says that these are concise prose discourses contained for the most part in the volumes numbered II, III, and IV, of the Pāli Text Society's edition. She further observes that the mass of these little suttas, slight and concise sketches, with the Verses which sum them up, or which they, the suttas, explain—many of them very poor poetry as such—dealing with legends of fairies, gods, and devils, with royal and priestly interviewers of the sublime teacher, may seem a tantalising jungle to the traveller bound for the hills of thought more austere. But let him enter with open mind and sympathetic imagination awake. So will he wander not unrewarded. He will find himself for the most part in a woodland of faërie, opening out here on a settlement of religious brethren, there on scennes of life in rural communities such as might well be met in the India of to-day, or indeed in other countries. Mythical and folk-lore drapery are

wrapped about many of the sayings here ascribed to the Buddha. Nevertheless, the matter of them is of the stamp of the oldest doctrine known to us, and from them a fairly complete synopsis of the ancient dhamma might be compiled. And short and terse as are the presentations of both saying and episode, they contribute not a little to body out our somewhat vague outline of India's greatest son, so that we receive successive impressions of his great good sense, his willingness to adapt his sayings to the individual inquirer, his keen intuition, his humour and smiling irony, his courage and dignity, his catholic and tender compassion for all creatures.

It may be interesting to give below a gist of all the *samyuttas*.

In the *Devatā Samyutta*⁴ (*S.N.*, I, pp. 1-45) certain devatās or gods put some questions to the Blessed One and the latter ex-

⁴ Cf. *Samyutta Nikāya*, I, p. 3 :

"Accentī kālā tasayanti rattiyo,
vayogunā anupubbaṃ jahanti,
etaṃ bhavaṃ marane pekkhamāno
puññāni kayirātha sukhāvahānīti."

The repetition of the first two lines with varying conclusion in *Jātaka*, IV, p. 487.

Samyutta Nikāya, I, 7 :

"Niddā tandī vijambhikā, aratī bhattasammado,
etena nappakāsati, ariyamaggo idha pāṇinan-ti,"

The first two lines occur in *Jātaka*, VI, 57.

Cf. also *Vibhaṅga*, 352, cited by Buddhaghosa and *Samyutta Nikāya*, V, 64 ;
Āṅguttara Nikāya, I, 3.

Cf. *Samyutta Nikāya*, I, pp. 8-9 :

"Abhuvā bhikkhasi bhikkhu, na hi bhuvāna bhikkhasi, bhuvāna
bhikkhu bhikkhasu, mā taṃ kālo upaccagāti kālaṃ vo-haṃ na jānāmi,
channo kālo na dissati, tasmā abhuvā bhikkhāmi, mā maṃ kālo upaccagāti."

These verses are verbatim those in the *Samiddhi Jātaka* (Vol. II, pp. 57-58). The story is the same, the diction a little different. The devatā in the *Nikāya* is shown in the *Jātaka* to be a deva-dhītā or goddess.

Samyutta Nikāya, I, p. 11 :

"Akkheyyasaññino sattā, akkheyyasmim̃ patit̃thitā,
akkheyyam aparīññāya, yogam āyanti maccuno
akkheyyaṃ ca pariññāya, akkhātāraṃ na maññati
taṃ hi tassa na hoṭīti, yena naṃ vajjā na tassa atthi."

The verses occur in the *Itivuttaka* 63, the last two lines are quite different.

plains the same clearly. He gives an enigmatic reply to the question how he has put an end to the fourfold wave of craving for sensual joys, rebirth, erroneous opinions, and ignorance-begotten desires. He also explains how one can attain deliverance from sin and detachment from misery and sorrow by doing away with lust and the five khandhas or aggregates.

In the *Devaputta Saṃyutta* (S.N., pt. I, pp. 46-67) we find that certain devaputtas or sons of the gods put some questions to the

Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 13 :

“Yo appaduṭṭhassa narassa dussati,
suddhassa posassa anaṅgaṇassa,
tam eva bālaṃ pacceṭi pāpaṃ,
sukhumo rajo paṭivātaṃ va khitto-ti.”

These lines occur in the *Dhammapada*, verse 125.

Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 19 :

“Duddadaṃ dadamānaṃ, dukkaraṃ kamma kubbatāṃ
asanto nānukubbanti, sataṃ dhammo durannayo
tasmā sataṅca asataṅca, nānā hoti ito gati
asanto nirayaṃ yanti, santo saggaparāyanā ti.”

This gāthā is that of the Duddada (hard to give), *Jātaka* No. 180. All the verses occur in the *Bilārikosiyā Jātaka*, No. 450.

Saṃyutta Nikāya, I, 20-21 :

“Sādhu kho mārisa dānaṃ,
Appasmim pi sādhu dānaṃ,
Saddhāya pi sādhu dānaṃ
Dhammaladdhassa pi sādhu dānaṃ
Api ca viceyyadānaṃ pi sādhu,
Yo paṇabhūtesu ahetthayaṃ caraṃ
parūpavādā na koroti pāpaṃ,
bhīruṃ pasaṃsanti na hi tattha sūraṃ,
bhayā hi santo na karonti pāpan-ti.”

“Sādhu kho mārisa dānaṃ
Appasmim pi sādhu dānaṃ
Api ca saddhāya pi sādhu dānaṃ,
Dānaṅca yuddhaṅca samānaṃ āhu.
Appāpi santā bahuke jinanti
Appam pi ce saddahāno dadāti,
ten-eva so hoti sukhī paratthā ti,”

The fresh matter in the two gāthās occurs in the *Āditta Jātaka*, (III, 472).

Great Buddha and the latter explains these to their full satisfaction. Thus the Buddha says that one should give up wrath if one wishes to be happy in life, and should keep company with good men.

The whole of the *Kosala Saṃyutta*⁵ (*S.N., I, pp. 68-102*) is devoted to Pasenadi, King of Kosala. Some twenty-five anecdotes are told of him. He was at first a Hindu and the Brāhmin Bāvāri was his preceptor. This is evident from the fact that a great sacrifice was arranged to be held for the king. But later on he became an ardent supporter of the Buddha. We are told that there broke out a war between Ajātasattu, King of Magadha, and Pasenadi, King of Kosala, nephew and uncle, for the possession of the township of Kāsī. At first victory inclined to Ajātasattu. But later on he was defeated and taken prisoner. Pasenadi, however, married his daughter, Vajirā, to Ajātasattu and made over the township of Kāsī to his son-in-law as a pin money.

The *Māra Saṃyutta* (*S.N., pt. I, 103-127*) deals with the Buddha's encounter with Māra, the Evil One. When the Buddha obtained Enlightenment, Māra tried every means so that the Master might give up the holy life. Desirous of making the Exalted One feel dread and horror, he turned himself into the

Saṃyutta Nikāya, I, 22 :

“Na te kāmā yāni citrāni loke,
Saṅkapparāgo purisassa kāmo,
tiṭṭhanti citrāni tath-eva loke,
ath-ettha dhīrā vinayanti chandam.”

This gāthā in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya, III, 411*, is ascribed to the Buddha and is quoted in the *Kathāvatthu*. It is also quoted with variations in our commentary with reference to the Pasūra sutta in the Sutta Nipāta.

Saṃyutta Nikāya, I, 23.

“Kodham jahe vippajaheyya mānam.”

This line occurs in Dhammapada. 221

Saṃyutta Nikāya, I, 25.

The Samayo sutta is verbatim the opening part of the Mahāsamaya (or the great concourse) sutanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya, II, 253 f.* (*Dialogues, II, 282 f.*).

⁵ Read *Sage and King in Kosala Saṃyutta* by Mrs. Rhys Davids (*R.G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol., pp. 133-138*).

likeness of a king-elephant, assumed the mighty appearance of a king of the snakes, and drew near to the Blessed One. Standing on the crest of the hill, he hurled huge rocks which fell incessantly, crushing against each other. He urged the householders of Pañcasāla not to give alms to Gotama the recluse. But his attempts were all in vain. These could not prevent the Blessed One and his followers from leading a pious life.

In the *Bhikkhuṇī Saṃyutta* (S.N., pt. I, pp. 128-135) we find that Māra, the Evil One, tried to desist Gotamī, Uppalavaṇṇā, Vajirā, and certain other Bhikkhuṇīs from following the path laid down by the Blessed One. But those sisters recognised Māra, and the latter went away sorrowful.

In the *Brahma Saṃyutta* (S.N., pt. I, pp. 136-159) Brahmā persuaded the Buddha to preach the doctrine. After reaching perfect Enlightenment the Buddha did not wish to preach the Norm, for others might not acknowledge him. Out of compassion for the worldly beings Brahmā Sahampati entreated the Blessed One to preach the Doctrine by following which people might not suffer from the sorrows of the world. After much deliberation the Lord acceded to the request of Brahmā.

In the *Brāhmaṇa Saṃyutta* (S.N., I, pp. 160-184) we find the conversions of Bhāradvāja brahmin and some other brāhmaṇas of Bharadvāja gotta. The wife of the Bhāradvāja brahmin, a Dhanañjāni brāhmaṇī, was a follower of the Buddha. Tired of the proclamation of her faith in the Buddhist Triad, Bharadvāja once went to see the Buddha. He was so much impressed by the discourses of the Buddha that he forthwith left the world and took refuge in the Buddha. Following him other brahmins of the Bharadvāja gotta also became followers of the Buddha.

The *Vaṅḡsa Saṃyutta* (S.N., I, pp. 185-196) deals with how the therā Vaṅḡsa quelled his passion. Once, while a novice, he was staying near Āḷavi at the chief temple of that place, together with his tutor, the venerable Nigrodha-kappa. Then a number of women, gaily adorned, came to see the vihāra. At the first sight of the women, discontent arose in him and lust harassed his heart. But he saw the evils and himself got rid of his disaffection.

The *Vana Saṃyutta* (S.N., I, pp. 197-205) deals with how certain forest deities put some bhikkhus, who transgressed the law, on the right path. A certain bhikkhu was once staying among the Kosalans in a certain forest tract. But he indulged in wrong and evil thoughts connected with worldly matters. Then a deva who haunted the forest, out of compassion for the brother, admonished him to give up the wrong path. The sutta also speaks of other bhikkhus who were also set on the right path by the forest deities.

In the *Yakkha Saṃyutta* (S.N., I, pp. 206-215) we read that the Blessed One dwelt in the house of Yakkha Indaka in the Indakūṭa mountain. He spoke to the Buddha thus, "Form is not living principle in the opinion of the Buddhas. How does the soul possess this body? Whence to soul does come the lump of bones and liver? How does this soul hide within the belly?" The Buddha answered thus, "At first the Kalala takes birth and thence the abbuda and so forth."

A yakkha named Sakka approached the Buddha while he was dwelling in the Gijjhakūṭa mountain and addressed him thus, "A monk is free from all ties, is one who instructs others in the dhamma. He who instructs others in the dhamma with a compassionate mind is in no way bound, compassion moves him and sympathy."

A yakkha named Suciloma spoke to the Blessed One, "Don't be afraid, oh Samaṇa" The Lord answered, "I am not afraid, contact with you is sinful". The Yakkha put the following questions to him, "Say, wherefore passion and hatred are caused, discontentment, delight, and terror whence have they come, wherefrom spring thoughts into the mind." The Blessed One answered, "They who know self and wherefrom it rises, they crush it down, listen to me, O yakkha, they cross this flood which is difficult to be crossed; so they may never come back again to rebirth."

A yakkha named Maṇibhadda addressed the Blessed One thus while he was dwelling in his house, "Luck always comes to him whose mind is alert, he prospers with increasing happiness.

To-morrow is a better day for him and he is free from enmity." The Exalted One answered him by repeating the first three lines and pointed out to him, "For him whose mind ever by night and day is given up to hatred, is not released from all hate ; he who takes delight in harmlessness and kindness, bearing his share in love for all that lives, in him no hate is found."

The Exalted One was once staying at Sāvattthī in the Jetavana grove of Anāthapiṇḍaka. A child named Sānu of a certain lay female devotee was possessed by a yakkha. Mother uttered some verses in lamentation saying that she has kept the fast, firm in the eight precepts, the extra fast and so forth. The demon in possession of Sānu said thus, "On the 14th and 15th day and on the 8th of either half of the month who keep the fast, firm in the eight precepts, the extra fast and so forth, with such the demons make no cruel sport." The child Sānu⁶ said thus, "Mother, they weep for the dead or the living whom they cannot see, but O mother ! why are you mourning for him, who is here and alive." The mother answered, "They mourn for the dead son or the living son whom they cannot see. They also mourn for him who has renounced the world." The mother requested her son to come back again.

A yakkhinī known as Piyaṅkara's mother satisfied her son by saying "Make no noise, O Piyaṅkara ! The monk is uttering holy words. If we can hear and learn those holy words and practise them, it will be for our good. If we can knowingly utter no lies, train ourselves to do the things we ought to do, we may be spared from this demon world."

A yakkhinī named Punabbasu's mother satisfied her little children thus, "Oh silence little Uttarā ! Be still Punabbasu that I may hear the Norm taught by the master. Nibbāna is the deliverance from every tie and for that truth my love is passing great. One's own son is dear in this world and dear is also one's own husband ; dearer still than these is the path of Dhamma. Neither child nor husband can save us from suffering as by hearing

⁶ Cf. *Psalm of the Brethren* pp. 48-49; *Dhammapada Commentary*, IV, pp. 18 foll.

the true law living beings are saved from suffering” Punabbasu remained silent and so also Uttarā.

A yakkha named Sivaka himself in visible caused a sound to be heard, “A hundred elephants and horses and a hundred chariots drawn by mules, a hundred thousand maidens adorned with rings in their ears all are not worth the 16th fraction of a single stride. Advance, O householder, go forward ! (abhikkama gahapati), advance for you is better than retreat.” As soon as this sound was heard darkness vanished to Anāthapiṇḍika, all this happened a second and a third time, then Anāthapiṇḍika approached the Lord who said thus, “A Brāhmaṇa after having reached parinibbāna always takes rest in happiness, who does not cleave to sensual pleasure, calm and devoid of substance. After cutting out all roots of attachment and subduing the pain of the heart, calm and serene, he takes rest happily for in his mind he has attained peace”

A yakkha enthusiastic about a bhikkhuṇī named Sukkā went to Rājagaha going from chariot road to chariot road, from cross ways to cross ways and spoke about the path leading to nibbāna.⁷ The Buddha was once staying at Rājagaha in the Bamboo grove at Veluvana. A certain lay follower then gave food to another bhikkhuṇī of the same name Sukkā. A yakkha enthusiastic about her went to Rājagaha and spoke that the lay man had accumulated much merit by supplying the wants of Sukkā who was free from all bonds.

A lay follower gave food to a bhikkhuṇī named Virā or Cīrā. A yakkha enthusiastic about her said that a lay follower had accumulated much merit by supplying her wants. The Blessed One was once staying in the house of a yakkha, named Ālavaka. The yakkha said to him, “Get out, O Monk !” The Exalted One obeyed his command. The yakkha again asked him to come in and the Exalted One came in. Thus the yakkha ordered the Exalted One a second and a third time and each time the Master complied.

⁷ See my paper on *Nirvāna and Buddhist laymen* (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. xiv, pts. I-II, pp. 80-86).

The yakkha again said to him, "Come out". This time the Master refused to do so. The yakkha said thus, "I will ask you, O Monk ! a question. If you will not answer I will either derange your mind or split your heart or take you by the feet and throw you over the Ganges." The Buddha told him thus, "I find no one in the whole world who is able to do any one of these things to me. Ask according to your desire." The Blessed One in answer to the yakkha said, "Faith is the best wealth that a man can have ; right deeds well-performed bring happiness. Life lived by wisdom is the best." The Blessed One further answered the questions put to him thus, "By faith you can easily pass over the flood ; by zeal you can pass over the watery waste; by energy you can overcome ill and woe; by wisdom you can win utter purity." The Exalted One further said, "He who believes in the Dhamma of the Arahants, leading to Nibbāna, being ardent and skilful, acquires wisdom. A fit person who bears the burden obtains riches with vigour, he wins fame by speaking truth, he binds friends by gift. Thus he will not suffer in this world and in the next. He who seeks the life of a believer and who has these four : truth, self-control, patience, and self-sacrifice, will not suffer in this world and in the next." The yakkha became very much pleased with the Buddha and said, "I will now travel from village to village, and from town to town, paying reverence to the Exalted One and to the seemly Order of the Norm (Dhammassa Sudhammatam) preached by the Buddha."

In the *Sakka Saṃyutta* (S.N., I, pp. 216-240) we find that the Blessed One told the bhikkhus how Sakka became king of the world of the thirty-three gods by meritorious acts. Once there broke out a war between the gods and the asuras. The asuras were defeated and their ruler Vepacitti was taken prisoner. Vepacitti, when brought before Sakka, reviled the latter and withdrew with coarse words. But Sakka knowing the ruler of the asuras to be a fool did not do any harm to him and patiently forebore the insult. In this way various other qualities of Sakka are narrated in this Saṃyutta.

In the *Nidāna Saṃyutta* (S.N., pt. II, pp. 1-133) we find that the Blessed One explained to the bhikkhus the chain of causation which begins with avijjā or ignorance and ends with birth, old age, and death leading to grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, and despair ; the four sustenances (material food, contact, volition, and consciousness) and the bases of knowledge (knowledge that decay-and-death is conditioned by birth, knowledge that where birth is not there is no decay-and-death, etc.; knowledge in the nature of decay-and-death, in its uprising, its ceasing, and in the way leading to its ceasing, knowledge in the nature of birth, becoming, grasping, craving, feeling, contact, sense, etc.; knowledge in the uprising and ceasing of each, and knowledge in the way leading to their ceasing).

In the *Abhisamaya Saṃyutta*⁸ (S.N., II, pp. 133-139) the Blessed One says that for the Ariyan disciple it is the greater ill to think that little is the ill that remains when measured with the former ill which for him is wholly perished. So he should not cease to strive to put an end to little ill that still remains, otherwise he cannot be said to have a perfect vision.

In the *Dhātu Saṃyutta* (S.N., II, pp. 140-177) the Lord speaks on the dhātus or elements. In explaining the diversity in elements he speaks of the elements of eye, of visible object, of eyeawareness ; the elements of ear, of sound, of ear-awareness ; the elements of nose, of odour, of nose-awareness ; the elements of tongue, of taste, of tongue-awareness ; the elements of body, of tangibles, of body-awareness ; the elements of mind, of ideas, of mind-awareness ; the radiant-element (revealed through darkness) ; the beauty-element (revealed through ugliness) ; the space-infinity-element (revealed through visible object), etc. He further says that because of the diversity in elements, arises diversity of contact from which arises diversity of feeling.

In the *Anamatagga Saṃyutta* (S.N., II, pp. 178-193), Buddha says that the beginning of one who is fairing on, cloaked in igno-

⁸ Cf. *Saṃyutta*, II, 134 : 'Sattakkhattum paramatā' cf. *Points of Controversy*, 77, 268; *Saṃyutta*, V, 458 : *Ariguttara*. I, 233 f. The commentary explains as a measure of seven lives (bhavā) or rebirths.'

rance and tied to craving, cannot be known.

In the *Kassapa Saṃyutta* (S.N., II, pp. 194-225) the venerable Kassapa is praised for his contentment. He is content with no matter what robe, with no matter what alms, with no matter what lodging, with no matter what store of medicines. He is comparable to the moon when he goes among the families, drawing back in both heart and demeanour, even as a new-comer he is unobtrusive among the families. The Blessed One then exhorts the bhikkhus to be like Kassapa.

In the *Lābhasakkāra Saṃyutta* (S.N., II, pp. 225-244) Buddha says that just as a fish swallowing the fisherman's hook falls into misfortune so also the bhikkhus are liable to misfortune if they seek after gain and favour.

In the *Rāhula Saṃyutta* (S.N., II, pp. 244-253) the Blessed One speaks to Rāhula on the subject of discipline. Sight, hearing, smelling, taste, touch, and mind all these are fleeting and so unhappy. So that which is fleeting, unhappy and changeable, it is not fit to consider that as 'This is mine', 'This I am', 'This is my spirit'. One should not have notions of an 'I', nor of 'mine', nor an insidious tendency to vain conceits in the matter of this body with its mind. He who fully understands all these, is really at peace.

In the *Lakkhaṇa Saṃyutta* (S.N., II, pp. 254-262) we read that the venerable Lakkhaṇa enquired of Mahā-Moggallāna why he laughed while Lakkhaṇa and Moggallāna were vandering about seeking alms and Moggallāna explained these to Lakkhaṇa and the other bhikkhus assembled in the presence of the Blessed One.

In the *Opamma Saṃyutta* (S.N., II, pp. 262-272) the Lord says that all sinful acts may be traced to a vijjā or ignorance. According to him all wrong states have their origin in ignorance. The Blessed One also exhorts the bhikkhus to be strenuous and zealous in energy, otherwise to them, Māra, the Evil One, will gain access, just as Ajātasattu will get occasion to overthrow the Licchavis when they will not be strenuous and zealous in their service.

In the *Bhikkhu Saṃyutta*⁹ (*S.N., II, pp. 273-286*) we find Mahā-Moggallāna explaining to the bhikkhus that which is called 'Aryan silence' which is enjoyed by one who resides in the second jhāna. Among other things we also find the Buddha addressing Nanda and Tissa and other monks to follow the bhikkhu life strictly as laid down by him.

The *Khandha Saṃyutta* (*S.N., III, pp. 1-188*) deals with the five Khandhas or constituent elements. Those who are unskilled in the Aryan doctrine are possessed of the ideas 'body is mine', 'feeling is mine', 'perception is mine,' 'consciousness is mine', and regard activities as the self and the self as having activities, etc. When these five Khandhas or constituent elements change owing to their unstable and changeful nature, then sorrow and despair arise in them. But to him who is well trained in the Aryan doctrine, such a state of thing does not happen. The Blessed One also deals with the seven points. A brother who is skilled in these points is called 'accomplished in this Norm and Discipline.' The seven points are: a brother fully knows his body, the arising of the body, the ceasing of the body, and the way leading to the ceasing of the body ; he fully knows the satisfaction there is in the body, the misery that is in the body, and the escape from the body. He fully knows feeling in like manner, and perception, the confections, and consciousness. The Lord further says that he who clings to the five Khandhas is a Māra's bondsman ; but he who does not, is released from the evil one. The perceiving of impermanence, if practised and enlarged,

⁹ Cf. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, II, 278

'Māraṃ savāhananti'

Cf. *Dhammapada*, verse 175;

Saṃyutta Nikāya, II, 284

'Divā tapati ādicco rattiṃ ābhāti candimā

Sannaddho khattiyo tapati jhāyi tapati brāhmaṇo

Atha sabbamahorattiṃ Buddho tapati tejasāti'

cf. *Dhammapada*, verse 387

'Khattiyo seṭṭho jane tasmīṃ ye gottapaṭisārīno

vijjācaraṇa sampanno so seṭṭho devamānuse'

cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, p. 98, Aggañña Suttanta.

wears out all sensual lust, all lust of rebirth, all ignorance wears out, and tears out an conceit of 'I am'. But in what way does it so wear them out? By seeing, 'such is body; such is the arising of the body; such is the ceasing of the body, such is feeling, such is perception, and such are the confections.'

In the *Rādha Saṃyutta* (S.N., III, pp. 188-201) the Buddha replies to the questions asked by the venerable Rādha on some parts of the teachings of the Lord. He explains (1) Māra by saying that where a body is, there would be Māra or things of the nature of Māra, or at any rate what is perishing; (2) a being by saying that craving which is concerned with body, with feeling, with perception, with confections, and with consciousness is entangled thereby, therefore is one called a being; and (3) impermanence by saying that body is impermanent, feeling is impermanent, and so are perception, confections, and consciousness.

The *Diṭṭhi Saṃyutta* (S.N., III, pp. 202-224) explains the origin of certain views. Buddha says that by clinging to body, feeling, perception, confections, and consciousness (that is to say, the five Khandhas) arise such views as these; "All are stable or permanent; this is mine; this am I; this is the self of me; there is no fruit of good or evil deeds; this world is not, the world beyond is not, and the heretical views the world is limited or unlimited, the identity or non-identity of the life and the body.¹⁰ But the five Khandhas are impermanent and woeful. When an Aryan disciple fully knows this and also when for him doubt as to suffering is put away, doubt as to the arising of suffering, cessation of suffering, and the way leading to the cessation of suffering is put away —this is how an Aryan disciple is saved from disaster, and bound for enlightenment.

In the *Okkantika Saṃyutta* (S.N., III, pp. 225-228) the Exalted One says that such a person is called "walker in faith" who has faith and confidence in the doctrine that the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, and the mind are impermanent and changeable.

¹⁰ Cf. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 157, 426.

In the *Uppada Saṃyutta* (S.N., III, pp. 228-231) the Buddha says that the arising of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind, is the arising of suffering, diseases, decay, and death.

The *Kilesa Saṃyutta* (S.N., III, pp. 232-234) deals with the kilesas or sins. The desire that is in the eye and in material object in the ear and in the sounds, in the nose and in scents, in the tongue and in savours, in the body and in the tangibles, and in the mind and in things, is a corruption of the heart. The desire that is in eye-consciousness and in consciousness that comes by ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind, in eye-contact with the other sense-organs and mind, and in consciousness of visible shape, sound, scent, savour, tangibles, and things, is a corruption of the heart.

In the *Sāriputta Saṃyutta* (S.N., III, pp. 235-240) the venerable Sāriputta in reply to Ānanda's question says that his senses have been calmed because he has dwelt aloof from passions, with his thought applied and sustained in first jhāna, which is born of solitude and full of zest and happiness and that he has also given up the vain idea of 'I' and 'mine'.

In the *Nāga Saṃyutta* (S.N., III, pp. 240-246) the Lord says that there are the four sorts of birth as nāgas, viz. the egg-born, the womb-born, the sweat-born, and those born without parents.

In the *Supanna Saṃyutta* (S.N., III, pp. 246-249) the Buddha says that there are the four sorts of rebirth as harpies, viz. the egg-born, the womb-born, the sweat-born, and those born without parents.

In the *Gandhabbakāya Saṃyutta* (S.N., III, pp. 249-253) the Lord speaks to the bhikkhus about the devas belonging to the Gandhabba group. He says that they are those devas who dwell in the fragrance of root-wood, heart-wood, pith, bark, sap and in that of leaves, flowers, and scents.

In the *Valāha Saṃyutta* (S.N., III, pp. 254-257) the Exalted One speaks about devas that belong to cloud-groups (valāhaka-kāyika). He says that there are devas (embodied) in cool clouds, hot clouds, thunder clouds, wind clouds, and rain clouds.

In the *Vacchagotta Saṃyutta* (S.N., III, pp. 257-263) the Buddha speaks to Vacchagotta, a wanderer, who holds the heretical views which have been condemned by the Lord in the Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I. Vacchagotta enquires of the Blessed One of the cause of the origin of these diverse opinions which arise in the world, e.g. the world is eternal or non-identity of the life and the body, etc. The Buddha says that it is through ignorance of the five khandhas (fūpa or form, vedanā or feeling, saññā or perception, saṃkhāra or confections, and viññāna or consciousness) that these diverse opinions arise in the world.

In the *Jhāna* (or *Samādhi*) *Saṃyutta* (S.N., III, pp. 263-279) the Bhagavā says that there are these four who practise the jhānas or rapt musings or abstractions ; one who practises meditation is skilled in concentration, but is not skilled in the attainment thereof ; one who practises meditation is skilled in the attainment of concentration itself ; one who practises meditation is neither skilled in concentration nor skilled in the attainment thereof ; and one who practises meditation is skilled both in concentration and in the fruits thereof. Of the four, the last one is the best and most pre-eminent.

In the *Salāyatana Saṃyutta*¹¹ (S.N., IV, pp. 1-204) the Blessed One speaks of the six senses. The Buddha says that the eye and the objects of sight, the ear and the sounds, the nose and the scents, the tongue and the savours, the body and the things tangible, the mind and the mind states, are all impermanent, ill, and void of the self. But there is the way of escape from these. This is the restraint of desire and lust, the renouncing of desire and lust which are in the eye, etc. Where there is no desire, there is no ill. He further says that by seeing the six senses as impermanent, as fetters, and as āsavas, ignorance is vanished and knowledge arises, fetters are abandoned and āsavas or sins are uprooted. He also explains 'the world' by saying what is transitory by nature is called the world. In this connection the Lord also characterises the eye and the objects of sight, the ear

¹¹ The account of Puṇṇa in this Saṃyutta is found almost word for word in the Sanskrit version of Pūrṇa in the *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 24 foll.

and the sounds, etc. as transitory. According to him passion is a disease and one can abide passionless by not imagining 'I have an eye', etc. One should not be enamoured of the object cognisable by the eye, etc. If one is so, then one is called restrained. If one is not so, then one is said to have lack of restraint.

The *Vedanā Saṃyutta* (S.N., IV, pp. 204-238) deals with the three vedanās or feelings : feeling that is pleasant, feeling that is painful, and feeling that is neither pleasant nor painful. The lurking tendency, to lust for pleasant feeling, to repugnance for painful feeling, and to ignorance of feeling that is neither pleasant nor painful, must be abandoned. Pleasant feelings should be regarded as ill, painful feelings as a barb, and neutral feelings as impermanence. So all these should be abandoned. This abandonment in a bhikkhu is called 'rightly seeing.'

The *Mātugāma Saṃyutta* (S.N., IV, pp. 238-251) deals with the womankind. A woman, if she is beautiful in form, possessed of wealth, moral, vigorous, and gets offspring, is altogether charming to a man. If she does not possess these five qualities she is without charm for a man. There are five special woes which a woman has to undergo as apart from a man. They are : a woman at a tender age goes to her husband's family and leaves her relatives behind, she is subject to pregnancy, she has to bring forth, and she has to wait upon a man. Possessed of five things a woman is reborn in purgatory, if she is faithless, shameless, unscrupulous, wrathful, and of weak wisdom. A woman is also reborn in the heavenly world, if she is faithful, modest, scrupulous, not wrathful, rich in wisdom, not envious, not an adulteress, moral, and of wide knowledge.

In the *Jambukhādaka Saṃyutta*¹² (S.N., IV, pp. 251-261) we find Sāriputta explaining to Jambukhādaka Paribbājaka some of the fundamental teachings of the Buddha Nibbāna and arahatship have been described as the destruction of lust, of

¹² Read *Buddhist Nirvāṇa and the Noble Eightfold Path* by O. Frankfurter, J.R.A.S., New Series, Vol. XII, 1880. This paper is also devoted to the study of the contents of the *Jambukhādaka Saṃyutta*, *Sāmaññaka Saṃyutta* and *Asñikhata Saṃyutta*.

hatred, and illusion, and the path leading to the attainment of nibbāna and arahatship is the Noble Eightfold Path (right view, aim, speech, action, living effort, mindfulness, and concentration). They who have completely given up lust, hatred, and illusion, are well-practised and happy ones in the world. It is for the comprehension of ill that the righteous life is lived under Gotama the recluse. There are three kinds of feelings (pleasant, painful, and neutral) and three kinds of āsavas (sensuality, becoming, and ignorance). The Aryan Eightfold Path is the only way to the comprehension of these feelings and to the abandonment of these āsavas.

In the *Sāmañḍaka Saṃyutta* (S.N., IV, pp. 261-262) the venerable Sāriputta explains to Sāmañḍaka the wanderer, the term 'nibbāna.' Sāriputta says that nibbāna is the destruction of lust, hatred, and illusion, and that nibbāna can be attained by following the Noble Eightfold Path.

In the *Moggallāna Saṃyutta* (S.N., IV, pp. 262-281) the venerable Moggallāna explains to the bhikkhus who have assembled the four jhānas or rapt musings. He also explains to them 'the realm of infinite space', 'the realm of infinite consciousness', 'the realm of nothingness', 'the realm of neither perceiving nor non-perceiving' and the unconditioned heart's rapture (animitta cetosamādhi).

In the *Citta Saṃyutta* (S.N., IV, pp. 281-304) the house-father explains to the bhikkhus that the fetter and the things that tend to fetter are different both in spirit and in letter. The eye is not a fetter of objects, nor objects a fetter to the eye. But the desire and lust that arise owing to the pair of them constitute the fetter. The same applies to ear and sound, nose and scents, tongue and savours, and mind and mind states.

In the *Gāmaṇi Saṃyutta* (S.N., IV, pp. 305-359) the Blessed One explains why one is called 'wrathful' and one is tyled 'kindly'. In the first case a certain man's passion is not abandoned owing to the fact that others harass him. Harassed by others he shows vexation. Thus he is tyled 'wrathful'. In the second case a certain man's passion is abandoned, owing to that others do not harass

him. unharassed by others he shows no vexation. Thus he is styled 'kindly'. The Blessed One also exhorts the headman of the village to follow the middle path by giving up the two extremes devotion to the pleasures of senses and devotion to self-mortification.

In the *Asaṅkhata Saṃyutta* (S.N., IV, pp. 359-373) the Blessed One says about the uncreated (nibbānam) and the path leading to it. He interprets it by saying that nibbāna is the destruction of lust, hatred, and delusion. According to him, mindfulness, calm and insight, the four best efforts (saūpaṭṭhāna), the four bases of effective power (iddhipādā), and the Noble Eightfold Path are the means to the attainment of nibbāna.¹³

In the *Avyākata Saṃyutta* (S.N., IV, pp. 374-403) we find that once King Pasenadi asks Khemā the following questions: Does the Tathāgata exist after death? Does the Tathāgata both exist and not exist after death? Khemā in reply to these questions says that the Blessed One has not revealed these points to them. She further says that it is impossible to define the Tathāgata for he is as boundless and unfathomable as the mighty ocean. So these questions do not apply. Anuruddha, Sāriputta, and Moggaḷlāna answer in the same way the question put to them regarding the Tathāgata.¹⁴

The *Magga Saṃyutta* (S.N., V, pp. 1-62) deals with the Noble Eightfold path, e.g. sammādiṭṭhi (right view), sammāsaṅkappo (right aim), sammāvācā (right speech), sammākammaṇṇo (right action), sammā ājīva (right living), sammāvāyāma (right exertion), sammāsati (right mindfulness), and sammāsamādhi (right concentration).

The *Bojjhaṅga Saṃyutta* (S.N., V, pp. 63-140) deals with the sattabojjhaṅgas or the seven elements of supreme knowledge, e.g. sati (mindfulness), dhammavicaya (investigation of the Norm), viriya (energy), pīti (trahquillity), passadhi (concentration), samādhi (equanimity), and upekkhā (indifference).

¹³ Vide Yamakami's *Systems of Buddhist thought*, pp. 28-42; J.P.T.S., 1904/5; F.O. Schrader *On the problem of Nirvāna*.

¹⁴ Why is the Buddha called the Tathāgata, see *Papañcasūdanī*, I, pp. 45 foll.

The *Satipaṭṭhāna Saṃyutta* (S.N., V, pp. 141-192) deals with the four satipaṭṭhānas, the four stations of mindfulness as regards body, feelings, mind, and mind states —kāye kāyānupassī, dhammesu dhammānupassī.

The *Indriya Saṃyutta* (S.N., V, pp. 193-243) deals with the five indriyas, e.g. saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), sati (mindfulness), samādhi (equanimity), and paññā (wisdom).

The *Sammappadhāna Saṃyutta* (S.N., V, pp. 244-248) deals with the four sammappadhānas or perfect exertions, e.g., to check the growth of sins which have not arisen, to put an end to sins which have arisen, to help the growth of merit which has not arisen, and to help the growth of merit which has arisen.

The *Bala Saṃyutta* (S.N., V, pp. 249 foll.) deals with the five balas or powers, e.g. saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), sati (mindfulness), samādhi (equanimity), and paññā (wisdom).

The *Iddhipāda Saṃyutta* (S.N., V, pp. 254-293) deals with the four iddhis¹⁵ or wonderful powers, e.g., chanda (desire), viriya (energy), citta (thought), and vīmaṃsā (investigation).

The *Anuruddha Saṃyutta* (S.N., V, pp. 294-306) relates to the attainment of great supernatural power by the venerable Anuruddha by being selfpossessed and mindful with regard to body, feelings, mind, and mind states.

The *Jhāna Saṃyutta* (S.N., V, pp. 307-310) deals with the four jhānas, the first trance the second the third, and the fourth.

In the *Ānāpāna Saṃyutta* (S.N., V, pp. 311-341) the Blessed One says that concentration on inbreathing and out-breathing if cultivated, leads to great profit.

In the *Sotāpatti Saṃyutta*¹⁶ (S.N., V, pp. 342-413) the Lord says

¹⁵ Superwill-morewill. For to use *iddhi* is a very high mandate within the power of very few (Gotama the man, p. 221).

¹⁶ Cf. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, V, 384

“Yassa saddhā Tathāgata acalā supatiṭṭhitā
sīlaṅca yassa kalyāṇaṃ ariyakantaṃ pasaṃsitaṃ
saṅghe pasādo yassatthi ujubbhūtaṃ ca dassanaṃ
Adaliddo ti tam āhu amoghaṃ tassa jīvitaṃ
Tasmā saddhaṃ ca sīlaṅca pasādaṃ dhammadassanaṃ
anuyuñjetha medhāvī saram buddhānasāsanān ti.”

The verses also occur in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, I, 232, and the *Anguttara Nikāya*, II, 57 and III, 54.

that the Ariyan disciple is possessed of unwavering loyalty to the Buddha, the Norm and the Order, that is, to the Buddhist Triad, and is blessed with the virtues dear to the Aryans (virtues untainted by carving or delusion), therefore he lives on gathered scraps though he be clothed in rags and is released from purgatory and rebirths.

The *Sacca Sarinyutta* (S.N., V, pp. 414-478) deals with the four Aryan truths : suffering, its origin, its destruction, and the path leading to its destruction.

D. THE AṄGUTTARA NIKĀYA

The Ekuttara or Aṅguttara Nikāya¹⁷ is the fourth book of the Sutta Piṭaka. It is a collection characterised by numerical groupings of dhammas arranged serially in an ascending order. The P.T.S., London, has edited this book in Roman character in five volumes with an Index volume. The Sinhalese¹⁸ and Burmese editions of this work are available. This book consists of the following nipātas:

1. Eka	Nipāta	consisting of 21 chapters,	A.N., I.	1-46.
2. Duka	"	"	16 "	I. 47-100.
3. Tika	"	"	16 "	I. 101-304.
4. Catukka	"	"	26 "	II. 1-257.
5. Pañcaka	"	"	26 "	III. 1-278.
6. Chakka	"	"	12 "	III. 279-452.
7. Sattaka	"	"	9 "	IV. 1-149.
8. Aṭṭhaka	"	"	9 "	IV. 150-350.
9. Navaka	"	"	9 "	IV. 351-466.
10. Dasaka	"	"	22 "	V. 1-310.
11. Ekādasaka	"	"	3 "	V. 311-361.

¹⁷ P.T.S., editions pts. I and II by Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D., pts. III-V by Prof. Dr. E. Hardy, Ph.D., D.D. ; pt. VI (Indexes) by Mabel Hunt revised and edited by C.A.F. Rhys Davids. The P.T.S. has brought out an English translation of this work known as the *Book of the Gradual Sayings*, some portions of this nikāya have been translated into English by A.D. Jayasunders and edited by F.L. Woodward known as, the *Book of the Numerical Sayings*, an English translation of the first three nipātas has been published by E. R. J. Gooneratne.

A German translation of this Nikāya known as *Die Reden des Buddha* by Nyanatiloka has been published.

¹⁸ The Sinhalese edition by Devamitta, Colombo, 1893, is worth mentioning.

The *Eka Nipāta* (A.N., I, pp. 1-46) deals with the nīvaraṇas (obstacles), the mind concentrated or unconcentrated, the mind trained or untrained, the mind cultivated or uncultivated, exertion, diligence, and the Tathāgata the only person who does good to mankind. It further deals with the foremost disciples of the Buddha Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Mahākassapa, and other eminent bhikkhus, the wrong view and the right view, wrong concentration and right concentration.

The *Duka Nipāta* (A.N., I, pp. 47-100) deals with the two kinds of sins which should be avoided sins which bear evil fruits even in this birth and sins which lead one to rebirth in hell, two kinds of balas or powers the power of seeing with close observation the evil effects of sinful acts through body, speech, and mind and the power of cultivation of the seven elements of knowledge (satta sambojjhaṅgas), the causes of the origin of the good and evil, different kinds of hopes or desires desire for gain and longevity, two kinds of gifts gift of material objects and gift of dhamma, different kinds of assemblies of the bhikkhus (assemblies of the bhikkhus who have not fully realised the four Noble Truths and the bhikkhus who have done so, of the bhikkhus who live in concord and harmony and the bhikkhus who do not).

In the *Tika Nipāta* (A.N., I, pp. 101-304) the Blessed One says that they are fools who commit sinful acts through body, speech, and mind and they are the wise who do not do so. He praises gifts, renunciation of the worldly life, and supporting one's own parents. He recommends exertion for checking the growth of the evils which have not arisen, for developing the dhammas which have not arisen, and for removing the evils which have already arisen. He refutes some heretical views and gives a clear exposition of the fundamental teachings of the dhamma propounded by him. He says that there are some samaṇas and brāhmaṇas who hold that the pleasant or painful and neither pleasant nor painful experiences are due to previous action, others who hold that these are providential, others again who hold that these are due to no cause whatsoever. The Blessed

One condemns these heretical views and gives a clear exposition of the chain of causation and the Four Aryan Truths. He also speaks of the duties of a *samaṇa*. He then speaks on the subject of *maṅgala* or well-being. According to him he who commits sinful acts through body, speech, and mind is thrown into purgatory. But he who is restrained in his body, speech, and mind and does meritorious acts through these goes to heaven and enjoys heavenly joys there.

In the *Catukka Nipāta* (*A.N., II, pp. 1-257*) the Buddha says, "He who is not possessed of four things (holy conduct, holy concentration, holy insight, and holy emancipation) is said to be fallen away from this Norm and Discipline (*Dhamma-Vinaya*). An ignorant man who praises one who does not deserve praise, blames one who is worthy of praise, rejoices wherein one should not rejoice, and does not rejoice wherein one should rejoice, stores up much demerit. A wise man who does the right thing in these respects stores much merit." There are to be seen existing in the world four beings:

- (a) he that is ill-versed and leads not a virtuous life.
- (b) he that is ill-versed but leads a virtuous life,
- (c) he that is well-versed but leads not a virtuous life, and
- (d) he that is well-versed and also leads a virtuous life.

The Blessed One also speaks of sloth and energy as evils and recommends exertions. He deals with the subject of wrong behaviour and right behaviour. The Lord says that there are four trifling things which are easily procurable and also faultless. They are *paṇṣukula-civara*, *piṇḍiyālopabhojanam*, *rukkhamūlasenāsana*, and *pūtimuttābhesajja*.¹⁹ He speaks of the four ancient, agelong, and traditional noble lineages and says that a *bhikkhu* should rest content with whatsoever robe, alms, dwelling place, and medicine he gets. He deals with the four kinds of blessings (e.g. *paṭirūpadesavāso*, dwelling in a suitable region ; *sappurisū-*

¹⁹ Clothes made of rags taken from a dust heap, eating a morsel of food, dwelling at the foot of a tree, strong-smelling urine (usually urine of cattle) used as medicine.

passayo, 'taking refuge in good men'; attasammāpaṇidhi, right realisation of self; and pubbe ca katapuññatā, good deeds done in former existences", the four kinds of kindly feelings, the four qualities which make one a great personage, the four qualities which guard a bhikkhu against his falling away and qualify him to be close to nirvāṇa. Such a bhikkhu should observe the sīlas, control the portals of senses, be moderate in eating, and be ever watchful in the day time and at night in its three yāmas (watches) paṭhama, majjhima, and pacchima. The Lord deals with the question as to who is a real bhikkhu. He speaks highly of oblations which are performed without cruelty. He speaks of the four ways of self-concentration,²⁰ of the four persons existing in the world who foster hatred, hypocrisy, gains, honours and not the Norm, of the four hallucinations,²¹ and of the four faults of recluses and brahmins.²² He deals with the four yields in merit²³ and virtue which bring about happiness, the four yields in merit which bring about heavenly bliss, and the four ways of living together.²⁴ He says that the Ariyan disciple who offers food gives to the recipient four things; long life, personal beauty, happiness, and physical strength. He speaks of the duty of a layman, of blessings and

²⁰ They are as follows: diṭṭhadhammasukhavihārāya (for happy condition in this world), nāṇadassanapaṭilābhāya (for knowledge and insight), satisampajaññāya (for mindfulness and self-possession), and āsavānam khayāya (for the destruction of sins).

²¹ (a) taking what is anicca as nicca, (b) taking what is adukkha as dukkha, (c) taking what is anatta as atta, and (d) taking what is asubha as subha.

²² (a) bhikkhus drinking fermented liquor, (b) bhikkhus addicted to sensual pleasures, (c) bhikkhus accepting gold and silver, and (d) bhikkhus earning their livelihood by falsehood.

²³ (a) rightly believing that the Buddha is all-knowing, etc., (b) rightly believing that the Dhamma has been well-propounded by the Buddha, (c) rightly believing that the Saṅgha founded by the Buddha is well-established, and (d) the ariyasāvaka (disciple of the Noble) is free from all impurities, etc.

²⁴ (a) the vile living with the vile, (b) the vile living with the good (goddess), (c) the good (god) living with the vile, and (d) the good (god) living with the good (goddess).

happiness, gratitude to parents, the lures to hell, the four kinds of sinful persons, the four kinds of snakes to whom thoughts of loving kindness should be sent forth, the fall of Devadatta, the four exertions, and of righteousness and unrighteousness. The Buddha says that a brother who is virtuous, well-versed, strenuous, and possessed of insight, follows the perfect way of conduct and his knowledge is directed to destroying the intoxicants. A brother who is endowed with thoughts of renunciation, of benevolence, of love, and of right views follows the perfect way and his knowledge is directed to destroying the intoxicants. The Lord also speaks of the qualities by which a wicked man is to be known, of the qualities by which a good man is to be known, of the four excellences, of the highest things, of the question of removal of doubts, of the four unthinkables which should not be pondered over, and of the four purities of gift. He speaks of heaven and hell, of persons in darkness and light, of persons of low state and high state, of titans and gods, of peace and insight, and of the persons who are praiseworthy and blameworthy. He speaks of the four kinds of clouds, the four kinds of jars, the four kinds of pools of water, the four kinds of mangoes, the four kinds of mice, the four kinds of oxen, the four kinds of trees, and the four kinds of snakes. The Buddha points out how he trains men. He speaks of four things : a thing which is unpleasant to be done, and when done, it results in loss ; a thing which is unpleasant to be done but when done, it results in gain ; a thing which is pleasant to be done, but when done, it results in loss ; a thing which is pleasant to be done and when done, it results in gain. He speaks of earnestness and mindfulness, of the four holy places which should be visited by the faithful clansman the place of the Buddha's birth, the place of his enlightenment, the place of his setting rolling the supreme wheel of righteousness, and the place of his Mahāparinibbāna. The Buddha speaks of the fetters, of understanding, of sinful and sinless men, of morality, concentration, and insight. He speaks of men subdued or unsubdued in mind, in body, and in mind and body together. There are four lustres of moon, sun, fire, and wisdom. Of these the lustre of wisdom is

the most excellent. There are four radiances of which the radiance of wisdom is the most excellent. There are four lights, of which the light of wisdom is the most excellent. There are four effulgences, of which the effulgence of wisdom is the most excellent. There are four lamps, of which the lamp of wisdom is the most excellent. There are four kinds of misconduct by word, viz. *musāvādā* (falsehood), *piṣuṇāvācā* (backbiting), *pharusavācā* (harsh speech), and *samphappallāpa* (frivolous talk). There are four kinds of good conduct by word, viz. *saccavāvā* (truthful words), *apisuṇāvācā* (no backbiting), *saṅhāvācā* (gentle speech), and *mantāvācā* (thoughtful speech). There are four essences, viz. *silā* (conduct), *samādhi* (meditation), *paññā* (wisdom), and *vimutti* (emancipation). There are four faculties and four powers, viz. *saddhā* (faith), *virīya* (energy), *sati* (recollection), and *samādhi* (meditation). The Lord speaks of the four things which lead to the decay and disappearance of the Norm²⁵ and of the four things which lead to the preservation of the Norm. The Lord says that the monks should aspire to become like unto Sāriputta and Moggallāna. He speaks of the elements and of the annihilation of personality. Just as a warrior possessed of four qualities becomes worthy of the king, so a brother possessed of four qualities becomes worthy of offerings. The Exalted One speaks of conduct, integrity, firmness, and wisdom. The Exalted One replies to the charge that he is a charmer and knows a trick of glamour, whereby he entices the followers of other sects. He also speaks of the āsavas or sins and says that it is not possible to cross the flood by self-mortifying austerities. The Lord explains to the bhikkhus about the wicked man and the good man and speaks of the sinful and the virtuous, the man of evil nature and the man of good nature. The Buddha says that there are four kinds of misconduct and four kinds of good conduct by word. The Blessed One says

²⁵ Causes of the disappearance of the Norm are the following : (a) if the bhikkhus learn the suttantas which are not well taught, (b) if the bhikkhus are wrong in speech, (c) if the learned bhikkhus do not proclaim the suttantas rightly, and (d) if the learned bhikkhus are not serious about nibbāna the opposites of these causes lead to the preservation of the Norm.

that from relying on a good man, four blessings should be expected as regards *śīla* (conduct), *śamādhi* (meditation), *paññā* (wisdom), and *vimutti* (emancipation). The Exalted One says that a *bhikkhu* who does not observe the *śīlas*, who entertains wrong views, who lives on lying, and who hankers after glory and fame, rejoices in the breaking of an order and that the holy life is lived for higher wisdom, for the sake of realisation of emancipation and for the mastery of mindfulness. The Buddha says that there are four persons worthy of monuments, *Tathāgata*,²⁶ *Paccekabuddha*,²⁷ *Tathāgatasāvaka*²⁸, and *Rājacakkavattī*²⁹. He speaks of the four *balas* or potentialities : energy, mindfulness, concentration, and wisdom and says that the *bhikkhu* who is given to lust, malice, and envy and who is a fool and has no common sense at all, should not take to forest life. According to him, he who kills living beings, incites others to kill, is expert in killing, and praises the killing of lives, is sure to go to hell and suffer there.

The *Pañcaka Nipāta* (*A.N.*, III, pp. 1-278) deals with the five *sekhabalas* or the strength of the learner of disciple (*saddhā* or faith, *hiri* or bashfulness, *ottappo* or shrinking back from committing sin, *virīya* or energy and *paññā* or wisdom), the five *balas* of the *Tathāgata* (*saddhā*, *virīya*, *hiri*, *ottappo*, and *paññā*), the five *upakkilesas* or sins of the body (*ayo* or iron, *loham* or copper, *tipu* or tin, *śīsam* or lead, and *sajjham* or silver), the five *nīvaraṇas* or obstacles (*kāmacchando* or desire for sensual pleasures, *vyāpādo* or ill-will, *thīnamiddham* or sloth and torpor, *uddhaccakakkucam* or haughtiness and restlessness, and *vicikicchā* or doubt), and the five objects of meditation (*asubha*

²⁶ An epithet of the Buddha, lit., meaning one who has trodden the right path.

²⁷ Individual Buddha, one enlightened by oneself, i.e. one who has attained to the supreme and perfect insight but dies without proclaiming the truth to the world.

²⁸ A disciple of the *Tathāgata*.

²⁹ Universal monarch. Read a paper on *Cakkavattī* by T.W. Rhys Davids (R.G. Bhandarkar commemoration vol., pp. 125-131).

or disagreeable, anatta or without individuality, maraṇa or death, āhāre paṭikkula or disagreeableness in food, and sabbaloke anabhirati or not finding delight in the whole world). This nipāta also points out that a bhikkhu endowed with five evil qualities, viz., avītarāga or not free from passion, avītadosa or not free from hatred, avitamoha or not free from delusion, makkho or hypocrisy, and palāsa or malice, is not dear to his fellow monks; but when endowed with five good qualities, he is dear to his fellow monks. It also deals with the five phāsuvihāras, viz., mettā (friendliness), kāyakammaṃ (action by speech), manokammaṃ (action by thought), observance of the sīlas, and holding right views which lead to the extinction of suffering. The idea of āghāta or harm should be replaced by mettā feeling. It deals with the degradation of the brāhmaṇas, the evils which befall a bhikkhu who becomes angry, and the evils of wrong behaviour.

In the *Chakka Nipāta* (A.N., III, pp. 279-452) the Blessed One says that a bhikkhu endowed with six qualities becomes worthy of veneration and worship. Such a bhikkhu should be indifferent to the objects of sight, sound, savoury, taste, tangible things, and phenomena. There are six dhammas which should be remembered by a bhikkhu. As regards his body, speech, and mind he should cultivate the mettā feeling. He should also observe the sīlas and hold right views which lead one to the destruction of suffering. The Exalted One speaks of the six dhammas which are essential for a bhikkhu to cultivate. They are as follows: na kammārāmatā (no delight in deeds), na bhassārāmatā (no delight in disputations), na niddārāmatā (no delight in sleep), na sanganikārāmatā (no delight in company), sovacassatā (gentleness), and kalyāṇamittatā (association with the virtuous). According to the Buddha the highest of hearing is the hearing of the preaching of doctrines by the Tathāgata, the highest of gain is gaining faith in the Tathāgata, the highest of learning is learning the doctrine preached by the Tathāgata, the highest of service is serving the Tathāgata and his disciples, and the highest of anussati (recollection) is the anussati (recollection) of the Tathāgata and his disciples.

The *Sattaka Nipāta* (A.N., IV, pp. 1-149) deals with the seven dhanas or riches (e.g., saddhā or faith, sīla or conduct, hiri or bashfulness, ottappa or shrinking from committing sins, suta or learning, cāga or sacrifice, and paññā or wisdom, and the seven saṃyojanas or bonds: anunaya or friendliness, paṭigha or repugnance, diṭṭhi or false belief, vicikicchā or doubt, māna or pride, bhava or existence, and avijjā or ignorance). The Exalted One condemns the sacrifices in which slaughter of living creatures occurs. He says that a true and noble disciple does not trouble himself with the thought whether the Tathāgata exists or does not exist after death. He further says how a bhikkhu becomes an upholder of the Vinaya (Vinayadharo).

The *Aṭṭha Nipāta* (A.N., IV, pp. 150-350) deals with the teachings of the Buddha elaborately, the various kinds of alms-giving, the uposatha ceremony, the eight causes of earthquake and mindfulness.

The *Navaka Nipāta* (A.N., IV, pp. 351-466) deals with the nine kinds of persons: arahā (saint), arahattāyapaṭipanno (one who has reached the stage of an arahat), anāgāmī (one who has reached the third stage of sanctification), anāgāmiphala-sacchikiriyāyapaṭipanno (one who has attained the fruition of the third stage of sanctification), sakadāgāmī (one who has reached the second stage of sanctification), sotāpanno (one who has reached the first stage of sanctification), sotāpattiphala-sacchikiriyāyapaṭipanno (one who has attained the fruition of the first stage of sanctification), puthujjano (ordinary man), and nine kinds of saññās or objects of thought : asubha (impurity), maraṇa (death), āhāre patikkula (disagreeableness in food), sabbaloke anabhirati (not finding delight in the whole world), anicca (impermanence), anicca dukkha (suffering in impermanence), dukkhe anatta (not a self in suffering), pahāna (abandonment), and virāga (absence of passion). It further says that one can attain arahatship by putting away rāga (passion), dosa (hatred), moha (delusion), kodha (anger), upanāha (enmity), makkha (ill feeling), and palāsa (spite). It also mentions the five constituent elements: rāga (passion), vedanā (sensation), saññā

(perception), saṅkhāra (constituent elements), and viññāna (consciousness) and the five destinies of beings: niraya (hell), tiracchānayoṇi (region of animals), pettivisayo (realm of the departed spirits), manussā (human beings), and devā (gods).

In the *Dasaka Nīpāta* (A.N., V, pp. 1-310) we are told of the attainments of the Buddha. We find Upāli asking questions on doctrinal points and the Buddha giving the replies. The Blessed One explains what is meant by the term 'saṅghabheda'. He says that when the bhikkhus preach dhamma as adhamma and vice versa, vinaya as avinaya and vice versa and attribute to the Tathāgata that which has not been spoken by him, preached by him, practised by him, and laid down by him, then saṅghabheda occurs. There is mention of the ten saññās, the cultivation of which leads to great advantages. The dasa saññās are: anicca (impermanence), anatta (non-self), maraṇa (death), āhāre paṭikkula (disagreeableness in food), sabbaloke anabhirati (dissatisfaction towards the whole world), aṭṭhika (bone), puḷavaka (one of the asubha kammaṭṭhānas which is called puḷavaka, i.e. the contemplation of the worm-infested corpse), vinilaka (one of the asubha kammaṭṭhānas obtained by the contemplation of a corpse black with decay), vicchidaka (one of the asubha kammaṭṭhānas obtained by the contemplation of a corpse fissured from decay), and uddhumātaka (idea of a bloated corpse). There is also mention of the seven elements of knowledge, viz: sati (recollection), dhammavicaya (investigation of doctrine), viriya (energy), pīti (delight), passaddhi (calmness), samādhi (meditation), and upekkhā (indifference). The seven bojjhaṅgas make one to attain the three kinds of knowledge knowledge of previous existence to another, and knowledge of the extinction of the āsavas (sins).

The ten parisuddhis (purifications) are also enumerated here. They are sammādiṭṭhi (right view), sammāsankappo (right determination), sammāvācā (right speech), sammākammanto (right action), sammā ājīvo (right living), sammāvāyāmo (right knowledge), and sammāvimutti (right emancipation). The Blessed One explains to the bhikkhus what is sādhu and what is

asādhu, what is ariyamagga and what is anariyamagga. A person possessed of the bad qualities should not be served whereas a person possessed of the good qualities should be served. The former is reborn into hell and the latter goes to heaven.

In the *Ekādasaka Nipāta* (*A.N.*, V, pp. 311-361) we are told of the qualities which are essentially necessary for the attainment of Nibbāna and which will help one to become the highest and best among gods and men. It is stated that through Vijjā and Carāṇa³⁰ one can attain Nibbāna. This nipāta also deals with the eleven blessings which are to be expected from the exercise of benevolence, with the eleven gates leading to Nibbāna, by each of which one may save oneself. One should also develop eleven conditions for acquiring the knowledge of human passion.

Importance of the Aṅguttara Nikāya

As regards the importance of the Aṅguttara Nikāya, we may point out that it applies on a comprehensive scale to the numerical scheme of mnemonics as enunciated in the Kumāra Pañha, the Novice's Questions.' The same scheme has been followed also in the Saṅgīti and Dasuttara Suttantas of the Dīgha Nikāya, as well as in the Thera and the Therīgāthās. The art has been tried, though not very systematically, in the Atharva-vedasamhitā. Thus at the first sight this nikāya is far from presenting a connected exposition of the doctrine. But on a closer examination it may be found that it works out a definite scheme of its own, all the suttas grouped in the successive numerical sections have bearings on a twofold Vinaya, namely, the Bhikkhuvīnaya and the Gahapatīvinaya. Although the groupings or enumerations of doctrines or principles are in many instances similar to those in the Saṃyutta Nikāya, the distinction of the Aṅguttara lies in the fact that its bearing is, on the whole, practical, we mean on the aspect of discipline and the time may come when it will be satisfactorily proved that the origin of the materi-

³⁰ In the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* we read: Vijjācarāṇa-sampanno so seṭṭho devamānuse. The terms vijjā and carāṇa are explained in this sutta (pp. 99-100).

als of the Vinaya Suttavibhaṅga were derived mainly from this nikāya. Its importance lies also in the fact that the contents of the Puggalapaññatti which is one of the earliest of the Abhidhamma books are nothing but excerpts from it.

Comparing the individual passages it becomes increasingly clear that the lengthy discourses in the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas have been broken up in the Aṅguttara and the points dealt with in them have been emphasised separately in smaller groupings. Thus it may be shown that the purpose of this nikāya is to sufficiently emphasise certain doctrinal points by repeatedly dinning them into the ears of the hearers.

But we are not to suppose that the Aṅguttara has not an originality of its own as regards its contents. There are indeed many suttas or passages which are peculiarly its own and these passages shed much lustre on the development of Buddhism and its history.³¹

Attention may be drawn, for instance, to the Etadaggavagga in the Ekanipāta. It furnishes us with a list of prominent Buddhist personalities among the bhikkhus, the bhikkhuniṣ, the upāsakas, and upāsikās who are declared by the Buddha to be the foremost in ranks in certain attainments or qualities. For instance, the Thera Mahākaccāna was declared to be the foremost amongst those immediate disciples of the Buddha who had the capacity to set forth in detail the meaning of a truth briefly enunciated by the Master ; the Thera Vaṅgīsa amongst those who excelled in the art of improvisation. All this goes to prove that the Buddhist Order as organised by the Buddha left sufficient scope for the development of individualism and initiative. The Appamattakavagga in the same nipāta is highly significant as emphasising the need of philanthropic works and having as such a direct bearing on Asoka's Dhamma.

In the Dukaniṣāta we may draw attention to the Kamma-karaṇavagga throwing a flood of light on the brutal methods of punishment and criminal justice, the rigour of which was sought to be modified by King Asoka.

³¹ e.g. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, pp. II, 33, 55, etc.

In the same nipāta we have a Vinaya tract, Attavasavagga, which may even be identified with the passage, 'Vinaya-samukase', recommended by Asoka in his Bhābrū Edict. Its interest centres round a scheme which it lays down, presenting a plan for the whole of the Vinaya Piṭaka. Attention may be drawn to the Parisāvagga in the Dukanipāta, the tract on Ariyavaṁsā in the Catukkanipāta and the tract on Anāgatabhayāni, future dangers of the faith, as well as the Rājavagga in the Pañcakanipāta, all of which has a close bearing on the edicts and teachings of Asoka.

Sanity and perspicuity characterise the style of this Nikāya. In a purely prosaic and mechanical scheme there are to be seen matters that bristle with interest. The variety of contents assigns a very important place to this Nikāya in regard to the subsequent development of Buddhist texts belonging to all the three piṭakas.

E. THE KHUDDAKA NIKĀYA

The Khuddaka Nikāya is the fifth and the last division of the Sutta Piṭaka. Strictly speaking it is composed of sixteen independent treatises which are enumerated by Buddhaghosa as fifteen. Its contents are of different times. Some of its parts belong to the earliest period while others to the latest stratum of the Pāli Canon. It is composed for the most part in verse, and contains all the most important works of Buddhist poetry. The sixteen books are as follows:

(1) Khuddakapāṭha, (2) Dhammapada, (3) Udāna, (4) Itivuttaka, (5) Sutta Nipāta, (6) Vimānavatthu, (7) Petavatthu, (8) Theragāthā, (9) Therīgāthā, (10) Jātakas, (11 & 12) Mahāniddeśa and Cullāniddeśa (counted as one treatise by Buddhaghosa), (13) Paṭisambhidāmagga, (14) Apadāna, (15) Buddhavaṁsa, and (16) Cariyāpiṭaka.

According to the Burmese tradition, there are four other works besides the above-mentioned texts, namely, the Milinda-pañha, the Suttasaṅgaha, the Peṭakopadesa, and the Netti of Netti-pakaraṇa.

Khuddakapāṭha: The Khuddakapāṭha or "short lessons" is the first book. It is also known as "Lesser readings". Mrs. Rhys Davids calls it the text of the minor sayings. It is a selection made out of an original collection of the canon. It possesses a high authority in Ceylon. It takes its name from its first four texts which are very brief and are termed pāṭhas. The first four pāṭhas and the Maṅgala, Ratana, and Metta Suttas are translated by Gogerly in his version of Pirit in the *Ceylon Friend* (June, July, and August, 1839). Besides there are two suttas, Tirokuḍḍasutta and Nidhikaṇḍasutta.

The Khuddakapāṭha consists of nine texts. According to the commentary, the book derives its name from the first four passages which are shorter in comparison with the remaining five passages or suttas. The first is the Buddhist creed ; the second gives the ten commandments prescribed for the novices ; and the ninth is the Karaṇīyamettasutta in which kindness towards all creatures is esteemed as the true Buddhist cult. The work is a booklet of only a few pages, starting with the so-called Buddhist creed :

"I take my refuge in the Buddha (Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi).

I take refuge in the Dhamma (religion) (Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi).

I take refuge in the Saṅgha (Order) (Saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi)."¹

Then the following other topics are discussed in the Khuddakapāṭha :

¹ This is known as the refuge formula, better known as Saraṇattayaṃ or Tisarāṇaṃ. From the Mahāvagga it appears that the two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, were the first in the world to become lay disciples (of the Buddha) by the formula which contained (only) the dyad. Because there was no Saṅgha at that time, their declaration of taking refuge, by which they became upāsakas, could refer only to the dyad (the Buddha and the Dhamma), instead of the triad of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha. Yasa, the son of a seṭṭhi of Benares, was the first person in the world who became a lay disciple by the formula of the holy triad (cf. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIII, p. 106).

(A) The ten precepts,² e.g.

- (i) Avoidance of life-slaughter,
- (ii) Avoidance of theft,
- (iii) Avoidance of leading irreligious life,
- (iv) Avoidance of falsehood,
- (v) Avoidance of drinking spirituous liquor,
- (vi) Avoidance of dancing, singing, and music,
- (vii) Avoidance of using garlands, scents ointments and avoidance of ornamentations,
- (viii) Avoidance of using luxurious and magnificent household furniture,
- (ix) Avoidance of using gold and silver,
- (x) Avoidance of taking food at improper time.

(B) The 32 parts of the body, e.g. hairs of the head, nails, teeth, heart, liver, skin, flesh, spleen, abdomen, bile, phlegm, lungs, mucus, pus, blood, kidney, marrow, etc. (cf. *Visuddhimagga*, I, pp. 249-265, *Sammohavinodanī*, Sinhalese Ed., pp. 49-63).³

(C) Novice's questions or as Mrs. Rhys Davids puts it "questions for young gentlemen":

What is meant by one ? all beings live on food.

What are meant by two ? name and form.

What are meant by three ? the three sensations.

What are meant by four ? the four truths.

What are meant by five ? the five constituent elements of beings.

What are meant by six ? the six sense-organs.

What are meant by seven ? seven supernatural knowledges.

² The first five commandments are meant for the laymen and all the ten commandments are meant for the monks. Mrs. Rhys Davids translates it as "the tenfold course".

³ The thirty-one parts of the body excepting Matthake Matthaluṅgaṃ are also mentioned in the Mahā-satipaṭṭhāna Suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 293, and in the Satipaṭṭhānasuttaṃ of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 57. Mrs. Rhys Davids translates "Dvattimsākāraṃ" as *the thirty-twofold formation* (vide the *Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon*, Pt. I, S.B.B., 1931).

What are meant by eight ? the noble eightfold path.

What are meant by nine ? the nine abodes of human beings.

What are meant by ten ? the ten attributes which go to make a being a saint.

There are five suttas in the *Khuddakapāṭha*, a brief summary of which is given below.

Maṅgala Sutta (*Khuddakapāṭha*, P.T.S., PP. 2-3): This sutta⁴ is like the *Svastyayana gāthā*. The chief blessings are the following :

Not to serve the unwise but to attend to the learned and to offer offerings to those worthy of homage, to live in a suitable place, to have done meritorious deeds in past existences and right self-application, to serve parents, to provide for wife and children and to follow a peaceful vocation, to give alms, to lead a religious life, to help relatives and to do good deeds, to abstain from sin, to refrain from the use of intoxicants and to preserve in virtue, reverence, humility, contentment, and gratitude and to attend to religious sermons at proper time, to be patient and gentle in speech, to visit the order of monks, to hold religious discourse at proper season, asceticism and celibacy, discernment of the four noble truths and realisation of *Nibbāna*, to have a mind unshaken by ups and downs of life, free from sorrow, impurity, and tranquil. The *Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka* in Fausboll's *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, may be taken to represent the Hindu background of the Buddhist *Maṅgala Sutta*.

Ratana Sutta (*Khuddakapāṭha*, pp. 3-6): This sutta⁵ is one of the finest lyrics in early Pāli poetry, a charming hymn of praise of the Buddhist holy Triad, recited to ward off dangers and secure prosperity. The poem, as we now have it, consists of two separate groups of stanzas, the one of the five stanzas (first two and the last three) being traditionally known as the original structure (*āditopaṅcagāthā*). The remaining stanzas appear to have been inserted into the original scheme of five.

⁴ There is a commentary on this sutta known as the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*. This sutta also occurs in the *Sutta Nipāta*. But the title of the sutta in the *Sutta Nipāta* is *Mahāmaṅgala Suttaṃ* (*Sutta Nipāta*, P.T.S., pp. 46-47).

⁵ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 39.

Whatever treasure there is in the world or in the next and whatever excellent jewels there are in heaven there is none equal to the Buddha. There is nothing equal to the unceasing meditation extolled by the Buddha. Those who being free from desire with a steadfast mind are firmly established in the religion of Gautama, obtain arahatship. As the pillar of a city-gate standing on the earth is immovable by the wind from the four directions, so I call him a righteous man who realises four noble truths. They that clearly meditate on the four noble truths laid down by the wise one, however much they may be led astray, cannot obtain the eighth birth in the Niraya hell. He who is blessed with the knowledge of Nibbāna, these three things are cast off by him vanity of self, doubt, and false belief in vain ceremonies or any other thing that exists. Such a person is delivered from the four states of punishment and if is impossible for him to commit six deadly sins. The Buddha preached his excellent doctrine for the good of men. The wise whose old karma is destroyed and no new karma is produced, whose heart no longer cleaves to future existence, whose seeds of existence are destroyed and desires quenched extinguish like a lamp.

*Tirokuḍḍa Sutta*⁶ (*Khuddakapāṭha*, p. 6): The departed spirits stand outside our dwelling houses, at corners, at cross roads, they stand at our doors coming back to their old homes. Those of the kinsmen who are compassionate, bestow on them in due time food and drink, pure, sweet, and excellent, thinking let these be for our departed relatives, let them be happy. In the land of the departed there exist no husbandry, no tending of cattle, no commerce and no trade in gold. The departed live in that world on what they receive from this world. Weeping, sorrow, and other manners of lamentation, none of these benefit the departed. The gift offered by mankind to an well-established order of monkhood will be for their good for a long time and will surely benefit the dead. This sutta repre-

⁶ Cf. *Petavatthu* (P.T.S.), pp. 4-5 *Tirokuḍḍapetavatthu*. Mrs. Rhys Davids calls this sutta as "*The saying on over the walls*"

sents the earliest known Buddhist formula of offering oblations to the departed spirits, a custom evidently taken from the general custom of the Hindus.

Nidhikaṇḍasutta (*Khuddakapāṭha*, p. 7): A man buries his treasure in a pit near water thinking thus within himself, "if occasion arises this treasure will be of use to me, when I am accused by the king or plundered by thieves, or for release from debt or in times of famine and calamity". For these purposes a man conceals his treasure in this world. A wise man should practise virtue, a treasure which will follow him after death. Fine complexion, sweet voice, good feature, and beauty of person, pomp and power over his family all that is obtained by this treasure. All worldly prosperity, every pleasure in celestial abode, the bliss of Nirvāṇa all that is obtained by this treasure. A man obtaining good friends by his wisdom can obtain knowledge, emancipation and self-control by means of this treasure. Analytical knowledge, emancipation, all the perfections of a disciple, the knowledge of all individual Buddhas and the state of the Buddha all that is obtained by this treasure. The wise and the learned should praise meritorious deeds.

Karaṇīyamettasutta (*Khuddakapāṭha*, pp. 8-9).⁷: A person should be diligent, straightforward, upright, obedient, gentle, and not vainglorious. He should not do any mean acts for which the wise might abuse him. Let all creatures be happy and prosperous, let them be contented. A person should not deceive another, nowhere and in no way should show disrespect to any one. Let none out of anger or sense of resentment wish misery to another. A person should cherish boundless goodwill towards all the beings. Without embracing false views and false doctrines, the virtuous man possessed of insight subduing his desire for sensual pleasures, will never be born in the womb.

⁷ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 25, but the title of the sutta is *Mettasutta* or "saying on amity."

Idea of Nibbāna in the Khuddakapāṭha

The Khuddakapāṭha does not contain much about Nibbāna. In the Ratana Sutta the word *amataṃ* has been used for Nibbānaṃ (cf. *te pattipattā amataṃ vigayha*). In the Mettasuttam *Santam Padam* has been used for Nibbāna (cf. *karaṇīyaṃ atthakusalena yaṃ taṃ santam padam abhisamecca*, etc.).

Concluding remarks

The Novice's questions appear to have been taken from the Vinaya. The Maṅgala Sutta, Ratana Sutta, and Karaṇīya-mettasutta occur also in the Sutta Nipāta of the Khuddaka Nikāya and the Tirokuḍḍasutta also occurs in the Petavatthu. As regards the date of the work, it appears to have been compiled even after the first commitment of the canon to writing in the 1st century B.C. It has been edited by Helmer Smith for the P.T.S., London, with its commentary. The commentary appears to have been written by Buddhaghosa. The commentaries on the Khuddakapāṭha and the Sutta Nipāta are known as the Paramatthajotikā. Buddhaghosa wrote them of his own accord in the fifth century A.D. There is an edition of this book by R.C. Childers published in the J.R.A.S., 1870, N.S. with English translation and notes. A German edition by Karl Seidenstucker is also available published in Breslau in 1910. There is another edition with English translation by M. K. Ghosh and published by Messrs. Chakravartty Chatterjee and Co., Calcutta. There are Sinhalese, Burmese, and Siamese editions of this text. The text of the Khuddakapāṭha has been re-edited and translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists series under the name of the Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon.

Dhammapada

The Dhammapada is the second book. It contains the sublime teachings of the Buddha. The text contains 423 verses divided into 26 vaggas or chapters which are as follows : (1) Yamaka, (2) Appamāda, (3) Citta, (4) Puppha, (5) Bāla, (6) Paṇḍita, (7) Arahanta, (8) Sahassa, (9) Pāpa, (10) Daṇḍa, (11) Jarā, (12)

Atta, (13) Loka, (14) Buddha, (15) Sukha, (16) Piya, (17) Kodha, (18) Mūla, (19) Dhammaṭṭha, (20) Magga, (21) Pakiṇṇaka, (22) Niraya, (23) Nāga, (24) Taṇhā, (25) Bhikkhu, and (26) Brāhmaṇa, a brief summary of which is given below :

*Chapter I Yamakavagga*⁸ (*Dhammapada*, P.T.S., pp. 1-3): Hatred does not cease by hatred. It ceases by love. Those who know that we all must come to an end in this world, their quarrels cease at once. He who lives looking for pleasures only, his senses uncontrolled, immoderate in his food, idle and weak, will be overcome by Māra. He who disregards temperance and truth and who puts on yellow robe without having cleansed himself from sin is unworthy of the yellow robe. He who knows truth in truth, untruth in untruth arrives at truth and follows true desires. An evil-doer mourns in this world and in the next ; he mourns in both. He mourns and suffers when he sees the evil result of his own work. A virtuous man delights in this world, in the next and in both. He delights and rejoices when he sees the purity of his own work. A virtuous man is happy when he thinks of the good he has done.

*Chapter II Appamādevagga*⁹ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 4-5): Earnestness is the path of immortality, thoughtlessness, the path of death. The wise people, meditative, steady, always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nirvāṇa, the highest happiness. Fools follow after vanity. Earnestness is praised and thoughtlessness is always blamed. A bhikkhu who delights in earnestness, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, moves about like fire and a bhikkhu who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness cannot fall away he is close upon Nirvāṇa.

⁸ Anikkasāvo kāsāvāṃ yo vatthaṃ paridahessati, apeto damasaccena, na so kāsāvāṃ araṭhi. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, xii, 568. Anishkashāye Kāshāyaṃ iharthaṃ iti viddhi taṃ, Dharmadhvajānāṃ muṇḍānāṃ vṛtyarthāṃ iti me maṭiḥ.

Pare ca na vijānanti "mayāṃ ettha yamāse", ye ca tattha vijānanti, tato sammanti medhagā". See *Theragāthā*, p. 33.

⁹ "Appamādo amatampadam, pamādo maccuno padam, appamattā na miyanti, ye pamattā yathāmatā." This verse, as recited to Aśoka, occurs in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 53. Cf. *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), p. 35 ; *Jātaka*, V, p. 99 and *Nettipakarana*, p. 34.

*Chapter III Cīttavagga*¹⁰ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 5-6): Well-guarded thoughts bring happiness. If a man's faith is unsteady, if he does not know the true law, if his peace of mind is troubled, his knowledge will never be perfect. Whatever a hater may do to a hater or an enemy to an enemy, a wrongly directed mind will do him greater mischief.

*Chapter IV Puppavagga*¹¹ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 7-9): The perfume of those who possess virtue rises up to the gods as the highest. The odour of good men like good flowers travels against the wind. The fame of a good man is spread all over the regions.

*Chapter V Bālavagga*¹² (*Dhammapada*, pp. 9-11): A fool who

¹⁰ Dūniggahassa lahuṇo yatthakāmaṇipātino, cittaṣṣa damatho sādhu, cittaṃ dantaṃ sukhāvahaṃ (cf. *Jātaka*, I, pp. 312, 400).

¹¹ "Pupphāni h'eva pacinantam vyāsattamanasaṃ naraṃ suttam gāmaṃ mahoghova maccu ādāya gacchati.

Pupphāni h'eva pacinantam vyāsattamanasaṃ naraṃ atittam yeva kāmesa antako kurute vasam."

There is a curious similarity between these verses and verses 6540-41, and 9939 of the *Śāntiparva*.

"Puṣpāṇīva vicinvantaṃ anyatragatamanasaṃ anavāptesu kāmeṣu mṛtyur abhyeti mānavaṃ Suptaṃ vyāghraṃ mahaugho vā mṛtyur ādāya gacchati, Sañcinvānakaṃ evainaṃ kāmānaṃ avitṛṭṭikaṃ."
"Yathāpi bhamaṛo pupphaṃ vaṇṇagandhaṃ aheṭṭhayaṃ paleti rasaṃ ādāya, evaṃ gāme munī care ti."

(Cf. *Nettipakarāṇa*, p. 184.)

¹² Madhuvā maññati bālo yāva pāpam na paccati Yadā ca paccati pāpam atha (bālo) dukkhaṃ nigacchati. The verse is taken from the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* where, however, we read 'thānanhi' instead of madhuvā.

Cf. *Nettipakarāṇa*, p. 131 Caranti bālā dummedhā amitten' eva attanā karontā pāpakam kammaṃ yaṃ hoti kaṭukapphalaṃ. Na taṃ kammaṃ kataṃ sādhu yaṃ katvā anutappati yassa assumukho rodaṃ vipākaṃ paṭisevati.

Cf. *Jātaka*, Vol. III, p. 291.

Māse māse kusaggena bālo bhujjetha bhojanaṃ na so sankhatadhammānaṃ kalaṃ agghati soḷasim.

Cf. *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, ix,

thinks himself wise is a fool indeed. If a fool is associated with a wise man even all his life, he will perceive truth to some extent. If an intelligent man be associated with a wise man for a moment, he will soon perceive the truth. As long as the evil deed done does not bear fruit, the fool thinks it is like honey but when it ripens, then the fool suffers grief. A fool wishes for a false reputation. If a bhikkhu realises the fact that one is the road leading to wealth and another is the road leading to Nirvāṇa, he will not yearn for honour but he will strive after separation from the world.

*Chapter VI Paṇḍitavagga*¹³ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 11-13): Wise people after they have listened to the laws, become serene. Good men walk under all circumstances. A wise man should leave the dark state of ordinary life and follow the bright state of the bhikkhu. Those whose mind is wellgrounded in the seven elements of knowledge who without clinging to anything rejoice in freedom from attachment, whose appetites have been conquered and who are full of light, are free in this world.

Chapter VII Arahanṭavagga (*Dhammapada*, pp. 13-15): There is no suffering for him who has abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides and thrown off the fetters. The man who is free from credulity but knows the uncreated, who has cut all ties, removed all temptations, renounced all desires, is the greatest of men.

*Chapter VIII Sahassavagga*¹⁴ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 15-17): He

Na hi pāpaṃ kataṃ kammaṃ saṃjju khīraṃ va muccati
dahantaṃ bālaṃ anveti bhasmachanno va pāvako.

Cf. *Nettipakaraṇa*, p. 161.

¹³ Nidhīnaṃ va pavattāraṃ yaṃ passe vajjadassinaṃ
niggaḃhavādiṃ medhāvīṃ tādisaṃ paṇḍitaṃ bhaje,
tādisaṃ bhajamānassa seyyo hoti na pāpiyo.

Cf. *Jātaka*, Vol. III, p. 367: *Theragāthā*, pp. 89-90.

¹⁴ The *Sahassavagga* is quoted as *Sahasravarga* in the *Mahāvastu*, cf. Teṣāṃ Bhagavaṇā jaṭilānāṃ Dharmapadeṣu sahasravargaṃ bhāsati : 'Sahasraṃ api vācānāṃ anarthapadasamhitānāṃ, ekārthavati śreyā yāṃ śrutvā upasāmyati. Sahasram api gāthānaṃ anarthapadasamhitānāṃ ekārthavati śreyā yāṃ śrutvā upasāmyati.'

who always greets and constantly reveres the aged, will gain these four things, namely life, beauty, happiness, and power. He who lives a hundred years, vicious and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is virtuous and reflecting. He who lives a hundred years, ignorant and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is wise and reflecting. He who lives a hundred years, idle and weak, a life of one day is better if a man has attained firm strength. He who lives a hundred years not seeing beginning and end, a life of one day is better if a man sees beginning and end. He who lives a hundred years, not seeing the immortal place, a life of one day is better if a man sees the immortal place. He who lives a hundred years, not seeing the highest law, a life of one day is better if a man sees the highest law.

*Chapter IX Pāpavagga*¹⁵ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 17-19): A man should hasten towards good and should keep his thought away from evil. If a man commits a sin, let him not repeat it. If a man does what is good, let him do it again. A man should think lightly of evil. If a man offends a harmless, pure and innocent person, the evil falls back upon that fool.

Abhivādanasilissa niccaṃ vaddhāpacāyino cattāro dhammā vaḍḍhanti:
āyu, vaṇṇo, sukhaṃ balaṃ. Cf. *Manu*, II, 121.

Abhivādanaśīlasya nityaṃ vṛddhopasevinaṃ
Catvāri sampravardhante āyur vidyā yaśo balaṃ.
"Yo sahasraṃ sahasseṇa saṅgāme mānuse jine
ekaṃ ca jiyya attānaṃ sa ve saṅgāmajuttamo."

Cf. *Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra*, ix, 34.

¹⁵ Pāpo pi passati bhadrāṃ yāva pāpaṃ na paccati,
yadā ca paccati pāpaṃ (atha) pāpo pāpāni passati.
Bhadro pi passati pāpaṃ yāva bhadrāṃ na paccati,
yadā ca paccati bhadrāṃ (atha) bhadro bhadraṇi passati.

Cf. *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 231.

"Gabbhaṃ eke upapajjanti nirayaṃ pāpakammaṇo,
Saggaṃ sugatino yanti... anāsavaṃ."

Cf. *Mahāvastu*, ii, p. 424.

Chapter X *Daṇḍavagga*¹⁶ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 19-21): All men are afraid of punishment and all men fear death. He who seeking his own happiness punishes or kills beings who also long for happiness, will not find happiness after death. Do not speak harshly to anybody. A fool does not know when he commits his evil deeds. He will have cruel suffering, loss, injury of the body, heavy affliction or loss of mind. Not nakedness, not plaited hair, not dirt, not fasting or lying on the earth, not rubbing with dust, not sitting motionless can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires.

Chapter XI *Jarāvagga*¹⁷ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 22-23): The body

¹⁶ Attānaṃ upamaṃ katvā na hanneya, na ghātaye.
This is an expression which occurs frequently in Sanskrit. Cf. *Hitopadeśa*, I, 11.

Prāṇā yathātmano-bhiṣṭā bhūtānāṃ api te tathā,
Ātmaupamyena bhūteṣu dayāṃ kurvanti sādḥavaḥ
Sukhakāmāni bhūtāni yo daṇḍena vihimsati,
Attano sukhaṃ eśāno pecca na labhate sukhaṃ.

Cf. *Manu*, V, 45, cf. *Netti*, p. 130.

Yo himsakāni bhūtāni hinastyātmasukhecchayā,
Sa Jivamśca mṛtaścaiva na kvacit sukhaṃ edhate.

Cf. *Mahābhārata*, XIII, 5568.

Ahimsakāni bhūtāni daṇḍena vinihanti yaū,
ātmanau sukhaṃ icchan sa pretya naiva sukhī bhavet.
Sabbe tasanti daṇḍassa, sabbesaṃ Jivitaṃ piyaṃ,
attānaṃ upamaṃ katvā na haneyya na ghātaye.

Cf. *Jātaka*, Vol. III, p. 292.

Na naggacariyā na jaṭā na paṅkā nānāsakā thaṇḍilasāyikā vā
rājo ca jallaṃ ukkuṭṭikappadhānaṃ soḍhentī maccerṇi avitūṇa kaṅkhaṃ.

Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 339.

“Hirīnisedho puriso koci lokasmi vijjati,
so nindaṃ appabodḍhati asso bhadro kasāṃ iva.

Cf. *Uttarādhyaṇa Sutra*, p. 3.

¹⁷ Yāni' māni apatthāni alāpūn' eva sārāde
kāpotakāni atṭhīni tāni disvāna kā rati ?

In the *Rudrāyanāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* this verse appears as.

Yānimāni apariddhāni vikṣiptāni diśo diśau
Kapotavarṇāni asthīni tāni dṛṣṭvaiha kā ratiū.

The expression 'mamsalohitalepanaṃ' is curiously like that used in *Manu*, VI, 76, māmsaṣoṇitalepanaṃ, and in several passages of the *Mahābhārata*, XII, 12462, 12053. Jīraṇṭi ve rājarathā sucittā.... pavedayanti." Cf. *Jātaka*, V, 483.

in this world is wasted, full of sickness and frail ; this heap of corruption breaks to pieces, life ends in death. After a stronghold has been made of the bones, it is covered with flesh and blood and there dwell in it old age and death, pride, and deceit. A man who has learnt little grows old ; his flesh grows but his knowledge does not grow. Men who have not observed proper discipline and have not gained wealth in their youth, perish like old herons. Men who have not observed proper discipline and have not gained wealth in their youth lie like broken bows.

*Chapter XII Attavagga*¹⁸ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 23-25): Let each man direct himself first to what is proper, then let him teach others, thus a wise man will not suffer. Self is the lord of self, who else could be the lord. He whose wickedness is very great brings himself down to that state where his enemy wishes him to be. It is difficult to perform good and beneficial deeds. Bad deeds can be easily performed. A fool who scorns the rule of the venerable, of the elect, of the virtuous and follows a false doctrine, bears fruit to his own destruction. Let no one forget his own duty for the sake of another however great.

*Chapter XIII Lokavagga*¹⁹ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 25-26): One

¹⁸ Cf. the first stanza of this vagga with the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, 1, 4, 8; 2, 4; 4, 5.

Attā hi attano nātho ; ko hi nātho ; ko hi nātho paro siyā ?
Attanā hi sudantena nātham labhati dullabham.

Cf. *Gītā*, Ch. VI.

“Uddharedātmanātmānam nātmānamavasādayet
ātmaiva hyātmano bandhurātmaiva ripurātmanā
bandhurātmatmanastasya yenātmaivātmanā jitah
anātmanasthu śatruve varttetātmaiva śatruvat.”

Attadattham paratthena bahunāpi na hāpaye. Cf. *Bhagavadgītā*, the translation of the passage in the *Bhagavadgītā* is this : “Better one’s own dharma, however ill-performed, than others’ dharma well-performed tho’ it be.”

¹⁹ Uttiṭṭhe nappamajjeyya, dhammam sucaritam care.... paramhi ca cf. *Milinda*, 213.

Hamsādiccapathe yanti:

In Hinduism the Paramahansa ‘the swan’ is the mystic name for the liberated being (cf. the *Bhagavadgītā*) who goes to the Sun (āditya) and is reborn no more ; also in *Chāndyogya Upaniṣad*. VIII, 7-5, we read, “when

should not follow false doctrine. One should follow the law of virtue. He whose evil deeds are covered by good deeds brightens up this world like the moon. If a man has transgressed the one law and speaks lies and scoffs at another world, there is no evil he will not do. The reward of sotāpatti is better than sovereignty over the earth, going to heaven and lordship over all the worlds.

*Chapter XIV Buddhavagga*²⁰ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 27-29): The teaching of the Awakened is not to commit any sin, to do good to others, and to purify one's own mind. Patience is the highest penance and long suffering is the highest Nirvāṇa (cf. *Dīgha*, II, 49). He is not an ascetic who insults others. Not to blame, not to strike, to live restrained under the law, to be moderate in eating, to sleep and sit alone and to dwell on the highest thoughts this is the teaching of the Buddha (cf. *Dīgha*, II, 49; *Netti*, 43, 81, 171, and 186; *Mahāvastu*, III, 420). The wise people know that lusts have a short taste and cause pain. He who takes refuge in the Buddha, the law and the church and he who with clear understanding sees the four holy truths, namely, suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering, and the path leading to its cessation, is delivered from all pain. A Buddha is not easily found, he is not born anywhere.

*Chapter XV Sukhavagga*²¹ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 30-31): There is no fire like passion, there is no losing thread like hatred, there is

mind ceases to act he attains the sun. That is the way to the region above. It is open to the learned but closed to the ignorant." Those who are reborn are said to go on the path of the moon. See *The Buddha's Path of Virtue* by F. L. Woodward, p. 43 f.n.

²⁰ Api dibbesu kāmesu ratim so nādhigacchati, taṇhakkhayarato hoti sammāsambuddhasāvako. There is a curious similarity between this verse and verse 6503 (9919) of the Śāntiparva "yacca kāmasukham loke, yacca dibbaṃ mahatsukhaṃ, tṛṣṇā kṣayasukhasyaite nārhatāu soḍaśim kalām."

²¹ Susukhaṃ vata jivāma yesan no n'atthi kiñcanaṃ, piṭibhakkhā bhaviṣṣāma devā ābhassarā yathā cf. the words placed in the mouth of the king of Videha while his residence Mithilā was in flames, which are curiously like this verse. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 9917 Susukhaṃ vata jivāmi yasya me nāsti kiñcana, mithilāyāṃ pradīpatāyāṃ na me dahyati kiñcana.

no pain like this body, and there is no happiness higher than rest. Hunger is the worst of all diseases, the elements of the body, the greatest evil ; if one knows this truly, that is Nirvāṇa, the highest happiness. Health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness, the best riches, trust is the best of relationships, Nirvāṇa, the highest happiness (cf. *Majjhima*, I, 508, 257 ; *Jātaka*, iii, 196). He who has tasted the sweetness of solitude and tranquillity is free from fear and sin. The sight of the elect is good, to live with them is always happiness ; if a man does not see fools, he will be truly happy. Company with fools is always painful while the company with the wise is delightful. One ought to follow the wise, the intelligent, the learned, the much enduring, the dutiful, and the elect.

Chapter XVI Piyavagga (Dhammapada, pp. 31-33): Those who love nothing, hate nothing, have no fetters. From pleasure comes grief, from pleasure comes fear, he who is free from pleasure knows neither grief nor fear. From affection comes grief and from it comes fear ; he who is free from affection knows neither grief nor fear. Grief comes from lust and from lust comes fear. He who is free from lust knows neither grief nor fear.²² He who possesses virtue and intelligence, who is just, speaks the truth and does what is his own business, him the world will hold dear.

*Chapter XVII Kodhavagga*²³ (*Dhammapada, pp. 33-34*): A man should overcome anger by love. Let him overcome evil by good, let him overcome the greedy by liberality and the liar by truth (cf. *Jātaka*, ii, 4).

Jayaṃ veraṃ pasavati, dukkhaṃ seti parājito,
Upasanto sukhaṃ seti hitvā jayaparājayaṃ.

This verse is ascribed to the Buddha. It exists in the Northern or Sanskrit and in the Southern or Pāli text, that is, in the *Avadānaśataka* and in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*.

In the *Avadānaśataka* the Sanskrit version is as follows :
Yayo vairam prasvati, dukkham sete parajitau
Upasantaū sukham sete hitvā jayaparajayaṃ.

²² Cf. *Kaṭhōpaniṣad*, śl. 14, 3 vallī.

²³ The idea conveyed in the first stanza of this vagga is similar to the idea found in the *Muṇḍakōpaniṣad*, śl. 8, 3rd Muṇḍaka, pt. II.

The sages who injure nobody and who always control their body will go to Nirvāṇa. Those who are watchful, who study day and night, and who strive after Nirvāṇa, their passions will come to an end. Beware of bodily anger and control your body. Beware of the anger of the mind and control your mind. The wise who control their body, who control their tongue, who control their mind are indeed well controlled.

*Chapter XVIII Malavagga*²⁴ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 35-37): When your impurities are removed and you are free from guilt, you will enter into the heavenly world of the elect. You will not enter into the birth and decay when your impurities are removed and you are free from guilt. Bad conduct is the taint of woman, nig-gardliness, the taint of a benefactor, tainted are all evil ways in this world and in the next. Ignorance is the greatest taint. The monks should throw off that taint and become taintless. Life is easy to live for a man who is without shame. It is hard to live for a modest man, who always looks for what is pure, disinterested, quiet, spotless, and intelligent. He who destroys life, who speaks untruth, who in the world takes what is not given him, who goes to another man's wife, who gives himself to drinking intoxicating liquors, he digs up his own root. There is no fire like passion, no shark like hatred, no snare like folly, and no torrent like greed. It is easy to find out the fault of others but it is diffi-

²⁴ Ākāse padam̐ n'atthi, samaṇo n'atthi bāhire,
papañcābhiratā pajā, nippapañcā Tathāgatā.

Ākāse padam̐ n'atthi, samaṇo n'atthi bāhire,
Saṅkhārā sassatā n'atthi, n'atthi Buddhānam̐ iñjitam̐.

In the story of Subhadda the wanderer (*Dh. Commy.*, III, p. 378) who came to see the Master on his death-bed, he asked these three questions: 'Is there any track in space? Is there any (real) recluse in the outer world? Are the constituents (of existence) eternal? These gāthās were the answer.

In the canonical account (*Dīgha N.*, II, 150) he only asked whether the leaders of heretical sects had true knowledge. The Master put aside the question and said that outside the eightfold way (in four degrees) there were no real samaṇas or recluses. See *The Buddha's Path of Virtue*, pp. 62-63. So karohi dipam attano khippam̐ vāyama, paṇḍito bhava... ehisi. (cf. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 3, 13, 7; *Kāthopaniṣad*, 5, 15).

cult to find one's own fault. If a man looks after the faults of others and is always inclined to be offended, his own passions will grow and he cannot destroy them. The Buddhas are free from vanity. A man cannot become a *samaṇa* outwardly.

Chapter XIX Dhammaṭṭhavagga (Dhammapada, pp. 38-39): A man is not learned because he talks much. He who is patient, free from hatred and fear is learned. A man is not a supporter of the law because he talks much. If he has learnt little but sees the law, he is a supporter of the law, he never neglects the law. A man is not an elder because his head is grey and his age may be ripe. He in whom there are truth, virtue, piety, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise, he is called an elder. An envious, stingy and dishonest man does not become respectable by means of much talking only or by the beauty of his complexion. He in whom all this is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, he, when freed from hatred and wise is called respectable. He who always quits the evil, whether small or large, is called a *samaṇa* because he has quitted all evils. He who follows the whole law is a *bhikkhu*, not he who only begs. He who is above good and evil, who is chaste, who with care passes through the world, is called a *bhikkhu*. A man is not a *muni* because he observes silence. A *muni* is one who chooses the good and avoids the evil. A man is not an elect because he injures living creatures. He who has obtained the extinction of desires has obtained confidence.

Chapter XX Maggavagga²⁵ (Dhammapada, pp. 40-42): The best of ways is the eight linked one; the best of truths the four words; the best of virtues passionlessness; the best of men is he who has eyes to see. The Buddhas only point out the way. You have got to

²⁵ Etamhi tumhe paṭipannā dukkhass 'antaṃ karissatha, akkhāto ve mayā maggo aññāya sallasanthanāṃ.

The thorns are the stings and torments of passion. The Buddha has been called the "Great-thorn-remover", *Lalitavistara*, p. 550; see Mr. Woodward's *The Buddha's Path of Virtue*, p. 68. "Sabbe saṅkhāra aniccā... esa maggo visuddhiyā; cf. *Theragāthā*, 676-678; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 4. 4, 8.

exert. The thoughtful who enter the way are freed from the bondage of Māra. All created things perish he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain. This is the way to purity. All created things are grief and pain he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain. This is the way leading to purity. All forms are unreal he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain. This is the way leading to purity. A lazy and slothful man never finds the way to knowledge. Through zeal knowledge is acquired. So long as the desire of man towards women even the smallest is not destroyed, so long is his mind in bondage.

Chapter XXI Pakiṇṇakavagga (Dhammapada, pp. 42-44): If by leaving a small pleasure one sees a great pleasure, let a wise man leave the small pleasure and look to the great. He who by causing pain to others wishes to obtain pleasure for himself, he entangled in the bonds of hatred will never be freed from hatred. The desires of unruly and thoughtless people are always increasing. A true Brāhmaṇa goes scatheless though he has killed his father and mother and two valiant kings, though he has destroyed a kingdom with all its subjects. The disciples of the Buddha Gotama are always wide awake and their thoughts day and night are always set on the Buddha. Their thoughts are always set on the law and on the church. Their mind always delights in compassion. It is hard to leave the world, to enjoy the world, hard is the monastery, painful are the houses, painful it is to dwell with equals and the itinerant mendicant is beset with pain. A man full of faith if endowed with virtue and glory is respected everywhere. Good people shine from afar like the snowy mountains and bad people are not seen like arrows shot by night. Sitting alone, lying down alone, walking alone without ceasing and alone subduing himself, let a man be happy near the edge of a forest.²⁶

Chapter XXII Nirayavagga (Dhammapada, pp. 44-46): Many men whose shoulders are covered with the yellow gown are ill-conditioned and unrestrained. Such evil-doers on account of

²⁶ Mātaram pitaram hantvā... brāhmaṇo (294 verse). Cf. *Nettipakarana*, 165.

their evil deeds go to hell. A reckless man who covets his neighbour's wife gains demerit, an uncomfortable bed, punishment and hell. Let no man think of his neighbour's wife. Badly practised asceticism leads to hell. An act carelessly performed, a broken vow, and hesitating obedience to discipline all this brings no great reward. An evil deed is better than an act left undone for a man repents for it afterwards. A good deed is better done, for having done it, one does not repent. They who are ashamed of what they ought not to be ashamed of, and are not ashamed of what they ought to be ashamed of, such men embracing false doctrines enter the evil path. They who fear when they ought not to fear and fear not when they ought to fear, such men embracing false doctrines enter the evil path. They who see sin where there is no sin and see no sin where there is sin, such men embracing false doctrines enter the evil path. They who see sin where there is sin and no sin where there is no sin, such men embracing the true doctrine enter the good path.²⁷

*Chapter XXIII Nāgavagga*²⁸ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 46-48): The best among men is one who is tamed and is one who silently endures abuse. If a man finds a prudent companion who walks with him, is wise and lives soberly, he may walk with him overcoming all dangers, happy, and considerate. It is better to live alone. One should not associate himself with a fool. Pleasant is attainment of intelligence and pleasant is avoidance of sins.

*Chapter XXIV Tanhāvagga*²⁹ (*Dhammapada* ; pp. 48-52): The

²⁷ Kuso yathā duggahito hatthaṃ evānukantati... upakaddhati (Verse, 311). Cf. *Samyutta*, N., I, 49.

²⁸ Appamādaratā hotha, sacittaṃ anurakkhatha... kuñjaro (Verse, 327). Cf. *Milinda*, 379.

²⁹ Sabbābhibhū sabbavidū'haṃ asmi, sabbesu dhammesu anūpalitto, sabbañjaho taṇhakkhaye vimutto, sayāṃ abhiññāya kaṃ uddiseyyaṃ ?

This was the reply of the Buddha to one Upaka who, struck by the Master's radiance after attaining Nibbāna, enquired who was his teacher and what was the cause of his joy.

Cf. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 171 ; see Woodward's *The Buddha's Path of Virtue*, p. 88.

thirst of a thoughtless man grows like a creeper.³⁰ One should dig up the root of thirst. Men undergo birth and decay repeatedly if given up to pleasure and deriving happiness. Beset with lust men run about like a snared hare. Those who are slaves to passion run down the stream of desires. If one's own mind is altogether free from thirst, he will not be subject to continued births and destructions. He who is free from thirst and affection, who understands the words and their interpretations, who knows the order of letters, he has received his last body, he is called the great sage, the great man. The gift of the law exceeds all gifts, the delight in the law exceeds all delights, and the extinction of thirst overcomes all pain. Mankind is ruined by passion. Therefore a gift bestowed on the passionless brings great reward. Mankind is ruined by hatred. Therefore, a gift bestowed on those who do not hate, brings great reward. Mankind is ruined by vanity and lust. Therefore, a gift bestowed on those who are free from vanity and lust, brings great reward.

Chapter XXV Bhikkhuvagga (Dhammapada, pp. 52-55): He is a bhikkhu (monk) who controls his hand, feet, and speech. He is well controlled. A bhikkhu controls his mouth, speaks wisely and calmly, and teaches the meaning and the law. He dwells in the law, finds delight in it, meditates on it, and recollects it. A bhikkhu does not pay any attention to several pleasures. A bhikkhu possesses the following qualities, e.g. watchfulness over the senses, contentedness, restraint under the law. He should keep the company of noble friends whose life is pure and who are not slothful. A bhikkhu should be perfect in his duties. The bhikkhu whose body, tongue, and mind are quieted, who is collected and has rejected the baits of the world is called quiet. The bhikkhu full of delight, who is happy in the doctrine of the Buddha, will obtain Nirvāṇa. He who even as a young bhikkhu ap-

³⁰ Yathāpi mūle anupaddave dalhe chinno pi rukkho punar eva rūhati... punappunam.

Cf. *Nettipakaraṇa*, 42 ; cf. *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, Sl. 2, third Muṇḍaka, pt. II "Kāmān yaū kāmāyate manyamānau sa kāmabhiryāyate yatra tatra."

plies himself to the doctrine of the Buddha brightens up this world like the moon when free from clouds.

*Chapter XXVI Brahmāṇavagga*³¹ (*Dhammapada*, pp. 55-60): He who is thoughtful blameless, settled, dutiful, free from passion and who has attained the highest end is a Brāhmaṇa. No one should attack a Brāhmaṇa but no Brāhmaṇa should let himself fly at his aggressor. He who does not offend by body, word, or thought an is controlled on these three points is a Brāhmaṇa. A man does not become a Brāhmaṇa by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth ; in whom there are truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brāhmaṇa. The man who wears dirty raiments, who is emaciated and covered with veins, who meditates alone in the forest is called a Brāhmaṇa. A person is called a Brāhmaṇa who is free from bonds and attachments. A Brāhmaṇa endures reproach, stripes, and bonds. He knows the end of his own suffering. He does not kill nor cause slaughter. He is a Brāhmaṇa who is tolerant with the intolerant, mild with the violent and free from greed among the greedy. A Brāhmaṇa is he who utters true speech, instructive and free from harshness. He is not a Brāhmaṇa who fosters no desires for this world or for the next. He is a Brāhmaṇa who in this world has risen above ties, good, and evil, who is free from grief, sin, and impurity. A Brāhmaṇa is pure, serene, undisturbed, and bright like the moon. He has abandoned all desires. He is a hero who has conquered all the worlds. He is a Brāhmaṇa who knows the destruction and return of beings everywhere, who is free from bondage, the blessed, and the enlightened. He is a Brāhmaṇa whose passions are extinct, who calls nothing his own, the manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the indifferent, the accomplished, and the awakened. A Brāhmaṇa is he who knows his former abodes, sees heaven and hell, has reached the end of births, is perfect in knowledge, a sage, and whose

³¹ Read the first stanza of this varga and cf. it with the *Brhadāranyakopaniṣad*, 4, 4, 7.

“Yadā sarve pramucyante kāmāye’syahṛdīritāu atha martto’mṛto bhavatyatra Brahma samaśnute.”

perfections are all perfect.³²

The verses of the Dhammapada are compiled from various sources but nowhere do we find any mention of the authorship of each of the verses. The verses are mostly detached. The majority of verses is found in other canonical texts. The arrangement seems to be arbitrary. The chapter on miscellany, for instance, stands in the middle instead of coming at the end. The language of the work is smooth and appears to be similar to that of the gāthās. The inflexion of words is perfectly regular and rare are the irregularities caused by metrical exigencies here and there. The syntax is easy. Two metres, anuṣṭup, and trisṭup, are used. The verses are charming to sympathetic readers, and their import is intelligible throughout. Happy similes chosen from every day life have beautified the style, the striking feature whereof is the use of contrast, made to show the bright as well as the dark sides of the same questions in parallel language. In the time of the Mahāvihāra fraternity a thorough knowledge of the Dhammapada and its commentary entitled students of Pāli literature to the popular degree called "Khuddakabhāṇaka". The language is chaste, elegant, and sometimes simple. The verses are full of similes. The chapters on Bhikkhu and Brāhmaṇa are worth studying. A good idea of nirvāṇa can be gathered by going through some of the verses of this work. It is still highly esteemed in Ceylon as a classical work and is used as a textbook for novices who can gain the higher ordination or upasampadā on proving their thorough understanding of the Dhammapada text and its commentary. It is indispensable to students of Buddhism.

Pāli Dhammapada, Prākṛit Dhammapada, and the Chinese Fakheu-king compared

There are, strictly speaking, five recensions of the Dhammapada, viz. (1) the Pāli, (2) the Prākṛit, (3) the mixed Sanskrit which is supposed to have been the original of the

³² Yassa kāyena vācāya manasā n'atthi dukkaṭam... taṃ ahaṃ brūmi brāhmanam, cf. Netti 183 Na cāham brāhmanam brūmi yonijam mattisambhavam... brāhmanam, cf. *Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra*, p. 14.

Chinese Fa-kheu-king, but which, however, is no longer extant, (4) the Sanskrit which comprises, in the first instance, the original of the Chinese version of the Dhammapada incorporated in the Ch'uh-yau-king, and in the second instance, the Udānavarga, another Sanskrit Dhammapada. The Ch'uh-yau-king seems to have been, as implied by its title, a Dhammapada commentary rather than a Dhammapada text. The (5) fifth is the Fa-kheu-king, which has been rendered into English by Samuel Beal.

The Pāli Dhammapada is the best known and the most complete, and has been edited and translated in several languages. The Prākṛit Dhammapada is preserved only in one fragmentary manuscript in Kharoṣṭhī discovered in Khotān ; but as the record is most incomplete it is impossible to say exactly what its contents had been (Barua and Mitra, *Prākṛit Dhammapada*, p. viii).

The existence of the mixed Sanskrit original is known only from the Chinese Fa-kheu-king, and does not, therefore, come into our account. The Fa-kheu-king, according to Mr. Beal, is more than a faithful translation of the Indian text which the monk Wei-chi-lan carried from India to China in 223 A.D. (Beal's *Dhammapada*, p. 35). The Chinese translator has added and altered the distribution of the verses according to his will. The existence of the original of the Chinese version of the Dhammapada incorporated in the Ch'uh-yau-king is known only from the translator's preface, but is no longer extant. Rockhill, however, identifies the Dhammapada text in the Ch'uh-yau-king with the Udānavarga (Rockhill's *Udānavarga*, p. x), which is again another Dhammapada text in pure classical Sanskrit. A fragmentary manuscript of this text in a later variety of the Gupta script has been found at Turfan. The Dhammapada has also been quoted in the Mahāvastu in the shape of a whole chapter, the Sahasravarga containing 24 stanzas (Senart, *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 434 "*dharmapadeṣu sahasravargaḥ*").

To take the Pāli Dhammapada first into consideration the following table may easily be provided with regard to its chapters and verse :

<i>Title of chapter, Pāli Dhammapada</i>	<i>Number of verses</i>
1. Yamakavagga (Twin verses)	20
2. Appamādavagga (on Earnestness)	12
3. Cittavagga (Mind verses)	11
4. Pupphavagga (Flower verses)	16
5. Bālavagga (on the Fool)	16
6. Paṇḍitavagga (on the Wise)	14
7. Arahantavagga (on the Arhant)	10
8. Sahassavagga (Number verses)	16
9. Pāpavagga (on the Evil)	13
10. Daṇḍavagga (on Punishment)	17
11. Jarāvagga (on the Old Age)	11
12. Attavagga (on the Self)	10
13. Lokavagga (on the World)	12
14. Buddhavagga (on the Buddha)	18
15. Sukhavagga (on Happiness)	12
16. Piyavagga (on the Agreeable)	12
17. Kodhavagga (on Anger)	14
18. Malavagga (on Impurity)	21
19. Dhammatṭhavagga (on the Just)	17
20. Maggavagga (on the Way)	17
21. Pakiṇṇakavagga (miscellaneous verses)	16
22. Nirayavagga (on Hell)	14
23. Nāgavagga (on the Elephant)	14
24. Taṇhāvagga (on Desire)	26
25. Bhikkhuvagga (on the Bhikkhu)	23
26. Brāhmanavagga (on the Brāhmaṇas)	41

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The chapters and verses of the Prākṛit Dhammapada as they occur in the arrangement provided by Barua and Mitra in supersession of those of M. Senart are as follows (*Prākṛit Dhammapada*, p. viii, Intro.):

<i>Order of chapters</i>	<i>Titles of chapters with number of verses</i>	<i>Corresponding chapters of the Pāli Dhammapada with number of verses</i>
1.	Magavaga (30)	20. Maggavagga (17)
2.	Apramādavaga (25)	2. Appamādavagga (12)
3.	Citavaga (5, incomplete)	3. Cittavagga (11)
4.	Puṣavaga (15)	4. Pupphavagga (16)
5.	Sahasavaga (17)	8. Sahassavagga (16)
6.	Panitavaga (10) or Dhamathavaga	6. Paṇḍitavagga (14) 19. Dhammaṭṭhavagga (17)
7.	Balavaga (7, incomplete)	5. Bālavagga (16)
8.	Jarāvaga (25)	11. Jarāvagga (11)
9.	Suhavaga (20, almost complete)	15. Sukhavagga (12)
10.	Taṣavaga (7, incomplete)	24. Taṇhāvagga (26)
11.	Bhikhuvaga (40)	25. Bhikkhuvagga (23)
12.	Bramanavaga (50 ?)	26. Brāhmaṇavagga (41)

From the table given above, it is apparent that a complete record of the prākṛit text has not been recovered so that it is impossible to say exactly how many chapters and verses the text contained. It is equally difficult to ascertain the arrangement of its chapters from detached plates and fragments on which Mon. Senart's edition is based (Barua and Mitra, *Prākṛit Dhammapada*, p. viii, Intro).

Fa-kheu-king, the Chinese Recension referred to above, has, as we have already noticed on the authority of the Chinese translator, altered the number and distribution of the verses in the original. But the translator has done something more ; he has added thirteen new chapters in Chinese, in addition to the existing 26 of the Pāli Dhammapada, making up a total of 39 chapters and 752 verses.

*Titles of chapters in order with
number of verses*

*Corresponding chapters of
the Pāli Dhammapāda
in order with number
of verses*

1. Impermanence (21)	.....
2. Insight into wisdom (29)	.....
3. The Srāvaka (19)	.....
4. Simple faith (18)	.....
5. Observance of Duty (16)	.....
6. Reflection (12)	.....
7. Loving kindness (19)	.....
8. Conversation (12)	.....
9. Twinverses (22)	1. Yamakavagga (20)
10. Earnestness (20)	2. Appamādavagga (12)
11. On Mind (12)	3. Cittavagga (11)
12. On Flower (17)	4. Pupphavagga (16)
13. On the Fool (21)	5. Bālavagga (16)
14. On the Wise (17)	6. Paṇḍitavagga (14)
15. On the Arahant (10)	7. Arahantavagga (10)
16. Number verses (16)	8. Sahassavagga (16)
17. On Evil (22)	9. Pāpavagga (13)
18. On Punishment (14)	10. Daṇḍavagga (17)
19. On Old Age (14)	11. Jarāvagga (11)
20. On Self (14)	12. Attavagga (10)
21. On the World (14)	13. Lokavagga (12)
22. On the Buddha (21)	14. Buddhavagga (18)
23. On Happiness (14)	15. Sukhavagga (12)
24. On the Agreeable (12)	16. Piyavagga (12)
25. On Anger (26)	17. Kodhavagga (14)
26. On Impurity (19)	18. Malavagga (21)
27. On the Just (17)	19. Dhammatthavagga (17)
28. On the Way (28)	20. Maggavagga (17)
29. Miscellaneous verses (14)	21. Pakiṇṇavagga (16)

30. On Hell (16)	22. Nirayavagga (14)
31. On Elephant (18)	23. Nāgavagga (14)
32. On Desire (32)	24. Taṇhāvagga (26)
33. Advantageous Service (20)	25. Bhikkhuvagga (23)
34. On the Bhikkhus (32)	26. Brāhmaṇavagga (41)
35. On the Brāhmaṇas (40)	.....
36. Nirvāṇa (36)	.....
37. Birth and Death (18)	.....
38. Profit of Religion (19)	.....
39. Good Fortune (19)	.....

About the first and the last two chapters of the Fa-kheuing, a word of comment is necessary. The last chapter on Good Fortune may be regarded, as has already been pointed out (Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 208), as a translation of some Indian recension of the Maṅgala Sutta, whereas the chapter on Profit of Religion 'appears to be a translation of some Indian recension of the Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka (*Prākṛit Dhammapada*, p. xiv Introduction). Most of the verses of the first chapter on Impermanence and the nineteenth chapter on Old Age can be traced in chapter 8 (Jarāvaga) of the Prākṛit Dhammapada, as also in the first chapter of the Udānavarga dealing with Impermanence. Chapter 3 on the Srāvaka, and chapter 8 on conversation have striking parallels in corresponding chapters of the Udānavarga.

It has already been mentioned that the Udānavarga is a Dhammapada text in classical Sanskrit of which a fragmentary manuscript in a later variety of the Gupta script has been found at Turfan. The Tibetan version (The Tibetan translation was made during the reign of King Ral-pa-chan A.D. 817-842; Rockhill, *Udānavarga*, Intro., pp. xi-xii) of this manuscript has been translated by Rockhill under the title of Udānavarga. Pischel gives us a table which illustrates the comparativeness of the Tibetan and Sanskrit versions of the Dhammapada with that of the Pāli text.

<i>Sanskrit Dhammapada of Udanavarga with chapters in order and number of verses</i>	<i>Tibetan version of the Sanskrit Dhammapada or Udanavarga with chapters and no. of verses</i>	<i>Pali Dhammapada with chapters and number of verses</i>
Chap. II. 20	II. 20	.....
" V. 27	V. 28	XVI. 12
" VIII. 15	VIII. 15	.....
" XVI. 24	XVI. 23	XXI. 16
" XX. 22	XX. 21	XVII. 14
" XXIX. 57 (66 or 65 ?)	XXIX. 59	I. 20
" XXX. 51 (52)	XXX. 53	XV. 12
" XXXI. 60	XXXI. 64	III. 11

The multiplication of verses in several chapters of the Prākṛit Dhammapada (Chapters 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 11 and 12) in addition to those already existing in the Pāli text is due to different causes and circumstances. The Prākṛit text contains some verses that might have evidently been compiled from canonical sources unknown to or untouched by the compiler of the pāli text. Some verses may similarly be regarded as independent compositions of its own compiler. Still there are other verses which may be regarded as mere amplifications of some existing and well-known verses, or presentation of old verses of the Pāli text in a garb of new expressions. The same remark can equally be applied to the multiplication of verses in the Fa-kheu-king original and the Udānavarga (For instances of multiplication of verses and its significance, see *Prākṛit Dhammapada*, Intro., p. xxxi) with regard to the corresponding chapters of the Pāli Dhammapada.

As we have already noticed, the Fa-kheu-king original has 26 chapters out of 39 in common with the Pāli Dhammapada.

The remaining 13 chapters were undoubtedly added later on by the translator of the Sanskrit original. It has already been pointed out above that some of these additional chapters were drawn upon some already existing Buddhist texts. But a closer scrutiny shows that the translator of the original made use of one Pāli Buddhist Text namely, the Sutta Nipāta, more than any other in the composition of the additional chapters. The chapters on Impermanency, Insight into wisdom, the Disciple, simple faith, love, words, and finally, good fortune have very close similarities respectively with the Salla Sutta, Uṭṭhāna Sutta, Cunda Sutta, Āḷavaka Sutta, Metta Sutta, Subhāsita Sutta, and the Mahāmaṅgala Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta. Like the additional chapters, the 26 common chapters of the Pāli Dhammapada and the Fa-kheu-king original had their common canonical source in the Sutta Nipāta as we now have it.

The Udānavarga, however, contains 33 chapters which is equal to that of the text portion of the original of the Ch'uh-yau-king. They have evidently 26 chapters in common with the Pāli text ; only seven are later additions which were probably based upon certain poems of works similar to the Sutta Nipāta, the Dhammapada, and the Jātaka book (*Prākṛit Dhammapada*, Intro., p. xxx).

The Sutta Nipāta and the Jātaka book may also be said to have served as the canonical sources of some of the additional verses of the Prākṛit Dhammapada as well (Barua and Mitra, *Prākṛit Dhammapada*, Intro., p. xxx).

Idea of Nibbāna in the Dhammapada

In the Appamādavagga it is said that earnestness is the path of immortality and thoughtlessness the path of death (cf. Appamādo amatapadam, pamādo maccuno padam), and those wise people who delight in earnestness and rejoice in the knowledge of the Ariyas and who are meditative, steady, and always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nibbāna, the highest happiness (cf. Te jhāyino sātatikā niccam dalhaparakkamā, Phusanti dhīrā nibbānaṃ yogakkhemam anuttaram). In the same vagga

it is further said that a bhikkhu who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, cannot fall away (from his perfect state) he is close upon Nibbāna (cf. Appamādarato bhikkhu Pamāde bhayadassivā abhabbo parihānāya nibbānaṣṣ'eva santike).

In the Bālavagga it is said that the paths to the acquisition of wealth and to the attainment of Nibbāna are quite different, and that if one wishes to win Nibbāna he should strive after separation from the world (cf. Aññā hi lābhūpanisā, aññā nibbānagāminī, evam etam abhiññāya, bhikkhu Buddhassa sāvako sakkāraṃ nābhinandeyya, vivekaṃ anubrūhaye).

In the Buddhavagga it is said that the Buddha calls patience the highest penance and long suffering the highest Nibbāna (cf. Khantī paramaṃ tapo titikkhā, nibbānaṃ paramaṃ vadanti Buddhā).

In the Sukhavagga it is said that hunger is the worst of diseases, the elements of the body the greatest evil ; if one knows this truly, that is Nibbāna (cf. jigacchāparamā rogā saṅkhārā paramā dukkhā, etaṃ ñatvā yathābhūtaṃ, nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ). In the same vagga it is also said that health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness the best riches ; trust is the best of relationships, and Nibbāna is the highest happiness (cf. Ārogyaparamā lābhā, santuṭṭhi paramaṃ dhanam, vissāsa-paramā ñāti, nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ).

In the Kodhavagga it is said that those who are ever watchful, who study day and night, and who strive after Nibbāna, their passions will come to an end (cf. Sadā jagaramānānaṃ, ahorattānusikkhinaṃ nibbānaṃ adhimuttānaṃ, atthaṃgacchanti āsavā).

In the Maggavagga (cf. Etaṃ atthavasam ñatvā paṇḍito sīlasamvuto, nibbānagamaṇaṃ maggaṃ khippaṃ eva visodhaye), the way to the attainment of Nibbāna has been described. He who knows that all created things perish and lead to grief and pain, that all forms are unreal, that one should be well restrained in speech, mind, and body, and that one should shake off lust and desire and cut out the love of self, is sure to win Nibbāna.

In the Bhikkhuvagga it is said that without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge ; he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto Nibbāṇa (cf. Natthi jhānaṃ apaññassa paññā natthi ajjhāyato, yaṃhi jhānaṃ ca paññā ca, sa ve nibbāṇasantike).

Different editions and translations of the Dhammapada

The Dhammapada was first published in Roman characters by Fausböll in 1885, a second edition appearing in 1900. The two editions were exhausted, necessitating another edition. Sūriya Sumaṅgala Thera undertook the task of editing the Dhammapada under the auspices of the P.T.S. in 1914; his work was based on two Sinhalese editions, one Burmese edition, one Siamese edition, and Fausböll's second edition. The editor acknowledges to have consulted the ancient Sinhalese glossary to the Dhammapada commentary which was written by Abā Salamevan Kasup V (Abhaya Silameghavaṇṇa Kassapa), king of Ceylon, who flourished in 929-939 A.D. Dr. Dines Andersen's glossary of the words of this text. This book is so widely studied that there are four German translations, two English translations, two French translations, and one Italian translation. They are as follows :

1. German translation by Weber (Z.D.M.G., 14, 1860, and Indische Studien, Vol. I, 1860).
2. German translation by L. V. Schroder (Worte der Wahrheit, Leipzig, 1892).
3. German translation by K. E. Neumann (Der Wahrheitspfad, Leipzig, 1893).
4. German translation (Der Pfad der Lehre, Neu-Buddhistischen, Verlag, Zehlen dorf west bei Berlin, 1919).
5. English translation by Max Muller. S.B.E., Vol. X.
6. English translation by F. L. Woodward (The Buddha's Path of Virtue, Theosophical Pub. House, Madras, 1929).
7. French translation by Fernand Hu (Paris, 1878), known as Le Dhammapada, avec introduction et notes.
8. Italian translation by P. E. Pavolini (Mailand, 1908).

9. English translation by A. J. Edmunds.
10. English translation by Wagiswara and Saunders.
11. A re-translation from German by "Silāchāra" (London).

There is a literal Latin translation of the work by V. Fausböll, who has also edited this text. There is another French translation by R. et M. De Moratray. Mrs. Rhys Davids has re-edited and translated the Dhammapada in the S.B.B. Series under the title of the *Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon*, Pt. I, 1931.

There is a Chinese translation of this work by S. Beal. Dr. B. M. Barua and Mr. S. N. Mitra have jointly edited the Khroṣṭhi recension of this work which has been published by the University of Calcutta. The work has been translated by many Indian scholars, e.g., Srikanḍe,³³ Rai Bahadur Sarat Chunder Das, C.I.E., Charu Chandra Bose. There are other copies of the Dhammapada in mixed Sanskrit and Sanskrit, for instance, the Mahāvastu preserves in quotation the sahasravarga of a Dhammapada in mixed Sanskrit. There are two recensions of the Udānavarga, the manuscripts of which have been found out in Eastern Turkisthan in several fragments and a full and critical edition of it prepared by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty is now passing through the press. The latest copy of the Dhammapada, the Dharmasamuccaya, is entirely based on an earlier anthology called Mahāsmṛityupasthāna Vaipulya Sūtra and is composed of some 2,600 gāthās. *L'Apramādavarga*, edited by S. Levi with a valuable study of the recensions of the Dhammapada published in the J.A., t. XX, 1912, deserves mention.

Udāna

The Udāna³⁴ or solemn utterances of the Buddha is the third book. It is a treatise containing Buddhist stories and sen-

³³ The text of the *Dhammapada* in Devanāgarī with notes, introduction, and translation published by the Oriental Book Supplying Agency, Poona, 1923.

³⁴ *Vide Udānavarga* translated from the Tibetan Bkah-gyur with notes and extracts from the commentary of Pradjnāvārman by W. W. Rockhill, London, 1883.

tences. it is divided into eight vaggas or chapters: (1) Bodhivagga, (2) Mucalindavagga, (3) Nandavagga, (4) Meghiyavagga, (5) Sonatherassavagga, (6) Jaccandhavagga, (7) Cūlavaggo, and (8) Pāṭaligāmiyavaggo.

The style of the work is very simple. In this little work, the Buddha is represented as having given vent to his emotions or feelings on various occasions in one or two lines of poetry. These outbursts are concise and of an enigmatic nature. Subtle points of arhatship and the Buddhist ideal of life have also been dealt with. Several suttas (pp. 87, 89, 92, 93) are found in the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka and the Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka. Each sutta is concluded by an udāna (ecstatic utterance) of the Buddha, composed for the most part in ordinary metres (śloka, Triṣṭubh or Jagatī), seldom in prose as Dr. Paul Steinthal points out in the preface to the udāna which has been edited by him for the P.T.S., London.

Some knottical points of Buddhism have been discussed in it, e.g., Salvation or deliverance, Nirvāṇa, four unthinkables, life after death, karma, evolution, the cosmos, and heaven and hell.

Dr. Windisch has published an interesting paper, *Notes on the edition of the Udāna* (P.T.S., 1885) in the J.P.T.S., 1930, which is worth perusal. Major-General D. M. Strong has translated this book from Pāli into English. The translation is published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London. Udāna extracts translated into German by K.E. Neumann in his *Buddhistische Anthologie*, Leiden, 1892, deserve mention.

Manuscripts available are:

- (1) Manuscript of the India Office in Brumese character.
- (2) Manuscript presented to the Bible Society by the Thera S. Sonuttara of Kandy in Sinhalese character.
- (3) Mandalay manuscript used by Dr. Windisch.

A brief summary of the chapters of the text is given below.

Chapter I. The Enlightenment (Udāna, P.T.S., pp. 1-9): The first chapter deals with some incidents that occurred soon after the enlightenment of the Buddha. The Lord thought out the

chain of cause and effect in both the direct and indirect orders. He discussed about the right standard of conduct required of a Brāhmaṇa and the nature of the works he should perform. According to the Buddha the only ideal worth striving after is the ideal of a perfect life, in this present world, in saintship and this ideal is to be reached by emancipation from desire (taṇhā).

Chapter II. Mucalinda (Udāna, pp. 10-20): The second chapter also deals with certain incidents that occurred subsequent to the attainment of Buddhahood. Mucalinda, the serpent king, forms with his hood a great canopy above the head of the Buddha and protects him from great cloud that has appeared. The Master exhorts the bhikkhus that they should not be engaged in trifling disputes, such as, whether the king Bimbisāra of Magadha is the wealthiest or the king Pasenadi of Kosala, etc.

Chapter III. Nanda (Udāna, pp. 21-33): The venerable Nanda, a cousin of the Buddha, intends to abandon the precepts and return to the lower life. The Lord convinces Nanda of the worthlessness of the worldly life and the sorrows connected with it. Nanda finding joy in the state of homelessness does not revert to the worldly life.

Chapter IV. Meghiya (Udāna, pp. 34-46): The venerable Meghiya is the servitor of the Blessed One. Disregarding Buddha's advice he goes to the delightful Grove of Mango-trees on the banks of the Kinnikāla river in order to struggle and strive after holiness. But he is constantly assailed by three kinds of evil thoughts, e.g., lustful thoughts, malicious thoughts, and cruel thoughts. Meghiya comes back to the Buddha. The latter explains why such a state of thing happens to Meghiya.

Chapter V. Sona Thera (Udāna, pp. 47-61): This chapter deals with Pasenadi's visit to the Buddha, the conversion of the leper Suppabuddha, the admission of the lay-disciple Soṇa Koṭikāṇṇa (afterwards Soṇa Thera) into the higher ranks of the Order, etc.

Chapter VI. Jaccandha (Udāna, pp. 62-73): The Buddha while sitting down on the appointed seat in the Cāpāla shrine gives clear hint of his passing away (that is, attaining Mahāparinibbāna) three months hence. But Ānanda fails to understand the mean-

ing of the palpable sign made. This chapter also deals with Pasenadi's visit to the Buddha. The Lord also discusses various heretical views, e.g., the world is eternal or not eternal, the world is finite or infinite, the soul and the body are identical or not identical. He rejects all these false views.

Chapter VII. Cūla (Udāna, pp. 74-79): This chapter deals with various topics. The heart of the venerable dwarf Bhaddiya is set free from attachment and the sins by the manifold religious discourses of the venerable Sāriputta.

Chapter VIII. Pāṭaligāmiya (Udāna, pp. 80-93): The Blessed One instructs and gladdens the bhikkhus with a religious discourse on the subject of Nirvāṇa. The Master after partaking of the food provided by Cunda, the potter's son, is attacked with a severe malady. But the Lord, ever mindful and intent, endures the pains without a murmur. The Lord then goes to Kusīnārā. Once the Lord in company with a number of the brethren arrives at Pāṭaligāma. The lay-disciples of Pāṭaligāma receive the Buddha and the bhikkhus with great honour. The Master points out the five losses to the wrong-doer and five gains to the virtuous man.

Itivuttaka

The Itivuttaka³⁵ is the fourth book. The title of the book signifies that it is a book of quotations of the authoritative sayings of the Buddha. It has been published by the Pāli Text Society under the able editorship of E. Windisch. The entire work consists of 112 sections, each is composed partly in prose and partly in verse. Nipātas are subdivided into vaggas or chapters. The contents of the book are supposed to be Buddha's own words which are reported to have been heard and afterwards written down by one of his disciples. The authorship of the book is, however, very uncertain like that of other canonical works. It is an anthology of ethical teachings of the Buddha on a wide

³⁵ Read *A Chinese Collection of Itivuttaka* by K. Watanabe, J.P.T.S., 1906-07; *Collation of the Siamese Edition of the Itivuttaka* by J. H. Moore (J.P.T.S., 1900-01).

range of moral subjects. Passion, anger, pride, lust, and other shortcomings of body, word, and thought, friendliness, charity, virtue, modesty, truth, and several characteristic Buddhist doctrines are dealt with in it. Nirvāna, the aggregates, the substrata, previous existence, and supreme enlightenment are discussed in it. The book contains repetitions of phrases and formulas. It is somewhat marred by the frequent use of the indefinite relative clause. The prose style is generally abrupt and inelegant. Occasional metaphors and similes give a pleasing touch to the style. Figures of speech drawn from Nature, from animals and their character, and from man and his relations in daily life, have not been abundantly used. The work is divided into five vaggas and contains 120 short passages which begin with the words, "vuttaṃ hetuṃ Bhagavatā, vuttaṃ arahatāti me suttaṃ", "Thus was it said by the Blessed One, the Exalted One Thus have I heard", and each bhāṇavāra (chapter) ends with the words "ayampi attho vutto Bhagavatā iti me sutanti", "This meaning was told by the Blessed One —Thus have I heard".

Manuscripts available are three Sinhalese manuscripts and four Burmese manuscripts.³⁶ Dr. Windisch is right in saying that the irregular number of syllables is sometimes the result of turning a regular verse into its opposite.

Dr. Moore translated the book for the first time into English with an introduction and notes in 1908 included in the Indo-Iranian Series of the Columbia University edited by Dr. William Jackson. A. J. Edmunds is engaged in preparing an English translation of this text. It is one of the shortest of the Buddhist books in size.

In editing the *Itivuttaka* Dr. Windisch has made use of the following manuscripts :

(1) Sinhalese manuscripts:

- (i) Palm-leaf MS. of the India Office library.
- (ii) Paper manuscript in the possession of Prof. Rhys Davids.
- (iii) Paper MS. being a present to Dr. Windisch from Donald Ferguson, Ceylon.

³⁶ See Preface to the *Itivuttaka* (P.T.S.).

(2) Burmese:

- (i) Palm-leaf MS. of the India Office library, Phayre collection.
- (ii) Palm-leaf MS. of Mandalay collection.
- (iii) Palm-leaf MS. of the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris, marked on the cover "A 28 Itivuttaka Pāli, A 29 Aṭṭhakathā. P. Grimbolt"
- (iv) A second palm-leaf MS. of the Bibliotheque Nationale.

Justin H. Moore published the collection of the Itivuttaka in 1907.

A brief summary of the chapters of the text is given below.

Ekanipāta (Itivuttaka, P.T.S., pp. 1-21): The Lord speaks on evil and good, the evil effects of desire, hate, delusion, anger, hypocrisy, pride, and the merit which accrues to one who keeps himself away from all these evils. He describes thirst as a fetter that causes transmigration. Perfect attention and goodness are characterised as attributes of a novice-monk. He speaks of impurity in thought and its consequences and tranquillity of thought and its reward. According to him zeal in good works gains welfare now and in future. He condemns intentional falsehood. He praises charity, especially in giving food.

Dukanipāta (Itivuttaka, pp. 22-44): The Lord speaks of the temptations of senses, and sins of body, word, and thought. He describes sloth and perversity as chief drawbacks to the attainment of supreme enlightenment. According to him a recluse should be cautious and should strive for spiritual power. He describes the various moral qualities of monks and the rewards of a recluse life.

Tikanipāta (Itivuttaka, pp. 45-101): The Lord speaks of how impropriety originates. He describes feelings pleasant, painful, and indifferent. He says about the taints of lust, existence, and ignorance, and condemns the thirst for lust, existence and non-existence. He describes charity, character, and devotion as essential qualities of virtuous deeds. According to him, knowledge and understanding lead to emancipation, and full comprehension of the Indestructible leads to release and repose. Accord-

ing to him Māra's (the Evil one) weapons are passion, hatred, and delusion, and that transmigration may be avoided by renouncing these evils. He speaks of good and bad actions of body, word, and thought and their respective good and bad effects. He speaks of the impermanence of the body and transitoriness of the substrata. He says that lust, malevolence, and cruelty do not lead to Nirvāṇa. He speaks of the Noble Eightfold Path. He shows the way to escape birth, old age, and death.

Catukkanipāta (Itivuttaka, pp. 102-124): The Lord speaks of the simplicity in the daily life of a faithful follower. According to him he who has the knowledge of miseries and sorrows the cause of their origin and decay can easily do away with earthly ties. He describes lust, malevolence, and cruelty as constant sources of temptation which may even cause the fall of a virtuous man.

Sutta Nipāta

The Sutta Nipāta³⁷ is the fifth book. It consists of five vaggass or chapters which are as follows: (1) Uruga, (2) Cūla, (3) Mahā, (4) Aṭṭhaka, and (5) Pārāyaṇa. The first vagga known as the Urugavagga contains 12 suttas, namely, Uruga, Dhaniya, Khagga-visāṇa, Kasibhāradvāja, Cunda, Parābhava, Vasala, Metta, Hemavata, Ālavaka, Vijaya, and Muni. The second vagga or the Cūlavagga contains 14 suttas, e.g., Ratana, Āmagandha, Hiri, Mahāmaṅgala, Sūciloma, Dhammacariya, Brāhmaṇadhammika, Nāvā, Kimsīla, Uṭṭhāna, Rāhula, Vaṅgisa, Sammāparibbājanīya, and Dhammika. The third vagga or the Mahāvagga contains 12 suttas, e.g., Pabbajjā, Padhāna, Subhāsita, Sundarikabhāradvāja, Māgha, Sabhiya, Sela, Salla, Vāseṭṭha, Kokāliya, Nālaka, and Dvayatānupassanā. These are long suttas. The fourth vagga or the Aṭṭhakavagga consists of 16 suttas, e.g., Kāma, Guhaṭṭhaka, Duṭṭhaṭṭhaka, Suddhaṭṭhaka, Paramaṭṭhaka, Jarā, Tissametteyya, Pasūra, Māgandiya, Purābheda, Kalahavivāda, Cūlavīyūha, Mahāvīyūha, Tuvaṭaka, Attadaṇḍa, and Sāriputta. The fifth and the last vagga, namely, the Pārāyaṇavagga, contains (1) Vatthu-

³⁷ Read *Sutta Nipāta in Chinese* by M. Aneaki (J.P.T.S., 1906-67).

gāthā, (2) Ajitamāṇavapucchā, (3) Tissametteyamāṇavapucchā, (4) Puṇṇakamāṇavapucchā, (5) Mettagumāṇavapucchā, (6) Dhotakamāṇavapucchā, (7) Upasivamāṇavapucchā, (8) Nandamāṇavapucchā, (9) Hemakamāṇavapucchā, (10) Todyyamāṇavapucchā, (11) Kappamāṇavapucchā, (12) Jatukaṇṇimāṇavapucchā, (13) Bhadrāvudhamāṇavapucchā, (14) Udayamāṇavapucchā, (15) Posālamāṇavapucchā, (16) Moghārājamāṇavapucchā, and (17) Piṅgiyamāṇavapucchā.

The Sutta Nipāta is one of the most important works of the Sutta Piṭaka. It contains information about the social, economical, and religious condition of India at the time of Gautama Buddha. It refers to the six heretical teachers and the Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas. It gives us sufficient aid to the study of Buddhism as an ethical religion. It is, as Dr. Rhys Davids says, "the result rather of communistic than of individual effort". It presents us with the philosophical and ethical teachings of the Buddha and with the ideals of a Buddhist monk. It has references to religious sects like the Samaṇas or the Brāhmaṇas, and certain customs of the Indian people. It is, in the words of Prof. Fausböll, "an important contribution to the right understanding of primitive Buddhism, for we see here a picture not of life in monasteries, but of life of the hermits in its first stage. We have before us not the systematising of the later Buddhist Church but the first germs of a system, the fundamental ideas of which come out with sufficient clearness". The Sutta Nipāta comprises five cantos. The first four cantos contain fifty-four short lyrics while sixteen others cover the fifth one, called the Pārāyaṇa. Out of thirty-eight poems in the first three cantos, six are found in other books of the canon. These poems had existed separately as popular hymns before they were incorporated into the Sutta Nipāta. They appear to be current as proverbs or favourite sayings of the people. The fourth canto is called "The Eights", four of the lyrics in it contain eight stanzas a piece. A reference to this canto as a separate work appears in the Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vinaya Piṭaka, and the Udāna. Rhys Davids holds that this canto must, in earlier times, have been already closely associated in thought with

the fifth canto, for the two together are the subject of a curious old commentary, the only work of the kind, included in the *nikāyas*. That this commentary, the *Niddesa*, takes no notice of the other three cantos would seem to show that when it was composed, the whole of the five cantos had not yet been brought together into a single book. The fifth canto is called the *Pārāyaṇ*. It is quoted or referred to six times as a separate poem in the *nikāyas*. About one-third of the poems in the collection are of the nature of ballads. They narrate some short incidents, the speeches are in most cases in verses, though the story itself is generally in prose with certain exceptions. They are in this respect like a large number of *suttas* found in other portions of the canon.

The *Pabbajjā*, *Padhāna*, and *Nālaka Suttas* are specimens of old religious ballad poetry. The language of the book shows that some portions of it are far older than the *Dhammapada*. The metres are like the Vedic metres of eight syllables (*anuṣṭubh*), eleven syllables (*triṣṭubh*), or twelve syllables (*ajāgati*). The number of syllables is fixed but the arrangement of long and short syllables is not satisfactory. A combination of *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā* (208-212, 214-219) or *Vamśastha* and *Indravamśā* (221, 688-90) occurs very often. Mr. Bapat is right in pointing out some stanzas of thirteen syllables as 220, 679-80, 691-98 which appear to be in the style of *Atijagati*, but the scanning of the lines discloses that they do not conform to the subdivisions of that class according to the later *Gaṇa* system. *Gaṇa* and *Mātrā Vrittis* are also found in combination. Stanzas in *Vaitāliya* (33-34, 658-59, 804-813) and *Aupacchandāsika* (1-17, 83-87, 361-73) metres are also found. Stanzas (663-676) in the *Kokāliya Sutta* illustrate *Vegavati* metres with slight variations. Prof. Bapat rightly observes, "There was no inflexible rigidity in the then existing scheme of versification as in the later Sanskrit classical literature of the *Kāvya*s and *Nāṭaka*s" (*Sutta Nipāta*, *Devanāgrī Ed.*, Intro., p. xxix). The Pāli Text Society of England under the editorship of Mr. Helmer Smith has brought out an excellent edition of the *Sutta Nipāta* commentary in Roman char-

acter (known as the Paramattha-jotikā), useful and helpful in understanding the text. It is rich in materials for the reconstruction of the history of Ancient India. Its language is simple and easy to understand. It contains an account of the interesting dialogue between Dhaniya and Buddha, the one rejoicing in his worldly security and the other in his religious belief. It teaches us to avoid family life and corrupted state of society. In it we find the Buddha describing the different kinds of samaṇas to Cunda. There is a dialogue in it between two Yakkhas on the qualities of the Buddha. It contains good definitions of a muni and true friendship. There is an interesting admonition by the Buddha to the bhikkhus to get themselves rid of sinful persons. It teaches men not to be slothful. In it we find the Buddha recommending the life of a recluse. It contains accounts of the conversions of Sabhiya and Sela by the Buddha. There are suttas in the Sutta Nipāta which relate to many venerable theras asking questions to the Buddha, cf. Ajitamānavapucchā, Tissametteyamānavapucchā, Puṇṇakamānavapucchā, etc.

Buddhism, an ethical religion from the Sutta Nipāta

Buddhism is essentially an ethical system, and Nirvāṇa, the goal of Buddhist philosophy, is attained mainly by practising some ethical virtues, and by realising the Four Noble Truths (*Cattāri ariyasaccam*) and the Law of Causation (*paṭiccasamuppāda*). The Sutta Nipāta, one of the earliest books of the Pāli Canon, at least seems to interpret the religion mainly from its ethical point of view ; for a large number of the more important snttas are mere didactic poems on Buddhist ethics. Thus the *Parābhavasutta* relates the various causes of loss to the losing man, and all these causes are concerned with what one's moral conduct in life should be. The *Nāvāsutta* directs one to cultivate the society of a good man, who is intelligent and learned, and leads a regular moral life with penetration into the Dhamma. In the *Dhammikasutta* the Buddha teaches the Dhamma that destroys sin, and this Dhamma is therein described to consist in the dutiful and faithful performance of some rules of daily conduct and some moral virtues.

Thus a bhikkhu is asked to walk about only at a right time, to subdue his desire for name and form, sound, taste, smell, and touch which intoxicate creatures, to turn his mind away from outward things, and not to utter slander against others. Above all, he should not cling to material things ; and should thus be like a waterdrop on a lotus. And similarly a householder too must abide by certain similar moral rules. He must not kill or cause to kill any living being, he must not steal or approve of stealing ; he must not speak falsehood, take in toxicating drinks ; he must refrain from unchaste sexual intercourse ; he must practise the eightfold abstinence and make distribution of charity according to his ability ; and, he must also dutifully maintain his parents and practise an honourable trade. And what a life should an ascetic, a muni, lead the pivot of the Buddhist Church ? It is not easy for a householder to lead a perfectly spotless, holy life ; so a muni, a bhikkhu should remove himself from all relatives and worldly possessions, and live away from society. He should observe all moral rules of conduct and lead a life of austere simplicity. He should have no dealing in gold and silver, or buying or selling or be subservient to anybody. He should indulge only in moderate food and that only once by day. He should scrupulously observe the rules of Pātimokkha, and be restrained in body, tongue, and mind. This is the keynote of the teachings of Buddhism 'lead a perfectly honest and moral life'; and this is as well the burden of many a sutta of the Sutta Nipāta. The suttas of the Sutta Nipāta record simple rules of moral conduct for bhikkhus and householders as well, and if those rules are observed, Buddhism has scarcely to ask for more. Even the *Padhānasutta* that narrates the conversation between Māra and Gotama is nothing but a poetic representation of the struggle between evil and moral tendencies in man ; and the defeat of Māra symbolises one's victory over covetousness, discontent, hunger, thirst, hankering, laziness, dullness, fear, doubt, love of glory, fame, self-exaltation, slander, sexual and physical pleasures, and hankerings. A number of suttas, as for example, the *Āmagandhasutta*, gives the Buddhist idea of purity and impurity of life ; bad mind and wicked

deeds defile a man ; no outward observances can purify him this is what Buddhism seeks to teach in direct contrast to the teachings of Brāhmaṇism. There is moreover a very large number of suttas like the *uruga*, the *Sammāparibbājanīya*, the *Māgandīya*, the *Purābheda*, the *Tuvaṭṭaka*, the *Attadaṇḍa*, the *Sāriputta*, the *Khaggavisāṇa*, the *Muni*, etc., which set out the ideal of the life of a bhikkhu or a householder. And this ideal, as related above, is nothing but an ideal of a perfectly honest, regular, and moral life. There is nowhere any talk about God or any other supreme deity, nor even of any sort of religious observance, such as worship or the like. Even the philosophical character of Buddhism as related in the Sutta Nipāta is ethical. A bhikkhu should not indulge in the extremes of pleasure and self-mortification, but should follow the middle path. And the three cardinal principles which he is required to realise are that all worldly pleasures are impermanent (*anicca*), painful (*dukkha*), and unsubstantial (*anatta*). Buddhism thus enjoins upon its followers to know the real nature of the world and knowing it, to lead a moral life shaking off all philosophical views whatsoever. This is what is the essence of the Sutta Nipāta ; and this essence is nowhere more emphasised than in the *Pārāyaṇavagga*, the concluding chapter of the Sutta Nipāta. This *vagga*, as Mr. Bapat rightly points out, is really a 'fitting closure' to the mainly ethical subject-matter of the different *vaggas* of the important treatise. Here, in almost all the answers to the questions of the sixteen disciples of Bāvarin, the Master tells them "the way to cross the worldly ocean, to destroy thirst and detachment, to cease all *ditthi*s, *sīlas*, and *vatas*, and to attain, in this very world, a state, where one would have no fear from death, and where one would be completely happy ; in short, to attain Nibbāna the goal of Buddhist philosophy".³⁸

³⁸ *Sutta Nipāta* by P. V. Bapat, Poona, Intro., p. xxvii. "Another feature", says Mr. Bapat, "of the same ethical tendency of Buddhism, is found in the unusual fondness displayed as for instance in the *Sabhiyasutta* in interpreting, according to the Buddhist philosophy of ethics, some older brahmanical or other technical terms, like Brāhmaṇa, Samaṇa, Nahātaka, Khetvajina, Vedagū, Paribbājaka, Nāga, Paṇḍita, etc."

Traces of primitive Buddhism in Sutta Nipāta

The Sutta Nipāta is one of the oldest books of the Pāli Canon, and as such, it contains important traces of Primitive Buddhism, recognisable not only from the language and style of some of the vaggas, but also from its contents.

Buddhism, as understood from the Sutta Nipāta, is not yet an established philosophical system, at best it is an ethical religion. In the Aṭṭhakavagga, the Buddha pronounces himself distinctly against philosophy or diṭṭhi or darśana. In his time, there were in Mid-India a number of philosophical systems, and these systems people considered as religion. It was asserted that purity of life consisted in the attainment of knowledge and of philosophical views, in following traditions and in doing holy works. Buddha stood against this view of a religious life, he discarded all philosophical systems. A religious life, the life of a muni or ascetic, consists, in his view as propounded in the Sutta Nipāta, in shaking off every philosophical theory in being indifferent to learning, in giving up all prejudiced ideas, and in not being a disputant which all followers of philosophical views must invariably be. There is misery, he seems to say, in the philosophical views and in traditional instruction ; none is thus saved by philosophy or finds peace in virtuous works. Dhamma in his opinion seems to consist in dutiful and faithful performance of some rules of conduct and some moral virtues, and if they are observed, Buddhism of the Sutta Nipāta would not ask for more. Nevertheless, there are in the Sutta Nipāta the germs of a philosophical system which later on came to be more logically and consistently systematised ; but even this philosophical character, as we have said before, is mainly ethical (see Buddhism : and ethical religion in the Sutta Nipāta). Buddhism of the Sutta Nipāta is thus a very simple Faith mainly consisting in the conscientious performance of some rules of conduct and moral duties and in realising that all worldly pleasures are impermanent (anicca), painful (dukkha), and unsubstantial (anatta). Sutta Nipāta thus represents Buddhism in its primitive stage as a simple ethical religion, and as a repository of germs which later on grew up into a philosophical system.

The primitive character of Buddhism of the Sutta Nipāta is equally evident from the picture of social life contained in it. We gather from the Sutta Nipāta that in those days there were two large religious sects in Northern India, the Brāhmaṇas and the Samaṇas. Both the sects had a good number of teachers with numerous followers and adherents around them. The Samaṇas were divided into four classes, viz. Maggajīnas, Maggadesakas, Maggajivins, and Maggadūsins. Both Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas were followers of different philosophical systems and traditional knowledge. With regard to their various systems and knowledge, disputes arose ; they are thus called disputants, vādasīla. Of such Brāhmaṇas, three classes are mentioned in the Sutta Nipāta, viz. Tittiyaas, Ājīvikas, and Nigaṇṭhas. The Brāhmaṇas were well-versed in hymns, principal of which was Sāvitti. They used to worship and make offerings to the fire ; not unoften they killed cows for sacrifice.

Buddha was himself a Samaṇa, but he did not agree with their philosophical systems and traditional knowledge, nor with those of the Brāhmaṇas. He was also against their view of a religious life and against disputations. He was also against and sort of worship or offering, or any sort of sacrifice, specially those which involved loss of life. According to his view of life, it was not easy or possible for a householder to lead a perfectly spotless, moral life, so he himself became a muni, an ascetic, and asked his followers to become like him a muni, and thus to remove himself from all relatives, worldly possessions, and live away from society. It should be noticed that he did not ask them to come and join any Saṃgha or any such Order. In fact, at that time, of which the Sutta Nipāta presents a picture, no Saṃgha or religious order had then come to be established. Followers of Buddha's teachings were not too numerous to necessitate the formation of any such Order or monastic establishment. His followers were at that time individual hermits who lived away from society singly by themselves. The idea of a religious fraternity, of a unified religious Order had not then matured. Each in his own way by accepting the teachings of Buddha, by leading a

moral life, and by realising the real nature of the world could become a follower of Buddhism without himself belonging to a particular religious Order. The idea of a religious fraternity living within well-defined and strictly regulated monastic life and establishments was a later development ; it has but very little trace in the Sutta Nipāta. Fausböll, therefore, rightly points out that we see in the Sutta Nipāta "a picture not of life in monasteries, but of the life of hermits in its first stage. We have before us not the systematising of the later Buddhist Church, but the first germs of a system, the fundamental ideas of which come out with sufficient clearness".³⁹

A summary of vaggas or cantos is given below.

I. URAGAVAGGA

Uragasutta (*Sutta Nipāta*, P.T.S., pp. 1-3): The bhikkhu who discards all human passions anger, hatred, passion, craving, arrogance, doubts, and desires, he who has not found any essence in the existences, he who has overcome all delusion, he who is free from covetousness and folly, he whose sins are extirpated from the root, he who is free from fear or suffering, is compared to a snake that cast its skin.

Dhaniyasutta (*S.N.*, pp. 3-6): Dhaniya was a rich herdsman who rejoiced in his worldly security of a happy family life, in his large number of milch cows, and in his good sons and wife. He, therefore, entreated the sky to rain if it liked. He one day held an interesting conversation with the Buddha who rejoiced in his religious beliefs, in his pure and virtuous life. He, too, entreated the sky to rain if it pleased. Then at once a shower poured down, and Dhaniya wanted to take refuge in the Buddha endowed with the eye of wisdom, and conquer birth and death, and put an end to pain.

*Khaggavisāṇasutta*⁴⁰ (*S.N.*, pp. 6-12): Family life, friendship, and intercourse with others should be avoided, for society has

³⁹ S.B.E. Vol. X. *Sutta Nipāta* (Fausböll), Intro., p. xii.

⁴⁰ This sutta also occurs in the *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 357-358.

"Varṇso visālo... eko care-pe-" (*S.N.* pp. 6-7, v. 38), cf. *Dhammapāda*, v. 345.

all vices in its train ; one should, therefore, leave the corrupted state of society and lead a solitary life. But if one can get a clever, wise, and righteous companion, he may wander about with him, glad and thoughtful. Family life and friendship bring in sensual pleasures ; one should, therefore, avoid a wicked companion who teaches what is useless and has gone into what is wrong.

Kasibhāradvājasutta (S.N., pp. 12-16): A brāhmaṇa, Kasibhāradvāja by name, ploughed, sowed, and worked hard on this field for livelihood. One day seeing Gotama seeking alms from door to door, he reproached him for his idleness. But Gotama convinced him that he too ploughed and sowed, for his faith was the seed, penance the rain, understanding the yoke and plough, modesty the pole, mind the tie, and thoughtfulness the ploughshare and goad. He also convinced him that he too worked hard for carrying him to Nibbāna.

*Cundasutta*⁴¹ (S.N., pp. 16-18): Cunda, a smith, enquired of the Buddha how many kinds of Samaṇas were there. Buddha said that there were four, viz., Maggajinas, Maggadesakas, Maggajivins, and Maggadāsins. The Buddha next explained to him peculiar traits of each particular class.

*Parābhavasutta*⁴² (S.N., pp. 18-20): When the Buddha was at Jetavana, one night a god visited him, and saluting him asked

"Sace labhetha nipakaṃ saḥāyaṃ... atitamaṇo saṭṭhā" (S.N., p. 8, v. 45), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 328.

"No ce labhetha nipakaṃ saḥāyam... eko care..." (S.N., p. 8, v. 46), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 329.

"Sītaṇ ca uṇhaṇ ca... eko care..." (S.N., p. 9 v. 52), of *Jātaka*, I, p. 93.

"Paṭisallāṇaṃ jhānaṃ ariṇcamāno... eko care..." (S.N., p. 11, v. 69), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 20.

"Rāgaṇ ca dosaṇ ca pahāya mohāṇ... eko care..." (S.N., p. 12, v. 74), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 20.

"Sabbesu bhūtesu nibhāya daṇḍaṇ... eko care khaggavisāṇakappo" (S.N., p. 6, v. 35), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 142.

⁴¹ "Chadanaṃ katvāna... sa maggadūsi" (S.N., p. 17, v. 89), cf. *Jātaka*, II, p. 281.

⁴² This sutta represents the antithesis of the Mahāmaṅgala Sutta. The text of this sutta has been published by Grimbolt in the J.A., t. xviii (1871), translation by Feer in J.A., t. xviii (1871) and by Gogerly, J.A., t. (1872), xx.

what had been the cause of loss to the losing man. The Buddha told him that he who loved Dhamma was the winner, he who hated it was the loser. To the losing man wicked men were dear and their religion, full of vices and bad deeds, was his religion too. Having taken into consideration all these losses, the wise man, endowed with insight, cultivates the happy world of the gods.

Vasalasutta (S.N., pp. 21-25): When living in the Jetavana, the venerable Gotama one day went out to seek alms to the house of brāhmaṇa Aggikabhāradvāja who reproached the Sage as an outcaste. Buddha told him that he was not an outcaste and explained to him what an outcaste did really mean. "It is not by birth", he said, "that one becomes an outcaste, not by birth does one become a brāhmaṇa, it is by deeds alone that one becomes an outcaste or a brāhmaṇa".

Mettasutta (S.N., pp. 25-26): A man who seeks to avoid re-birth should be gentle, upright, and conscientious. He must not do anything mean or harmful. He must be contented and unburdened, and should not be arrogant, He should cultivate a boundless mind towards all beings, and good will towards all the world (cf. Khuddakapāṭha, pp. 8-9).

Hemavatasutta (S.N., pp. 27-31): Two Yakkhas, Sātāgira and Ilemavata, with their doubts about the qualities of the venerable Gotama, resolved with the help of each other, went to the venerable Gotama, and enquired of him about the means of deliverance from the snares of death. And the Master explained to them the different stages of a life that was aspirant after becoming the all-knowing, the wise, the great rishis, walking in the noble path.

Ālavakasutta (S.N.; pp. 31-33): At one time when the Lord was dwelling at Ālavī, the king of the realm, Yakkha Ālavaka, came to him and in a threatening attitude asked him some questions as to what in this world was the best property for a man, what conveyed happiness, how could one cross the stream of existence, how could one obtain understanding, and so on and so forth. Buddha with his lucid exposition answered them to the satisfaction of the king, who then became converted.

Vijayasutta (S.N., pp. 34-35): Very few men see the body as it is. It is full of impurities that flow in nine streams, it is filled with intestines, liver, stomach, abdomen, heart, lungs, kidneys, etc. and the hollow head is full of brain. When dead nobody cares about it which is eaten by dogs and jackals and other animals. Only a bhikkhu possessed of understanding knows it thoroughly well, sees the body as it is, and reflects on its worthlessness. And, thus consequently he goes to Nibbāna (cf. *Jātaka*, I, p. 146).

*Munisutta*⁴³ (S.N., pp. 35-38): Here we find the definition of a muni. A muni is in a houseless state and free from acquaintanceship. He has uprooted his sin, he has no desire, and he has seen the end of birth and destruction. He is free from strife and covetousness, he has overcome everything and knows everything. He is thoughtful and free from passion, and delights in meditation. He is firm, solitary, self-restrained, and is free from sensual enjoyment. Such is a muni who is far above a householder.

II. CULAVAGGA

Ratanasutta (S.N., pp. 39-42): For all beings, whether living in the air or on the earth, whatever wealth there be here or in the other world, or whatever excellent jewel in the heavens, there is nothing equal to the Buddha, there is nothing equal to the Dhamma, there is nothing equal to the Saṅgha. So all beings, desirous of salvation, should take recourse to nothing else than the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha (cf. *Khuddakapāṭha*, pp. 3-6).

*Āmagandhasutta*⁴⁴ (S.N., pp. 42-45): A brāhmaṇa once accused Kassapa Buddha of having taken food made of rice together with well-prepared flesh of birds, and, therefore, of having eaten Āmagandna (what defiles one). But Kassapa Buddha

⁴³ This is the Pāli counterpart of the Munigāthā recommended by Aśoka in his Bhabru Edict.

"Sabbābhibbhuṃ sabbaviduṃ sumedham... taṃ vāpi dhīrā munim vedayanti" (S.N., p. 36, v. 211), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 353.

⁴⁴ "Na macchamaṃsaṃ nānāsakattam... sodhenti maccam avitiṇṇa-kamkham" (*Sutta Nipāta*, p. 44, v. 249), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 141.

explained to him again and again that eating of flesh was not Āmagandha, or something what defiles one. Bad mind and wicked deeds defile a man ; and neither hymns nor oblations, nor sacrifices, nor penances, can purify a mortal of such defilement.

*Hirisutta*⁴⁵ (S.N., pp. 45-46): This is a short dissertation on true friendship. A friend who does not help in time of need is not a real friend ; whosoever uses pleasing words to friends without giving effect to them, whosoever looks out for faults in friends, whosoever hopes for fruits and cultivates the energy that produces joy is not a real friend.

Mahāmaṅgalasutta (S.N., pp. 46-47): When the Buddha was residing in the Jetavana, one night a deity approached him and asked as to what had been the highest blessing. Buddha explained to him in detail that in cultivating the society of wise men, in having done good deeds in a former existence, in waiting upon the superiors, in ceasing and abstaining from sin, in reverence, humility, and in similar virtues and in living religiously, in penance and chastity, and in the realisation of Nibbāna, lay the highest blessing (cf. *Mangala Sutta*, *Khuddakapāṭha*, p. 3).

Sūcilomasutta (S.N., pp. 47-49): At one time when the Blessed One was dwelling at Gayā, Sūciloma, a Yakkha, wanted to find out whether the Buddha was really a Samaṇaka (wretched Samaṇa) ; and threatened him with a question as to what had been the origin of passion, hatred, disgust, delight, horror, and doubt. Buddha told him that all these had their origin in the body, they originated in desire and arose in self.

Dhammacariyasutta or *Kapilasutta* (S.N., pp. 49-50): One who has become a bhikkhu should lead a just life, a religious life ; and should not injure others as well as his own cultivated mind. He must not take delight in quarrelling ; otherwise he would go to calamity from womb to womb and afterwards to pain. One who is full of sin is difficult to be purified ; so the bhikkhus should always avoid the company of such a person who is dependent on a house having sinful desires and sinful thoughts.

⁴⁵ "Pavivekarasaṃ pītvā... Dhammapītirasaṃ pīvan ti" (S.N., p. 46, v. 257), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 205.

Brāhmaṇadhammikasutta (S.N., pp. 50-55): At one time when the Buddha was living at the Jetavana-vihāra, some old, decrepit but wealthy brāhmaṇas came to the Buddha and enquired of him the customs of the ancient brāhmaṇas. Buddha described in detail to them the high moral standard of life they used to live; but there was a change in them after gradually seeing king's prosperity and adorned women. The brāhmaṇas thus gradually became covetous, and induced the king to make offerings and sacrifices of animals so that they might gain something. Dhamma thus came to be lost to the brāhmaṇas. The brāhmaṇas were convinced of Buddha's explanations, and were afterwards converted.

Nāvāsutta (S.N., pp. 55-56): A man who takes his lessons of Dhamma from a worthy teacher is able to manifest the highest Dhamma. But one who serves a low teacher who is ignorant of Dhamma goes to death. A man who does not understand Dhamma cannot help another to do it; but one, who is accomplished, is easily able to make others endowed with the highest knowledge. One should, therefore, cultivate the society of a learned and intelligent man.

*Kimśīlasutta*⁴⁶ (S.N., pp. 56-57): One who aspires after attaining the highest good should not be envious, obstinate, or careless. He should be regular in his studies and religious discourses, and above all he should practise what is good, the Dhamma, self-restraint, and chastity. Dhamma must be his first and last concern, and he should be free from infatuation. Those who do this come to be established in peace and meditation and go to the essence of learning and understanding.

Uṭṭhānasutta (S.N., pp. 57-58): This is an advice not to be lukewarm and slothful. For one who is sick, pierced by the arrow of suffering and pain, there is no rest, no sleep. He should rise up and learn steadfastly for the sake of peace, and conquer the desires. He must not be indolent, for indolence is defilement.

⁴⁶ "Dhammārāmo dhammarato... tacchehi niyyetha subhāsītehi (S.N., p. 57, v. 327), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 364.

*Rāhulasutta*⁴⁷ (S.N., pp. 58-59): Buddha recommended the life of a recluse to Rāhula, and told him to respect the wise man and live with him constantly. He admonished him to turn him away from the pleasures of the world, and enjoined upon him the principles of moderation.

Vaṅgīsasutta (S.N., pp. 59-62): At one time when the Blessed One was dwelling at Ālavī, Vaṅgīsa came to know the fate of his teacher Nigrodhakappa who had just attained bliss (acirapari-nibbuta). He wanted to know whether he had been completely extinguished, or whether he was still with some elements of existence left behind. Buddha told him that his teacher had cut off the craving for name and form in this world, and had crossed completely birth and death, and had, therefore, been completely extinguished.

Sammāparibbājanīyasutta (S.N., pp. 63-66): This is a dissertation on the right path for a bhikkhu. A bhikkhu who has abandoned the sinful omens, subdued his passions, conquered existence, understood the Dhamma, cast behind him slander, anger and avarice, and liberated from bonds, such a one will wander rightly in the world. He who does not see any essence in the *upadhis* (attachments), is not opposed to anyone in the world, not intoxicated with pride, not subjected to sins and affections, and, above all, ever longs for Nibbāṇa, such a person wanders rightly in the world.

Dhammīkasutta (S.N., pp. 66-70): At one time when the Buddha was dwelling in the Jetavanavihāra, Dhammika, an upāsaka, came to him, and enquired of him what the life of a bhikkhu and what the life of a householder ought to be. A bhikkhu must not walk about at a wrong time, he must subdue his senses and desires, he must reflect within himself and talk only about the Dhamma and nothing else. A sāvaka or a householder must be a good one, must not kill, and must abstain from greed and theft and falsehood. He should avoid an unchaste life, intoxicating drinks, and should practise abstinence on the eighth, four-

⁴⁷ "Mitte bhajassu kalyāṇe... mattaññū hohi bhōjane" (S.N., p. 58, v. 338), cf. *Dhammapāda*, verses 185 and 375.

teenth, and fifteenth days of the half-month. He should also entertain bhikkhus with food and drink.

III. MAHĀVAGGA

Pabbajjāsutta (S.N., pp. 72-74): When Gotama entered Giribbaja in Magadha for alms, Bimbisāra saw him from a distance, and when he made enquiries of him, he came to know through his messengers that the Sage was dwelling in the Pāṇḍava hill. The king then went to the Pāṇḍava hill and tried to tempt him with wealth and wanted to know his birth. Buddha told him that he had been born of the Sākiyas of Kosala, but he had wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures, seeing misery in them.

*Padhānasutta*⁴⁸ (S.N., pp. 74-78): When the Buddha gave himself to meditation for the sake of acquiring Nibbāṇa, Māra came to tempt him with his eightfold army of lust, discontent, hunger and thirst, craving, sloth, cowardice, doubt, hypocrisy, and stupor. But the Buddha sat firm on his seat, and gave him battle saying, "Woe upon life in this world, death in battle is better for me than I should live defeated". Eventually Māra was disappointed and obliged to withdraw.

Subhāsitasutta (S.N., pp. 78-79): This is a short dissertation addressed to the bhikkhus on wellspoken language. The language of a bhikkhu should have four requisites. It should be well-spoken, it should be pleasing, it should be right, and lastly it should be true.

Sundarikabhāradvājasutta (S.N., pp. 79-86): At one time when the Lord was dwelling on the river Sundarikā, a brāhmaṇa, Sundarikabhāradvāja by name, intent upon making an offering and oblation, came up to him and asked if he was a brāhmaṇa and to whom an offering might well be made. The Lord spoke out to him that it was not by descent that one became worthy of receiving an offering, but by conduct alone. He then explained to the brāhmaṇa in detail the conduct and high moral and intellectual powers of a man worthy of such an honour.

⁴⁸ C *Lalitavistara* (Lefmanh), pp. 267 foll.; *Mahāvastu*, II, 238.

Māghasutta (S.N., pp. 86-91): At one time when the Lord was dwelling at Rājagaha, Māgha, a young man, and a liberal and bountiful giver, came up to him and asked of those who were worthy of offerings. The Lord then explained to him in detail the conduct and high moral and intellectual powers of a man worthy of such an honour. Asked further he proceeded to speak out to him again of the various kinds of blessings of offerings.

Sabhiyasutta (S.N., pp. 91-102): Sabhiya, a paribbājaka, went to the six famous teachers of his time to have some questions answered. But they could not clear up his doubts ; he then repaired to Gotama and asked him how one is to behave to become a brāhmaṇa, a samaṇa, a nahātaka, a khetvajina, a kusala, a paṇḍita, a muni, a vedagū, an anuvidita, a dhira, an ariya, a paribbājaka, and so forth. The Lord answered all these questions to his satisfaction ; and Sabhiya received the robe and the orders from the Buddha.

Selasutta (S.N., pp. 102-112): Keṇiya, a Jaṭila, once invited Buddha with his assembly to take his meals with him on the morrow. Sela, a brāhmaṇa, arrived at that place with three hundred young men ; seeing the preparation he asked what was going on, and was answered that Buddha was expected the next day. On hearing the word 'Buddha', Sela asked where the Buddha lived, and then went to him, conversed with him, and became converted with his followers.

Sallasutta (S.N., pp. 112-114): This is a short dissertation which purports to mean that life is short and that all mortals are subject to death, but knowing the terms of the world the wise do not grieve. It means further that those who have left sorrow, will be blessed.

*Vāseṭṭhasutta*⁴⁹ (S.N., pp. 115-123): Once a dispute arose between two young men, Bhāradvāja and Vāseṭṭha, the former contending that a man should be a brāhmaṇa by birth, the latter by deeds. They agreed to go and ask Samaṇa Gotama, who

⁴⁹ "Na cāhaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ brūmi... akiñcanaṃ anādānaṃ taṃ ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ" (S.N., p. 119, v. 620), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 396.

being approached answered that a man was a brāhmaṇa by his deeds only. The two men were then converted.

*Kokāliyasutta*⁵⁰ (S.N., pp. 123-131): Kokāliya, a bhikkhu, once approached Buddha and complained to him about the evil desires of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. On account of this behaviour not worthy of a bhikkhu, he was struck with boils as soon as he had left Buddha, and met with his death. He next went to the Paduma hell, whereupon Buddha describes to the bhikkhus the punishment of back-biters in hell.

*Nālakasutta*⁵¹ (S.N., pp. 131-139): The sage Asita, also called Kaṇhasiri, once saw the gods rejoicing and asked the cause of it. He was told that Buddha's birth was the cause. He then descended from the Tusita heaven, and seeing the child, he received it joyfully and prophesied about it. Asita had a sister whose son was Nālaka, to him Buddha explained the highest state of wisdom.

Dvayatānupassanāsutta (S.N., pp. 139-149): At one time when the Blessed One was dwelling at Sāvathī surrounded by the assembly of bhikkhus he made a dissertation on the origin of pain and suffering. All pain in the world, he spoke out, arose from upadhi (substance), avijjā (ignorance), saṃkhāra (confections), viññāna (consciousness), phassa (contact), vedanā (sensation), taṇhā (desire), upādāna (attachment), ārambha (effort), āhāra (food), ingita (sign), nissaya (support), rāpa (form), mosadhamma (theft), and sukha (happiness).

IV. AṬṬHAKAVAGGA

Kāmasutta (S.N., p. 151): Whoever desires to enjoy sensual pleasures, must suffer from pain and sins would overpower him. So sensual pleasures should always be avoided.

Guhaṭṭhakasutta (S.N., pp. 151-153): A man who adheres to

⁵⁰ "Abhūtavādī nirayaṃ upeti... nihīnakammā manuḷā parattha" (S.N., p. 127, v. 661), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 306.

"Yo appaduṭṭhassa narassa dussati... sukhumo rajo paṭivātaṃ va khitto" (S.N., p. 127, v. 662), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 125.

⁵¹ "Yathā ahaṃ tathā etc... attānaṃ upamaṃ katvā na haneyya na ghātaye" (S.N., p. 137, v. 705), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 129.

the body and to physical pleasures, and laments to live at the mouth of death is a wretched man, and must suffer from pain. None desirous of deliverance should, therefore, cling to physical existence and sensual pleasures.

Duṭṭhaṭṭhakasutta (S.N., pp. 153-154): One who praises his own virtue and is dependent upon dogmas of philosophy that change from man to man and sect to sect lives a censured life. But a muni is not censured, for he is calm, and does not praise himself; for he has shaken off all systems of philosophy and is, therefore, independent.

Suddhaṭṭhakasutta (S.N., pp. 154-156): Knowledge of the systems of philosophy cannot purify a man; for those devoted to philosophy go from one teacher to another and they are never calm and thoughtful. But the wise who have understood the Dhamma are never led by passion, and do not embrace anything in the world as the highest.

Paramaṭṭhakasutta (S.N., pp. 156-158): One should not, therefore, give oneself up to philosophical disputations. A brāhmaṇa who does not adopt any system of philosophy, is unchangeable and has, therefore, attained Nirvāṇa.

Jarāsutta (S.N., pp. 158-160): From selfishness come grief and avarice. The bhikkhu who has turned away from the world and wanders about houseless, is independent, and does not wish for purification through another.

Tissametteyasutta (S.N., pp. 160-161): Tissa Metteya once wanted to hear from the Venerable One the defeat of him who is given to sensual intercourse. All sorts of vice, Gotama told him, follow in the train of sensual intercourse which should, therefore, always be avoided.

Pasūrasutta (S.N., pp. 161-163): Disputants dispute with each other and call each other fools, they wish for praise, but being repulsed they become discontented. But none is purified by dispute, says the Master.

Māgandiyasutta (S.N., pp. 163-166): This is a dialogue between Māgandiyā and Buddha. The former wanted to offer Buddha his daughter for a wife, but Buddha refused her. Māgandiyā

was of opinion that purity came from philosophy, but Buddha held that it came from 'inward peace'. The muni is a confessor of peace, and he does not dispute.

Purābhedasutta (S.N., pp. 166-168): This is a dissertation in which Buddha puts forth in detail the conduct and characteristics of a calm muni. He is free from craving, anger, desire, passion, and attachment. He is equable and thoughtful, he is houseless and has nothing in the world which he may call his own. He is calm and walks always in the path of Dhamma.

Kalahavivādasutta (S.N., pp. 168-171): This is a dissertation on the origin of contentions and disputes, etc. From dear objects spring up contentions and disputes, from wish originate the dear objects in the world, from pleasure and displeasure springs up wish, from phassa (touch) spring up pleasure and displeasure, and so on and so forth.

Cūlavijāhasutta (S.N., pp. 171-174): This sutta gives a description of disputing philosophers. The different schools of philosophy contradict one another, they proclaim different truths, but the truth is only one. As long as the disputations are going on so long will there be strife in the world.

Mahāvijāhasutta (S.N., pp. 174-178): Philosophers cannot lead to purity, they only praise themselves and stigmatise others. But a brāhmaṇa has overcome all disputes, and he is indifferent to learning, for he is calm and peaceful.

Tuvaṭṭakasutta (S.N., pp. 179-182): A bhikkhu to attain bliss must cut off the root of papañca (sin) and of all cravings ; he should learn the Dhamma, and should not seek peace from any other quarter. He should be calm and meditative ; and follow other duties of a bhikkhu strictly and faithfully. He must avoid boasting and talking much and indolence and other human vices.

Attadaṇḍasutta (S.N., pp. 182-185): This sutta sets forth the description of an accomplished muni. He should be truthful, undeceitful, sober, and free from avarice and slander. He must not be indolent, nor deviate from truth, nor have any desire for name and form. He should be thoughtful and know the highest wisdom.

*Sāriputtasutta*⁵² (S.N., pp. 185-189): Sāriputta once asked Buddha what a bhikkhu is to devote himself to. Thereupon Buddha spoke out to him some principles which he should lead and follow in life. A wise and thoughtful bhikkhu should be afraid of the five dangers, or of adversaries. He should learn to endure cold and heat; he should not commit there of speak falsehood or fall into the power of anger or arrogance. he should be guided by wisdom and exercise moderation in life, and so on and so forth.

V. PĀRĀYANAVAGGA

*Vatthugāthā*⁵³ (S.N., pp. 190-197): To the brāhmaṇa Bāvārī living on the banks of the Godāvārī in the Assaka territory, came another brāhmaṇa, and asked for five hundred pieces of money. Bāvārī could not, however, comply with his request, upon which the brāhmaṇa cursed him saying, "May thy head on the seventh day hence cleave into seven". A deity then comforted Bāvārī by referring him to the Buddha. Bāvārī then sent his sixteen disciples to the Buddha, and each of them asked him a question to which the All-Wise gave fitting replies.

*Ajītamāṇavapucchā*⁵⁴ (S.N., pp. 197-198): In reply to enquiries made by Ajīta, Buddha spoke out to him that the world was shrouded by ignorance, by reason of avarice it did not shine and desire was its pollution; that the dam of desire was thoughtfulness; and that the desire for 'name and form' could only be stopped by the cessation of consciousness.

Tissametteyamāṇavapucchā (S.N., p. 199): In reply to enquiries made by Tissametteya, Buddha spoke out that the bhikkhu who abstained from sensual pleasures, who was free from desire, always thoughtful, happy by reflection, was with-

⁵² "Kaṃ so sikkhaṃ samādāya ekodī nipako sato... malaṃ attano" (S.N., p. 186, v. 962), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 239.

⁵³ "Sace ca so pabbajati agārā anagāriyaṃ... arahā bhavati anuttaro" (S.N., p. 193, v. 1003), cf. *Lalitavistara* (R. L. Mitra's ed.), pp. 116, 118.

⁵⁴ "Kena-ssu nivuto loko... kiṃ su tassa mahabbhayaṃ" (S.N., p. 197, v. 1032), cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 17366; XII, 11030.

out commotions, he after knowing both ends did not stick in the middle as far as his understanding was concerned ; him he called a great man, and he had overcome craving in this world.

Puṇṇakamānavapucchā (S.N., pp. 199-201): Questioned by the venerable Puṇṇaka, the Blessed One told him that all sages and men, khattiyas and brāhmaṇas, who offered sacrifices wished something, viz., praise and sensual pleasures, in return did not cross over birth and old age. Only he for whom there is no commotion, who is calm and free, can alone cross over birth and old age.

Mettagamānavapucchā (S.N., pp. 201-204): Asked by Mettaga as to the origin of pain, Buddha told him that upadhi was the cause of pain. Asked next as to how did the wise cross the stream of birth and old age, Buddha told him that it was by knowing the Dhamma and by being thoughtful.

Dhotakamānavapucchā (S.N., pp. 204-205): Asked by Dhotaka as to how one could learn his own extinction, Buddha replied that one to learn this should be wise and thoughtful, and learn the best Dhamma. He must not have any doubt and should be calm and independent, above all, he must not have thirst for reiterated existence.

Upasīvamānavapucchā (S.N., pp. 205-207): Asked by Upasīva as to the means by which one may attain Nibbāna Buddha replied that having abandoned doubts and sensual pleasures one should reflect on nothingness day and night whereby one can attain Nibbāna. He remains there without proceeding further, and he thus delivered from name and body cannot be reckoned any more as existing.

Nandamānavapucchā (S.N., pp. 207-209): Not because of any philosophical view, nor of knowledge, any one is called a muni, for purity can come from neither of these. Samanas and brāhmaṇas who hold a contrary view and live accordingly in the world cannot cross over birth and old age. But those samanas and brāhmaṇas who are free from craving and independent can easily cross over them.

Hemakamāṇavapucchā (S.N., pp. 209-210): In pursuance of a request of Hemaka to know the Dhamma, Buddha told him that the destruction of passion and of desire was the imperishable state of Nibbāṇa. Those who realise this have also understood the Dhamma and are, therefore, calm and thoughtful.

Todeyyamāṇavapucchā (S.N., pp. 210-211): In reply to queries made by Todeyya, Buddha replied, "he in whom there are no lust, no craving, no doubt, for him there is no other deliverance. He is possessed of understanding and knows the Dhamma."

Kappamāṇavapucchā (S.N., pp. 211-212): For those who stand in the middle of a formidable stream, there is a matchless island called Nibbāṇa, which possesses nothing, grasps at nothing, and which is the destroyer of decay and death, so said the Buddha to the venerable Kappa.

Jatukaṇṇimāṇavapucchā (S.N., pp. 212-213): In pursuance of a request made by Jatukaṇṇi, Buddha advised him to subdue greediness for sensual pleasures and for name and form ; then there would be no passions by which he might fall into the power of death.

Bhadrāvudhamāṇavapucchā (S.N., pp. 213-214): A bhikkhu must not grasp after anything in all the world, for whatever they grasp after, just by that Māra follows the man, so said Buddha to Bhadrāvudha.

Udayamāṇavapucchā (S.N., pp. 214-215): In pursuance of queries made by Udaya, Buddha spoke out to him that deliverance lay in leaving lust, desire, grief, and sloth, and in the knowing and understanding Dhamma. The world, he continued, was bound by pleasure, and by leaving desire Nibbāṇa could be attained. There was no consciousness for one who was thoughtful and who delighted not in sensation, so concluded the Master.

Posālamāṇavapucchā (S.N., pp. 215-216): Tathāgata who knows all the faces of consciousness, knows also him who stands delivered. Having understood that the bonds of pleasure did not originate in nothingness, he saw clearly in this matter, knowledge of a perfect accomplished brāhmaṇa, so said Buddha to the venerable Posāla.

*Mogharājamānavapucchā*⁵⁵ (S.N., pp. 216-217): Thrice asked by the venerable Mogharājan as to how one would look upon the world to cross over death, Buddha advised him to look upon the world as void, to be always thoughtful, and to reckon himself as not existing. By so doing one could overcome death.

Piṅgiyamānavapucchā (S.N., pp. 217-218): Requested by the old and feeble Piṅgiya to let him know how to overcome birth and decay, Buddha advised him to leave the body and desire behind so that he might not have to come to exist again.

Thus Buddha was sought by sixteen brāhmaṇas who were the sixteen disciples of Bāvarī to answer their sixteen questions to which the master gave fitting and satisfactory replies. All of them having understood the meaning and tenor of each question lived according to the Dhamma, and went to the further shore of decay and death. Piṅgiya, therefore, thought that he would proclaim accordingly the way to the further shore. This he did, and for his faith, he was, by the direction of Buddha, delivered to the further shore of death.

Different editions and translations

There is a Sinhalese edition of this text by Pannātissa Thera and a Burmese edition published by Zabu Meit Swe Press, Rangoon, is available besides the P.T.S. edition by Andersen and Smith (1913) R. Otto Franke's articles, *Die Sutta-Nipāta Gāthās mit ihren Parallelen* in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Vols. 63, 64, and 66 (1909-1910, 1912) deserve mention and these are now available in a book form. There is a Devaznāgarī edition by P.V. Bapat, M.A., Poona, 1924. This text has been translated into English by Fausböll in S.B.E., Vol. X, and this is the earliest English translation. Lord Chalmers has translated it into English in the Harvard Oriental Series.⁵⁶ Seidenstücker is translating it in *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, Munich.

⁵⁵ Suññato lokam avekkhassu Mogharāja sadā sato... na passati" (S.N., p. 217, verse 119), cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 170.

⁵⁶ Prof. Lanman was kind enough to send me this English translation in proofs as the book was not then ready. I have found this translation very useful.

Importance of the Sutta Nipāta for the history of the Middle Indo-Aryan languages

The oldest form of the Aryan language we find in the Rgveda. Vedic and classical Sanskrit represent this period, and this stage of the Aryan language is called the Old Indo-Aryan or Old Indo Aryan stage. The Aryan language in the time of the Buddha represents another stage which is called the Middle Indo-Aryan or Middle Indo-Aryan stage in the line of development. Various Prakrits and Pāli represent this period. There is also a third stage called New Indo-Aryan stage. Various modern vernaculars, such as Oriyā, Bengali, Mahrāṭi, etc., represent this period.

It is maintained by majority of scholars that Pāli is a mid-land dialect based on an old Middle Indo-Aryan dialect, which may be called an old form of the Śaurasēnī language, with elements from other dialects, such as Paisācī, Gujarātī, and Māgadhī. They are also of opinion that originally the Buddhist Canon was in the S variant of the Prācyā or Māgadhī speech and that later on the canon was translated into Pāli and other languages.

Pāli is not a unique speech. Numerous double forms show that it is a language very much mixed indeed. To a large extent apparent dialectical deposits and scholastic formations occur. But in spite of this rather heterogeneous character of the Pāli language, a chronological development, a division of the history of the language in periods, a sort of stratification is clearly seen. We find four strata in the development of Pāli.

(1) The speech of the metrical portions (the gāthās in the canonical literature). This is of a very heterogeneous character. On one hand it retains many old speech forms separated from those of Old Indo-Aryan only through sound change, while on the other there are many standardised forms of Pāli, new formations younger in point of time frequently occurring in the same verse : Pita and raññā are old, developed out of Old Indo-Aryan; Pitussa and rājino are new formations. At times the exigencies of metre have determined the form employed, the choice being between the old form and the new one. When verses in an earlier form of speech, e.g., in the eastern speech of Aśoka were

altered into a later one, alteration of the archaic form was usually permitted when no violence was done to metre. Sutta Nipāta is typical of this stratum.

(2) The speech of the canonical prose. It is more uniform and more settled than that of the gathās. The archaic and dialectical forms are controlled, and in part disappear entirely. The change of archaic forms is no more capricious and random as in the previous stratum. But they are regulated properly by the grammatical rules of a standardised speech. Jātaka is typical of this stratum.

(3) The younger prose of the post-canonical literature as in the Milinda Pañha and in the greater commentaries. It is based on the immediately preceding stratum and displays a scholarly and artistic modification of it. Consequently the distance between the first stratum and the second stratum is greater than that between the second stratum and the third stratum. The third stratum can be distinguished from the second stratum by a greater restriction of the older forms and by a more elegant style. There is apparently the influence of Sanskrit in it to a greater extent.

(4) The speech of the later artistic poetry (cf. the Mahāvamsa, the Dīpavamsa, the Dāthāvamsa, etc.). This does not bear any more uniform character. The authors draw upon their knowledge of language and use forms indiscriminately from the older and newer strata. At times there is an air of archaism, but this is false, and Sanskritism is frequent.

Mr. Fausböll, in his introduction to the Translation of the Sutta Nipāta, has drawn attention to the fact that there are many old Vedic forms of substantives and verbs in the plural, such as, samūhatāse, paccayāse, paṇḍitāse, carāmase, and sikkhissāmase; the shorter Vedic plurals as, vinicchayā lakkhaṇā for vinicchayāni lakkhaṇāni ; shorter instrumental singulars as, mantā, pariññā, lābhakamyā for mantāya, pariññāya, and lābhakamyāya; Vedic infinitives as, vipphātave, uṇṇametave, saṃpayātave; contracted forms, such as, santyā, duggaccā, titthiyā, sammuccā; thiyo by the side of protracted forms, such as, ātumānam, suvāmi, suvānā, as well as same archaic forms, as, sagghasi

(=sakkhissasi), pāva or pāvā (pavadati), pavecche (=paveseyya), sussaṃ (=suṇissāmi), daṭṭhu (=disvā), paribbasāna (parivasamāno), avocasi, ruppena, uggahāyanti; and some usual words like vyappatha, bhūnahu, paṭiseniyanti, kyāssa, upaya, and avivadātā. Sometimes forms are contracted for the metre — tad for tadā, janetva for jenetvā. yad for yadā, siñcitva for siñcitvā. Sometimes we meet with difficult and irregular constructions especially in the Aṭṭhakavagga, and sometimes with very ambiguous or condensed words or expressions like diguṇa, ekaguṇa, kuppapaṭiccasanti, saññasañño, visaññasañño, vibhūta-sañño, etc.

Vimānavatthu

The Vimānavatthu is the sixth book. It gives in verse a graphic description of certain celestial abodes enjoyed by the devas for having done meritorious deeds while on earth as human beings. The stories told in it induce listeners to lead a pure life and to do meritorious deeds in order to obtain bliss after death. This work lays much emphasis on individual morality and duty and clearly shows the effect of karma, good, bad, or indifferent. The highest of pleasures that the heavens bestow has a limit according to the Buddhists. They can never bring about a final release from evil and hence the experiences in heaven, though pleasurable, are evils to be guarded against the more so on account of their luring attractiveness. Lord Zetland is right in pointing out that the heavens and hells, of which we read so much in the Vimānavatthu and the Petavatthu, may be said to exist for the purpose of providing a more elaborate stage than this earth can do, for the play of the ever revolving cycle of existence and all that it involves. The descriptions of the pleasures of heaven and the sorrows of hells are interesting as showing the nature of the rewards and punishments which in those early days were considered appropriate to particular acts of piety and to particular sins.⁵⁷ Rhys Davids says, "The whole set of

⁵⁷ Foreword to my book, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*.

beliefs exemplified in these books (Petavatthu and Vimānavatthu) is historically interesting as being in all probability the source of a good deal of mediaeval Christian belief in heaven and hell. But the greater part of these books, composed according to a set pattern, is devoid of style ; and the collection is altogether of an evidently later date than the bulk of the books included in this Appendix".⁵⁸

The Vimānavatthu has been edited by E. R. Gooneratne for the Pāli Text Society, London. It has not yet been translated.⁵⁹

Petavatthu

The Petavatthu is the seventh book. It contains little poems illustrating belief in the existence of life beyond death, and sufferings after death for having done evil deeds while on earth. In the Southern Buddhist faith there is hardly any trace anywhere of the worship of a personal being whether an ancestor or a spirit or a deity. The lesson inculcated is a natural concomitant of the Law of Karma which is the central idea of the whole Buddhistic faith. The result of karma cannot be obviated, we must suffer for what we have done. It is a force which must produce its own consequence. A careful study of the Buddhist stories regarding spirits convinces us of the fact that a person is not a seeker after Nirvāṇa nor the intellectual seeker after eternal verities or fundamental realities, but the ordinary everyday individual, the seeker after good things of earth, he who eats, drinks, and multiplies here below and wishes for the plenty of similar enjoyments in the life to follow after death. One great doctrine is dinned into our ears and that is, that charity here on earth, charity with a sincere heart while alive, is the only means of commanding the objects of pleasures after death. If one gives away plenty of food and drink while pos-

⁵⁸ *Buddhism, its history and literature* (American Lectures), p. 77.

⁵⁹ Mr. H. Gehman is preparing an English translation of this text together with that of the *Petavatthu* for S.B.B.

sessed of the earthly corporeal frame, he will be entitled to enjoy them hereafter. We also learn from the *Petavatthu* that the needs of the pretas and the pretīs are identical with those of human beings in flesh and blood. They are oppressed with hunger and thirst. The passion of love and desire for companions of the other sex does not leave them ; and it is interesting to note in this connection that a lover in the spirit form whether of male or female sex enjoys fully the company of a comrade of the other sex who is still in the world of the living. It is clear that a preta cannot directly take food, drink or clothing by force or guile or even when voluntarily offered. A hand-to-hand interchange of these things is impossible between a man and a departed spirit. It is only when the gifts are made to a human being and the merits thereof transferred to the spirits that their comforts can reach the Peta and satisfy his needs. This is the fundamental idea of the Buddhist conception of the method of removing the disabilities and miseries of departed spirits, and this is also the basis of the Hindu conception of Śrāddha. In fact it is one of the established ideas of the Indian mind even from the Vedic days. A close study of the *Petavatthu* gives us some ideas as to the character of the Petas which appears generally to have undergone a change for the better in their spirit life. Their hunger and thirst, their miseries and sufferings, the bitter experiences for past misconduct seem to have rubbed off their angularities, softened their temper, chastened their mind, and made them realise the truth that charity is the door to enjoyment of comfort in the other world. We hardly find them doing ill to others, they are too much pressed down with the burden of their own miseries to think of or to get any opportunity for doing mischief to others. They are suffering rather than malevolent spirits. The stories in the *Petavatthu*, though some among them may seem puerile and even absurd, have served to restrain a believer in the words of the Great Master, from straying away from the path of virtue, in his body, or his word or his action and have made him practise charity and ahimsā towards all living creatures.

Editions and translations of the Petavatthu

The Petavatthu has been edited in Roman character by Prof. Minayeff of St. Petersburg for the Pāli Text Society of England. E. Hardy has written a paper on the *Notes for an edition of the Petavatthu* (J.P.T.S., 1904-1905). It has been translated into German by Dr. Stede known as *Die Gespenstergeschichten des Petavatthu*, Leipzig, 1914.

Theragāthā

The Theragāthā is the eighth book. This book together with the Therīgāthā has been edited in Roman character by Drs. Oldenberg and Pischel for the P.T.S., London. It is a collection of poems, some of which are believed to have been sung by theras during the lifetime of the Buddha, and others shortly after his parinirvāṇa. These poems are conducive to the understanding of the religious theories and feelings prevalent in the Buddhist Order. The method of the arrangement of these gāthās is what is generally followed in the Buddhist literature, viz., the single verses are placed first, then follow the dyads, triads, etc. The language of this book is not simple and in many places it is difficult to find out the meaning without the help of the commentary.

There are two manuscripts:

- (1) MS. of the India Office (Phayre collection) written in Burmese character.
- (2) MS. of the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris (fonds Pali 91), Burmese writing.

The Theragāthā has been translated into English, known as *Psalms of the Brethren*, by Mrs. Rhys Davids and published by the P.T.S.

Therīgāthā

The Therīgāthā is the ninth book. It is a collection of verses attributed in the tradition of the Pāli Canon to 73 of the leading Therīs or Sisters in the Order during the lifetime of Gotama

himself. "A good many of the verses ascribed to them are beautiful in form, and not a few give evidence of a very high degree of that mental self-culture which played so great a part in the Buddhist ideal of the perfect life." Women of acknowledged culture are represented as being the teachers of men, and as expounding, to less advanced brethren or Sisters in the Order, the deeper and more subtle points in the Buddhist philosophy of life.⁶⁰

The available manuscripts are:

- (1) The Phayre MS. in the India Office Library, London Burmese writing 19 leaves, 9 lines.
- (2) MS. of the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris, fonds Pali, No. 91. 16 leaves, 9 lines. Burmese writing.
- (3) MS. with Mr. Subhuti, 12 leaves, 9 lines. Sinhalese writing.
- (4) MS. with Mr. Subhuti, 20 leaves, 8 lines. Burmese writing. Dated Sakkarāj 1128.

This work has been translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids known as *Psalms of the Sisters*, which is very useful. Two interesting papers on *The women leaders of the Buddhist reformation, as illustrated by Dhammapāla's commentary on the Therīgāthā* (Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1893), and *Buddhist Women* by Dr. B.C. Law, published in the *Indian Antiquary* (March, April, and May, 1928), deserve mention. *Women Under Primitive Buddhism* by Miss I. B. Horner, should also be consulted. There is a Bengali translation of this work by Mr. Bijoy Chandra Majumdar.

Essence of Buddhism involved in the Thera-Therīgāthā

Mrs. Rhys Davids in her introduction to the *Psalms of the Brethren* says, regarding the doctrine involved in the Theragāthā, "anicca, dukkha, anatta, the four truths, the Aryan Path, the seven Buddhas, Arahants as no less Buddha and Tathāgata than their Great Master, and so forth : such is the range of the ancient

⁶⁰ Rhys Davids, *Buddhism its history and literature* (American Lectures), p. 72.

Theravadism of these poems" (Introduction, p. xxii). Our knowledge of the ancient Theravadism is also derived from the Suttantas, the Sutta Nipāta, and the Dhammapada.

It is amply sufficient to say that some parts of the Pāli Canon are later than others, and that the books, as we have them, contain internal evidence from which conclusions may fairly be drawn as to their comparative age. Prof. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* says, regarding the Sutta Nipāta, that single verses, single poems, and single cantos, had all been in existence before the work assumed its present shape. He further says that this is very suggestive as to the manner of growth not only of this book, but of the Indian literature of this period. It grew up in schools; and was the result rather of communistic than of individual effort. What applies to the Sutta Nipāta also applies to the Dhammapada. That many of its verses were current as proverbs or as favourite sayings before they were independently incorporated in the poems in which they are now found, nobody can question. The same is the case with the Theragāthā poems. Though Dr. Winternitz suggests signs of later thought in Khaṇḍa-Sumaṇa's stanza in the Theragāthā, yet the great bulk of the poems is relatively early. This seems probable by both the doctrine and diction of them.

These remarks are sufficient to maintain our contention that the importance of the Theragāthā, the Sutta Nipāta, the Dhammapada, and the Suttantas lies in the fact that these are the main sources for our knowledge of ancient Theravadism. The difference both in doctrine and diction that exists between these works and other works of the Pāli canonical literature enables us to distinguish between ancient and later Theravadism. It is worthy of notice that the idea of 25 Buddhas is a later one. The earlier Pāli books know only of seven Buddhas.

When we turn to the Therīgāthā, the most important thing that strikes us here is the idea of Nibbāṇa as held by the Therīs. In order to give a purview of how the Therīs envisaged their *summum bonum*, we shall deal with Nibbāṇa in its two aspects negative and positive, as we find in their gāthās.

In its negative aspect Nibbāṇa means the going out of greed, ill-will, and dulness and also freedom from these. It has been also variously described as comfort, end to ill, end of becoming or life, end of craving, and rest.

In its positive aspect Nibbāṇa, as subjectively considered, means mental illumination conceived as light, insight, state of feeling happiness, and cool and calm and content (sītībhāva, nibbatā, upasamo, peace and safety, state of will self-mastery). Nibbāṇa, when objectively considered, means truth, the highest good, a supreme opportunity, a regulated life, communion with the Best, and bringing congenial work.

Jātaka

The Jātaka is the tenth book. It is widely studied by the students of the history of religion. Professor Fausböll edited the Jātaka for the first time in six volumes and he prepared a volume on Index. The English translation of this work by various scholars under the editorship of Cowell has no doubt made the study of the Jātakas very easy, especially for those who do not know the original language in which the Jātakas were written. Professor Rhys Davids undertook to translate the Jātakas but he was obliged to give it up after the appearance of one volume. It is interesting to note that each story opens with a preface which describes the circumstances in the life of the Buddha which led him to tell the birth story and thus reveal some events in the long series of his previous existences as a Bodhisatta. At the end there is always given a brief summary where the Buddha identifies the different persons in the story in their present births. The stories are very interesting as they throw a flood of light on the social, political, and religious life of the people in ancient India.

The Jātaka was composed in North India in the so-called 'middle country' (Madhyadeśa) (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 172). It consists of gāthās or stanzas only, and is divided into twenty two sections (nipātas), which are arranged according to the number of stanzas belonging to or forming a Jātaka. The first section is supposed to contain 150 Jātakas, each

verse belongs to a separate story ; the second, 100 Jātakas, with two verses each ; the third, 50 Jātakas, with three verses each, and so on. Each successive section (nipāta) contains a larger number of stanzas and a smaller number of Jātakas. These gāthās are in many cases poetic tales or ballads or epic poems. Verses are attached to all the Jātakas. They are, in a few instances, in the framework and not in the stories themselves. The stories without the verses may be said to have preserved the original form of Indian folklore. Some of the stories are noticed also in the Pañcatantra, Kathāsaritsāgara, etc. Some have parallels in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇas, and the Jain literature. It would not perhaps be unreasonable to hold that most of the stories were derived from existing folklore of North India (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 207-208). The Jātakas are frequently quoted in the later books of the Milinda Pañha. Many Jātakas occur in the Mahāvastu⁶¹ in prose as well as in verse in mixed Sanskrit. Some of them are variants of Pāli Jātakas while others are not found in the Pāli collection.

It would not be out of place to give here gists of some of the Jātaka stories which are remarkable for their variety.

A young man finding a dead mouse sold it. He got some money with which he carried on trade and became rich (Cullakaseṭṭhi Jātaka, *Jāt.*, Vol. I) There were incompetent valuers (Taṇḍulanāll Jātaka, *Jāt.* I) and there was a strong belief in being seized by an ogre (Deyadhamma Jātaka, Vol. I). A king finding a grey hair in his head forsook his family life (Makhādeva Jātaka, cf. *Nimi Jātaka*, Vol. I). A king of the deer not only saved his own life but also the life of all creatures at the risk of his own life (Nigrodhamiga Jātaka, Vol. I). A brahmin desiring to give food to the dead was about to sacrifice a goat which showed signs of great joy and of great sorrow. The goat explained the reason for each emotion (Matakabhatta Jātaka). True release does not lie in offering sacrifice (Āyacitabhatta Jātaka, Vol. I). There was a pool haunted by ogre (Nalapāna Jātaka, Vol. I).

⁶¹ Vide my work, *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, pt.II Stories.

The Kulāvaka Jātaka relates as to how a man through the practice of goodness went to heaven and how his three wives were reborn in heaven as a reward of their doing good deeds. A tree caught fire, the wise birds flew, the foolish ones remained and were burnt to ashes (Sakuna Jātaka, Vol. I). A treasurer gave alms to a Paccekabuddha though Māra tried to prevent him from doing so (Khadiraṅgāra Jātaka, Vol. I). A king put a stop to sacrifices of living creatures (Dummedha Jātaka, Vol. I). The Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka (Vol. I) relates the innate wickedness of women. The Surāpāna Jātaka (Vol. I) deals with the effects of strong drinks on hermits. The Asātarūpa Jātaka (Vol. I) relates how a city was captured by stopping the supply of water and firewood. A slave forging his master's name married a rich wife. The master did not take any revenge but he taught the slave's wife to restrain her husband's arrogance (Kaṭāhaka Jātaka, Vol. I). A wicked prince is reformed by the analogy of poisonous seedling (Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka, Vol. I). Some shipwrecked mariners escaped from a city of goblins by the aid of a flying horse (Valāhassa Jātaka, Vol. II). A king of Benares was most tyrannical. At his death the porter of the royal palace mourned fearing that the king-should prove too much for the King of Death and should be sent back again to earth (Mahāpiṅgala Jātaka, Vol. II). Some men won a treasure by digging, but they dug too much and lost it again (Jarudapāna Jātaka, Vol. II). A brave man saved a caravan from robbers (Khurappa Jātaka, Vol. II). A king was taken captive and suffered much at the hands of his enemy, but by his patience and suffering he won over his enemy, through repentance (Ekarāja Jātaka, Vol. III). A king killed his own son out of jealousy as his queen showed much affection for the son. The king was punished by being thrown into hell (Culladhammapāla Jātaka, Vol. III). A foolish mendicant mistook the butting of a ram for a respectful salutation. He met with his death owing to his foolishness (Cammasāṭaka Jātaka, Vol. III). A wicked king cruelly maltreated an ascetic who patiently endured the maltreatment. The king was thrown into hell (Khantivādi Jātaka, Vol. III) Sakka was pleased with an ascetic

and offered him boons. The ascetic made a wise choice of boons (Kaṇha Jātaka, Vol. IV). Two princes with their sister went to a forest. They came to know of their father's death. The eldest prince sent his slippers to take his own place on the throne. They were displeased when the news of wrong judgment came to their ears (Dasaratha Jātaka, Vol. IV). Jealous of a holy ascetic, Sakka approached the king of a country and said that the drought from which the land was suffering, was due to the ascetic. The king advised by Sakka sent his daughter to beguile the ascetic. The ascetic fell a victim to the temptation. But the ascetic's father who was away, returned to his son and cautioned him against the wiles of womankind (Naḷinikā Jātaka, Vol. V). A king developed a taste for human flesh. In order to supply himself with favourite food he used to murder his own subjects. His action became known to all and he was driven out of his kingdom. Once he captured a king who had been his friend and teacher. The king was released on condition that he should return as soon as he fulfilled his promise. The king kept his words. The man-eater being pleased with the king desired to give him four boons. At the request of the king the man-eater gave up cannibalism (Mahāsutasoma Jātaka, Vol. V). A king questioned an ascetic as to the various moral duties. He himself indulged in pleasures but his daughter was virtuous. She tried to save him from heretical beliefs. At last the Buddha converted him (Mahānārada Kassapa Jātaka, Vol. VI). Four kings including Sakka disputed as to who was the most virtuous. For the solution they came to a wise man who decided that they were all equal. The wife of the Nāga king desired the heart of that wise man. The Nāga king sent a yakkha to kill the wise man who won over the yakkha to his side (Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka, Vol. VI).

The gists of some of the Jātakas given above may lead one to believe that the Jātakas are but amusing tales, having no serious lessons to impart. But the fact is otherwise. A careful perusal of the Jātaka stories will not fail to convince a thoughtful reader that these stories have various purposes to serve.

Origin and purpose of the Jātakas

We read in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, V (S.B.E., xxi, 1884, 120), that the Buddha knowing the differences in faculties and energy of his numerous hearers, preaches in many different ways, tells many tales, amusing, agreeable, both instructive and pleasant, tales by means of which all beings not only become pleased with the law in this present life, but also after death will reach happy states ; and in the same book it is stated (ii. 44, S.B.E., xxi. 44 f.) that the Buddha teaches both by sūtras and stanzas and by legends and Jātakas. It is, indeed, likely enough that Gautama Buddha himself made use of popular tales in preaching to the people. It is certain that the Buddhist monks and preachers did so. In his numerous existences before he came to be born as Śākyamuni who was to be the Buddha, the Bodhisattva had been born according to his karma, sometimes as a god, sometimes as a king, or a merchant, or a nobleman, or an outcaste, or an elephant, or some other man or animal. It was thus only necessary to identify the hero or any other character of a story with the Bodhisattva in order to turn any tale, however secular or even frivolous, into a Jātaka. Some of the stories which were afterwards turned into Jātakas are told in the suttas as simple tales, without any reference to the Bodhisattva (cf. *Cullavagga*, vi. 3, with the Tittira Jātaka, No. 37 ; or *Mahāvagga*, x. 2, 3, with the Dīghiti Kosala Jātaka, No. 371). On the other hand there are some real Jātakas included in the suttas e.g., the Kūṭadanta Sutta and Mahāsudassana Sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya. That the Jātakas form an essential part of the Buddhist Canon is shown by the fact that they are included in the list of nine aṅgas (twelve Dharmapracāsanas in the Sanskrit Buddhist Canon) into which the Sacred Books of the Buddhists were divided according to the subject-matter as the seventh aṅga (the ninth Dharmapracāsa).⁶² The Jātakas preserve an invaluable record of the history of Indian literature.

⁶² Vide Dr. Winternitz's article *The Jātaka* in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, pp. 491 ff.

Jātakas and popular Buddhism

The Jātakas are highly important for the history of Buddhism, as they give us an insight into popular Buddhism. The whole system of Jātakas is based on the most popular dogma of Karma, and the ethical ideal of this religion is not the Arhat who has attained to Nirvāṇa, but the Bodhisattva who in all his former existences has shown one or more of the great virtues by which he prepared himself for becoming the future Buddha. However, high or low he may have been born, in every Jātaka he is either helpful, kind, and self-sacrificing or brave, clever and even possessing supernatural wisdom. Jātakas like those of king Sivi (No. 499), who gave away his eyes as a gift, or of prince Vessantara (No. 547), who even gave away his children as a gift to a wicked brāhmaṇa, are standard texts for this ideal of ethics. It may easily be understood how the theory of the pāramitās which has become important in the Mahāyāna Buddhism, though not mentioned in the Jātaka gāthās, but only in the Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka, and the Jātaka Commentary, was already latent in the Jātaka theory. It is no wonder that the Jātakas belong as much to the Mahāyāna as to the Hinayāna Buddhism. They are indeed the common property of all Buddhist sects in all Buddhist countries. They were the chief vehicle of Buddhist propaganda and are the chief witnesses of popular Buddhism.⁶³ Rhys Davids⁶⁴ says, "Our existing Jātaka book is only a partial record. It does not contain all the Jātakas that were current, in the earliest period of their literature, among the Buddhist community. I venture to suggest that the character of ten earlier Jātakas, in their pre-Jātaka shape, enables us to trace their history back beyond the Buddhist literature altogether. None of them are specially Buddhist. They are modified, perhaps more or less to suit Buddhist Ethics. But even the Mahāsudassana, which is the most so, is in the main simply an ancient Indian legend of sun worship. And the rest are

⁶³ Vide Dr. Winternitz's article, *The Jātaka* in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of R. and E.*, p. 494, Vol. VII.

⁶⁴ *Buddhist India*, pp. 196-198.

pre-Buddhistic Indian folklore. There is nothing peculiarly Buddhist about them. Even the ethics they inculcate are Indian. What is Buddhist about them, in this their oldest shape, is only the selection made. There was, of course, much other folklore, bound up with superstition. This is left out. And the ethic is, of course, of a very simple kind. It is milk for babes. This comes out clearly in the legend of the Great King of Glory the Mahāsudassana. In its later Jātaka form it lays stress on the impermanence of all earthly things, on the old lesson of the vanity of the world. In its older form, as a sutanta, it lays stress also on the ecstasies (the Jhānas), which are perhaps pre-Buddhistic and on the sublime conditions (the Brahma-Vihāras) which are certainly distinctively Buddhist. These are much deeper and more difficult matters."

"So much for the earliest forms in which we find the Jātakas. The next evidence in point of date is that of the bas-reliefs on the Bhārhut and Sāñchi Stūpas those invaluable records of ancient Indian archaeology. Among the carvings on the railings round these stūpas are a number of scenes, each bearing as a title in characters of the third century B.C. the name of a Jātaka; and also other scenes without a title but similar in character. Twenty-seven of the scenes have been recognised as illustrating passages in the existing Jātaka Book. Twenty-three are still unidentified, and some of these latter are meant, no doubt, to illustrate Jātaka stories current in the community, but not included in the canonical collection." The very fact that the Jātaka stories served as favourite topics for sculptures and paintings through all the centuries in all Buddhist countries, goes to show the immense popularity of the Jātakas which are found in India in Bhārhut, Sāñchi, and Bodh-Gayā in the third or second century B.C., in Amarāvati in the second century A.D., and later on in the caves of Ajantā. Hundreds of bas-reliefs representing scenes from Jātakas are found decorating the famous temples of Borobudur in Jāvā (ninth century A.D.) mostly based on legends in the Lalitavistara, of Pagan in Burma (thirteenth century A.D.), and of Sukhadaya in Siam (fourteenth century A.D.).⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 494.

According to Professor Rhys Davids, the edition of the Jātakas by Fausböll is an edition of the commentary written probably in the fifth century A.D. by an unknown author who, as Childers thinks, was Buddhaghosa (*Buddhist India*, pp. 200-201). Whether this commentary was actually written by Buddhaghosa or not, the numerous Jātakas quoted or narrated by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries show a close agreement with the commentary edited by Fausböll.

Dr. Fick says that so far as the verses and the prose portions of the stories are concerned, as distinct from the framework, they have been scarcely altered from the original state (Dr. Fick, *Soziale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien Zu Buddha's Zeit*, pp. vi and vii).

Hofrath Bühler points out that the Jātakas make no mention of the Nandas and Mauryas.

The state of civilisation described in the Jātakas is no doubt very ancient in many respects. The Jātakas describe the palaces of kings as built of wood. They are full of materials which help us a great deal in reconstructing the history of ancient India, but we should be cautious in accepting them wholesale as historical evidences.

Prof. Rhys Davids holds that whole of the longer stories, some of them as long as a modern novellete, contained in Vol. VI of the edition, are later, both in language and in their view of social conditions in India than those in the earlier volumes. Yet several of those latest in the collection are shown by the bas-reliefs to have been already in existence in the third century B.C. And this holds good, not only of the verses, but also of the prose, for the bas-reliefs refer to the prose portions of the tales (see in the Appendix under Vidhura, Sama, Ummagga, and Vessantara Jātakas).

It is possible to conclude, says Rhys Davids, that some of the tales, when they were first adopted into the Buddhist tradition, were already old. We have seen above that out of those tales of which we can trace the pre-Jātaka book form, a large proportion, 60 to 70 per cent., had no verses. Now in the present

collection, we do not find verses in the majority of tales. And there are other tales, where the verses do not occur in the story itself, but are put like a chorus, into the mouth of a fairy (devatā) who has really nothing else to do with the story. It follows that these stories existed, without the verses, before they were adopted into the Buddhist scheme of Jātakas by having verses added to them, and they are therefore probably not only pre-Buddhistic but very old.

Dr. Rhys Davids further adds that the custom on which the Jātaka system is based of handing down tales or legends in prose, with the conversation in verse is itself pre-Buddhistic. And the Jātaka Book is only another example of that pre-epic form of literature of which there are many shorter specimens preserved in the earlier books of the canon (*Buddhist India*, pp. 205-206).

Literature on the Jātaka

The Jātaka has been translated from Pāli into English by various hands under the editorship of E. B. Cowell in six vols, *Étude sur les Jātakas* par Léon Fur, Paris, 1875 (reprinted from *Journal Asiatique*, 1875); *Nine Jātakas* by L. H. Elwell, Boston, 1886 ; *Lineage of the proud King* by Robert Chalmers, J.R.A.S., 1892 ; Serge D'Oldenberg *On the Buddhist Jātakas* by H. Wenzel, J.R.A.S., 1893 (a valuable paper in which three tables of parallels are given. The Jātakas and the Jain parallels and the Jātakas in the Mahāvastu are also discussed in it); *Notes on the Buddhist bas-reliefs* by Oldenberg, J.R.A.S., 1896 ; *Index to the Jātakas* by Rouse, J.P.T.S., 1890.

M. Winternitz: *Die Jātakas in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte der indischen und ausserindischen Literatur und Kunst.*, Berlin, 1913.

Keilhorn: *The Jātakas and Sanskrit Grammarians*, J.R.A.S., 1898.

Dr. M. Gester: *The Nigrodha-Miga-Jātaka and the Life of St. Eustathius Placidus*, J.R.A.S., 1894.

T. W. Rhys Davids: *The Last to go forth*, J.R.A.S. 1891. (This paper contains some curious passages from the Jātakas. Rhys

Davids attempts to make the meanings of these passages clearer.)

H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas *Jātaka Tales*.

Stories of the Buddha by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D. Litt., M.A. (*The Treasure House of Eastern Story* under the editorship of Sir E. D. Ross.)

Buddhist Birth-stories (Jātaka Tales) by T. W. Rhys Davids and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids, with notes and Index. (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.)

Tripitaka: Edition of Buddhist Jātakas and Avadāna (12 vols.).

N. B. Utgikar: *Some points of contact between the Mahābhārata and the Jātakas*, J.B.B.R.As., Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2. Story of the Dasaratha Jātaka and of the Rāmāyaṇa by the same author (J.R.A.S., centenary supplement, pp. 203 foll.). The Bengali translation of the Jātakas by Rai Shaheb Ishanchunder Ghosh deserves mention.

Notes on five Bharaut Epithets by B.M. Barua, M.A., D.Litt. *Identification of four Jātakas at Bharaut* by Dr. B. M. Barua.

Niddesa

The eleventh and the twelfth books are styled the Mahāniddesa and the Cullaniddesa. They contain "a detailed explanation by Sāriputta of 33 sūtras belonging to the last two vaggas of Sutta Nipāta, from Kāmasutta to Khaggavisāṇa Sutta". The P.T.S., London, has published an edition of the *Mahāniddesa* in Roman character under the able editorship of L. De La Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas.

The P.T.S. edition of the Mahāniddesa is based upon three MSS. : (1) King of Siam's printed edition of the Tripitaka, (2) Phayre MS. in the British Museum, and (3) A Sinhalese MS. The P.T.S. edition of the Cullaniddesa is based on (1) Palmleaf MS. in Sinhalese character, (2) Palm-leaf MS. in Burmese character, and (3) the Cullaniddesa in the printed Siamese Tripitaka, Vol. XXVII.

It is a sort of word-for-word comment or gloss on the Aṭṭhakavagga of the Sutta Nipāta. The Aṭṭhakavagga consists of ten sections while the Sutta Nipāta is divided into 16 sections.

The Cullaniddesa deals in the first place with all the sections of the Pārāyaṇavagga of the Sutta Nipāta and in the second place with the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta of the Uragavagga of the Sutta Nipāta. In the Uragavagga there are altogether twelve suttas, of which the only one, the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta, has been dealt with in the Cullaniddesa.

Dr. Stede, who has edited the *Cullaniddesa* for the P.T.S., writes in the introduction to the Cullaniddesa that the Niddesa or Exposition consists chiefly in the interpretation of each word. This interpretation is repeated at every place where the word is found in the text, and is literally the same all through. Very seldom a paraphrase of a sentence or part of a sentence is given, and in some cases a quotation from Canonical Books ("Vuttam h'etam Bhagavatā") takes the place of an explanation ; but the rule is, that, once the words are made clear, the stanza is "exposed" (Introduction, p. xxii).

We give below interpretations of some words from the Niddesa :

Muni: The term muni is applied by the Buddha to any man attaining perfection in self-restraint and insight. In the Niddesa (I, p. 57), we find several schedules of muni-qualities, especially based on the threefold division of character as revealed in action (kāya), speech (vacī), and thought (mano). Just as these three are in general exhibited in good or bad ways of living (sucaritaṃ and duccharitaṃ), they are applied to a deeper quality of saintship in kāya-moneyya, vacī-moneyya, and mano-moneyya ; or muni-hood in action, speech, and thought. The Niddesa (I, p. 58) also gives a division of six munis —agāra-muni, anāgāra (bhikkhus), sekha (learners), asekhā (arahants), pacceka (the Pacceka-Buddhas), and muni (the Tathāgatas).

Kāma: The Niddesa (I, pp. 1-2) distinguishes between two kinds of Kāmas: (1) Vatthukāma desires relating to a base, i.e., physical organ or external object (e.g., rūpā, saddā, gandhā, rasā, etc.), and (2) Kilesakāmā desire considered subjectively [e.g., chando (desire), rago (passion), saṃkappo (determination), etc.].

Sikkhā: According to the *Niddesa* (I, pp. 39-40) there are *tisso sikkhā* : (1) *adhisīla sikkhā* including *Khuddaka silakkhandho* and *Mahanto silakkhandho* (ten precepts, etc.), (2) *adhicitta-sikkhā* including the four *jhānas*, and (3) *adhipaññāsikkhā* including *dukkha*, *dukkha-samudaya*, *dukkhanirodha*, *dukkhanirodhagāminipaṭipadā*.

Bhikkhu (*Niddesa*, I, p. 70): He is called the *bhikkhu* who has freed himself from the seven evil qualities. e.g., *sakkāyadiṭṭhi* (speculation as to the eternity or otherwise of one's own individuality), *vicikicchā* (doubt), *silabbata-parāmāso* (the contagion of mere rule and ritual), *rāgo* (passion), *doso* (malice), *moho* (delusion), and *māno* (pride).

Dhono (*Niddesa*, I, p. 77): It means *paññā* or wisdom.

Ogha (*Niddesa*, I, p. 159): There are four kinds of *oghas* (oceans of evils), e.g. *kāma* (desire), *bhava*⁶⁶ (becoming), *diṭṭhi* (wrong views), and *avijjā* (ignorance).

Kusalā (*Niddesa*, I, p. 171): *Kusalā* (skilful) means *khandha-kusalā* (constituent element), *Dhatu* (element), *Āyatana* (element of sense-perception), *Paṭiccasamuppāda* (dependent origination), *Satīpaṭṭhāna* (application of mindfulness), *Samma-padhāna* (right exertion), *Iddhipāda* (bases of iddhi or miracle), *Indriya* (sense-organs), *Bala* (powers), *Bojjhaṅga* (elements of knowledge), *Magga* (path), *Phala* (fruition), and *Nibbāna* (salvation).

Gāmakathā (*Niddesa*, I, p. 367): It contains gossips about kings, thieves, soldiers, battles, drinking, vehicles, relatives, women, etc.

Loka (*Niddesa*, I, p. 409). Various world-systems are described:

Niraya loka (hell).

Tiracchānayaniloko (realm of the brute creation).

⁶⁶ According to the P.T.S. Dictionary, *Bhava* means becoming, (form of) rebirth, (state of) existence, a life. For a discussion on this subject, see Mrs. Rhys Davids' *A Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 121-122. If we take the root meaning, it is "becoming". R. C. Childers translates "bhava" as "existence, birth, origin". The difference between 'existence' and 'becoming' is very slight. We, however, consider the view of Mrs. Rhys Davids to be sound.

Pittivisaya (the realm of the departed spirits).

Manussa.

Deva.

Khandha (the world of sensory aggregates).

Dhātu (ten dhātu lokas).

Āyatana (sphere).

Ayam loko (this world).

Paro loko (the next world).

Sabrahmaloko (the world of Brahmā).

Sadevaloka (the world of gods).

Ejā (Niddesa, I, p. 441): It means taṇhā (desire).

Gaṇṭhāni (Niddesa, I, p. 329): There are four kinds of bonds, usually called the four bodily ties (kāyagaṇṭho) : abhijjhā covetousness, byāpādo malevolence, silabbataparāmāso the contagion of mere rule and ritual ; idaṃsaccābhinivesa inclination to say: only this is the truth, i.e., inclination to dogmatise.

Pubbāsava (Niddesa, I, p. 331): Past rūpaṃ (material qualities), Vedanā (feeling), Saññā (Perception), Saṃkhārā (coefficients of consciousness) Viññānaṃ (consciousness).

Vivaṭa Cakkhu (Niddesa, I, p. 354): means 'open-minded', 'clear-sighted'. The five kinds of the sense of sight are : Maṃsa Cakkhu (bodily eye), Dibba Cakkhu (divine eye), Paññā Cakkhu (the eye of wisdom), Buddha Cakkhu (the eye of a Buddha), and Samanta Cakkhu (all seeing).

Parissaya (Niddesa, I, pp. 360-361): means danger, risk or trouble. The Parissayas are of two kinds : (1) Pākaṭa external danger from lion, tiger, and other ferocious beasts and also from various diseases, such as cholera, leprosy, etc., (2) Paṭicchanna internal danger from anger, hatred, delusion, desire, and so forth.

Kaṇha (Niddesa, I, p. 489): Māra, the evil one, is also called Kaṇho and Namuci.

The Mahāniddesa (or the Niddesa I) also contains references to many miscellaneous matters. *Cattāro dāsā* (four kinds of slaves) antojāṭako dāso, dhanakkitato dāso, sāmam vā dāsavisaṃyamaṃ upeti, akāmakato vā dāsavisaṃyamaṃ upeti : born slave, bought by money, himself becomes a slave, bought by money,

himself becomes a slave, out of fear (bhayā) one becomes a slave (*Niddesa*, I, p. 11).

Cattāro bandhū (four kinds of friends): nātibandhavā, gottabandhavā, mantabandhavā, sippabandhavā (*Niddesa*, I, p. 11).

Naro classification: Khattiyo, Brāhmano, Vesso, Suddo, Gahaṭṭho (householder), Pabbajito (monk), Devo, Manusso (*Niddesa*, I, p. 11).

Various diseases (*Niddesa*, I, p. 13): Cakkhurogo (disease of sight), Sotarogo (disease of hearing), Ghānarogo (disease of smelling), Jivhārogo (disease of taste), Kāyarogo (disease of body), Sisarogo (disease of head), Kaṇṇarogo (disease of ear), Mukharogo (disease of mouth), Dantarogo (disease of teeth), Kāso (cough), Sāso (asthma), Pināso (cold in the head), Dāho (burning), Jaro (old age disease), Kucchiroga (abdominal trouble), Mucchā (fainting), Pakkhandikā (diarrhoea), Sūlā (acute pain), Visūcikā (cholera), Kuṭṭham (leprosy), Gaṇḍo (boil), Kilāso (a cutaneous disease, perhaps leprosy), Soso (consumption), Apamāro (Epilepsy), Daddu (ringworm), Kaṇḍu (itches), Kacchu (itches), Rakhasā, vitacchikā (scabies), Lohitapittam (the bile with blood), Madhumeho (diabetes), Aṃsa, Piḷakā (boil), Bhagandalā (Fistula), Pittasamuṭṭhāna (rising of bile), Semhasamuṭṭhāna (rising of phlegm), Vātasamuṭṭhāna (wind disease), Sannipātikā (disease resulting from the union of the humours of the body), Utuparināmajā ābādhā (change of the season as cause of disease), Visamaparihāraja ābādhā (diseases resulting from miscarriage).

Various doctrines: The Mahāniddesa deals with various doctrines which the Buddha condemns as fruitless (*Niddesa*, I, p. 64) : Sassatoloko, Asassatoloka (eternal or non-eternal), Antavā loko, Anantavā loko (finite or infinite), tam jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ, aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ (identity of soul and body or non-identity of the same).

Various religious beliefs (*Niddesa*, I, p. 89): Some Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas are the worshippers of elephants, horses, cows, dogs, crows, fire, serpent, goblin, demon, sun, moon, Indra, Brahma, gods Krishṇa and Balarāma, four directions, a kind of

fairy bird and Punnabhaddha, perhaps a Yakkha; (Hatthivattikā, Assavattikā, Govattikā, Kukkuravattikā, Kākavattikā, Vāsudevavattikā, Baladevavattikā, Puṇṇabhaddavattikā, Aggivattikā, Nāgavattikā, Maṇibhaddavattikā, Supaṇṇavattikā, Yakkhavattikā, Asuravattikā, Gandhabba, Mahārāja, Canda, Suriya, Inda, Brahma, Devavattikā, Disavattikā).

Paṭisambhidāmagga

The Paṭisambhidāmagga is the thirteenth book. It consists of three vaggas or chapters, e.g., Mahāvaggo, Yuganandhavaggo, and Paññāvaggo. Each of the vaggas, again, contains ten topics (kathā), e.g., Nānakathā, Yuganandhakathā, Mahāpaññākathā, etc.

It may be noted here that the first volume of the Paṭisambhidāmagga deals only with the three out of the ten topics of the Mahāvagga. This volume begins with the mātikā which gives the contents, not of the whole work (i.e., Paṭisambhidāmagga, Vol. I), but of the Nānakathā only, the opening chapter of the Vinaya Mahāvagga.

In the second volume of the Paṭisambhidāmagga there is no mātikā (a table of contents) at all.

I. *Mahāvagga* (*Paṭisambhidāmagga, II, pp. 1-91*): It deals with ñāna or knowledge of the impermanence and sorrowfulness of the confections, of the four Aryan truths, of the chain of causation (dependent origination), of the four stages or bhūmiyokāmāvacaro (realm of lust) rūpāvacaro (world of form) arūpāvacaro (incorporeal world) Apariyāpanno (all that are not determined by this cycle), of the miracle of the double appearances consisting in the appearance of phenomena of opposite character in pairs, as for example, streaming forth of fire and water, of omniscience of the Buddha ; with diṭṭhi or false views, e.g. holding the world to be eternal or non-eternal and finite or infinite, believer in fortuitous origin and in complete annihilation at death, etc. ; with five indriyas saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), satti (recollection), samādhi (concentration), paññā (reason) ; with the three vimokkhas suññato (devoid of soul, ego), animitto (the signless), appaṇihito (the desireless) ;

with kamma (action or deed) and kammavipāka (the results of action), kusala kamma and akusala kamma (good and bad actions) and their results ; with vipallāsa or perversion of saññā (perception) of citta (thought) of diṭṭhi (views) perceiving wrongly anicca, dukkha, anattāni, and asukha as nicca, sukha, atta, and subha respectively, with magga or the stage of righteousness, with reference to the various conditions of arahantship divided into four stages Sotāpatti (the stage of entering the stream of salvation), Sakadāgāmi (that of returning once), Anāgāmi (that of the never-returner), and Arahatta (that of saintship).

II. *Yuganandhavagga (Paṭisambhidāmagga, II, pp. 92-184)*: It deals with sacca or the four Aryan truths, e.g. dukkha, dukkha-samudaya, dukkhanirodha, and dukkhanirodhagāminipaṭipadā (suffering, its origin, its cessation, and the path leading to its cessation) ; with bojjhaṅgas or constituents of supreme knowledge, e.g. sati (mindfulness), dhammavicaya (investigation of the law), viriya (energy), pīti (rapture), passaddhi (repose), samādhi (concentration), upekkhā (equanimity) ; with lokuttarā dhammā, e.g., the four satipaṭṭhānas (referring to the body or kāya, the sensations or vedanā, the mind or citta, and phenomena or dhammā) ; the four right exertions (exertions to put away the evil dhamma which has not arisen from arising, exertions to put away the evil dhamma which has arisen, exertions to help the growth of the good dhamma which has not arisen and exertions to keep up the good dhamma which has arisen); the four bases of iddhi or miracle (making determination in respect of concentration on purpose, on will, on thoughts, and on investigation); the four indriyas or controlling faculties (saddhā or faith, viriya or energy, sati or recollection, samādhi or concentration, paññā or reason) ; the five powers (saddhā, viriya, sati, samādhi, and paññā they represent the intensification of the corresponding five indriyas) ; the seven constituents of supreme knowledge (satta bojjhaṅgā), the noble eightfold path (sammādiṭṭhi or right views, sammāsaṅkappo or right resolve, sammāvācā or right speech, sammākammato or right action, sammāājīva or right living, sammāvāyāmo or right exertion,

sammāsati or right recollection, sammā samādhi or right concentration) ; four fruits of the life of the recluse and nibbāna (final deliberation). This chapter also deals with the sixty-eight kinds of balas or potentialities.

III. *Paññāvagga* (*Paṭisambhidāmagga*, II, pp. 185-246): It deals with cariyā or conduct. There are eight cariyās : iriyāpatha (four postures walking, standing, sitting, lying down), āyatana [spheres of sense cakkhu (rūpa), sota (sadda), ghāna (gandha), jivhā (rasa), kāya (phoṭṭhabba), mano (dhammā)], sati application of mindfulness referring to body, sensation, mind, phenomena), samādhi (four stages of jhānas paṭhamo, dutiya, tatiya, catuttha), Nāna (the four Aryan truths), Magga (the four Aryan paths), Patticariya (the four fruits of the life of the recluse), and lokattha (for the promotion of the good of the world). It further deals with the application of mindfulness (referring to the body, the sensation, the mind, the phenomena) ; with the pāṭihāriya or miracle [usually in stock phrase iddhi or miracle], ādesanā (spiritual command), anusāsani (inspiring instructions), as the marvellous modes of Buddha's taming other people.

Mr. Arnold C. Taylor who has edited the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, Vols. I and II, for the Pāli Text Society, London, observes in his preface to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, Vol. II (p. vi), that "the traditional opening, 'Evaṃ me sutaṃ', occurs fairly frequently, and explains the formal inclusion of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* in the Sutta Piṭaka. In essence the book is wholly Abhidhammic, if one may use the word, and must be placed among the very latest of the canonical books. Not only is the treatment of the various subjects essentially scholastic in character, whole passages are taken verbatim from the Vinaya, and from the Dīgha, Aṅguttarā, and Saṃyutta collections of the Sutta Piṭaka, while a general acquaintance with the early Buddhist legends is assumed. In the Iddhikathā in this volume, for instance, the names of saints who possessed various kinds of iddhi are given without comment, as if their stories were well known." The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* belongs to the literature of the Abhidhamma type and it describes how analytical knowledge

can be acquired by an arahat (saint). There are Sinhalese and Burmese manuscripts of this text and a Siamese edition of the same is available, which very closely resembles the Burmese tradition. Mabel Hunt's *Index* (J.R.A.S., 1908) to the *Paṭisambhidā-magga* deserves mention.

Buddhavaṃsa

The Buddhavaṃsa is the fourteenth book and it contains in verse the history of the twenty-four Buddhas supposed to have preceded the historical Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, during the last twelve world-cycles (Kalpas). They are Dīpaṅkara,⁶⁷ Kondañña, Maṅgala,⁶⁷ Sumaṇa Revata, Sobhita, Anomadassī, Paduma, Nārada, Padumuttara, Sumedha, Sujāta, Piyadassī, Atthadassī, Dhammadassī, Siddhattha, Tissa, Phussa, Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konāgamana, and Kassapa. The last six Buddhas are mentioned in the Mahā-padhāna Sutta and the Āṭānāṭṭiya Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. Gotama was the twenty-fifth Buddha. A brief summary of the account of these Buddhas is given a few pages below. Metteyya will be the successor of Gautama and a legendary account of this future Buddha forms the subject-matter of a later poetical work called the Anāgatavaṃsa. The Rev. Richard Morris, who has edited the text in Roman character for the P.T.S., remarks in his edition, "The Buddhavaṃsa may be a mere poetical expansion of some short prose history of the Buddhas who appeared before Gotama's time". In the Buddhavaṃsa there is a chapter on the distribution of the Buddha's relics.

The Buddhavaṃsa was propounded by the supreme Buddha, the omniscient Tathāgata while he was perambulating in the Ratanacaṅkama at the great Nigrodha vihāra at Kapilavatthu. His object in so doing was to rescue twenty-two thousand kinsmen of his and innumerable koṭis of men and gods from the

⁶⁷ The Northern Buddhists have also Buddha histories. The *Mahāvastu* has a long list of Buddhas and it also gives accounts of them (*vide* my book *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, pt. I, chap. I).

four torrents of the passion or oghas. The occasion for its enunciation was an interesting one. The supreme Buddha during the first twenty years of his Buddhahood led the life of a pilgrim sojourning at such places as he found most convenient to dwell. The twentieth year was passed at Rājagriha, and from that period, he exclusively dwelt either at the Jetavana-mahāvihāra or at Pubbārāma, deriving his subsistence by alms. At that time, once, when the hemanta season had been over and vasanta arrived, Sathā (the divine teacher Śākya), who had by this time come to Rājagriha, thought that it was the time when the Tathāgata had promised to repair to Kapilavatthu. On an appeal being made, he set out from Rājagriha to Kapilavatthu attended by twenty thousand Arhats. On reaching there, he performed two miracles of two opposite results ; and it was upon this occasion that he propounded the Buddhavaṃsa. It had been perpetuated till the third convocation by the unbroken succession of the theras, and subsequently by their disciples up to the present day.

The Buddhavaṃsa has been intelligently divided into three portions or *nidānas*. The life-history of the Buddha "extending from the age in which the sacred assurance was vouchsafed to the Great Being at the foot of Dīpaṅkara Buddha, until by his death in the character of Vessantara he was reborn in the Tusita-devaloka, is called the *dure nidāna* or the history of remote antiquity. The history extending from the translation by death from Tusita to the attainment of omniscience at the foot of the Bodhi is called *Avi-dure-nidāna*." And lastly the history from the attainment of Buddhahood under the Bodhi tree to the Parinirvāṇa and whatever else that intervened between these two is included under the Santike Nidāna, i.e., contemporaneous history.

We shall now give a brief account of each of the twenty-five Buddhas already mentioned.

The first Buddha (Buddhavaṃsa, P.T.S., pp. 6-18) was Dīpaṅkara. In the time of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, Sumedha, who was destined to be a Buddha, was born in a rich brahmin family at the city of Amarāvātī. But seeing that 'birth is sorrow'

he distributed his wealth and retired to the Himavanta. Once the people of the Paccanta-desavisaya invited the Tathāgata to visit their country. They set on clearing the road. Sumedha also began to clear a part of the road. But before he finished his task, Dīpaṅkara with a good number of bhikkhus came to the place. Sumedha desired that the Buddha should not go through the mud. The Lord with his followers crossed the muddy place walking on the body of Sumedha. Dīpaṅkara impressed with this act of merit foretold that Sumedha would be a 'Buddha' in future.

Dīpaṅkara was born in a Khattiya family of the city of Rammavati. Sumedha and Sumedhā were his parents. Padumā was his wife and Usabhakkhanda his son. He left the world. He attained perfect enlightenment and preached the Norm for the good of all at the request of Brahmā.

The second Buddha (Buddhavaṃsa, pp. 19-21): was Koṇḍañña. He was born in the city of Rammavati. His father was Sunanda, a Khattiya, and mother Sujātā. His wife was Rucidevī and got a son who went by the name of Vijitasena.

The third Buddha (Ibid., pp. 21-23): was maṅgala who was born in the city of Uttara. His father was Uttara and mother Uttarā. Yasavati was his wife and Sivala his son.

The fourth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 23-25): was Sumana. He was born in the city of Mekhala. His father was Sudatta and mother Sirimā. His wife was Vaṭamsikā and son Anupama.

The fifth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 25-26): was Revata. He was born in the city of Sudhaññaka. His father was Vipula and mother Vipulā. His wife was Sudassanā and his son Varuṇa.

The sixth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 27-28): was Sobhita. He was born in the city of Sudhamma. His father was Sudhamma and mother Sudhammā. He enjoyed the worldly life for nine thousand years. His wife was Sumaṅgī and Siha was his son.

The eighth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 31-32): was Paduma. He was born in the city of Campaka. His father was Asama and mother Asamā. Uttarā was his wife and Ramma his son.

The ninth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 33-34): was Nārada. He was

born in the city of Dhaññavatī. Sudeva was his father and Anomā was his mother. Jitasena was his wife and Nanduttaro his son.

The tenth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 35-36) was Padumuttara. he was born in the city of Haṃsavatī. Ānanda was his father and Sujātā his mother. His wife was Vasudattī and his son was Uttara.

The eleventh Buddha (Ibid., pp. 37-38) was Sumedha. He was born in the city of Sudassana. His father was Sudatta and mother Sudattā. Sumanā was his wife and Sumitta his son.

The twelfth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 39-41) was Sujāta who was born in the city of Sumaṅgala. His father was Uggata and mother Pabhāvātī, Sirinandā was his wife and Upasena his son.

The thirteenth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 41-42) was Piyadassi. He was born in the city of Sudhañña. His father was Sudatta and mother Sucandā. His wife was Vimalā and Kañcanaveḷa his son.

The fourteenth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 43-44) was Atthadassi. He was born in the city of Sobhaṇa. Sāgara was his father and Suda-ssanā his mother. His wife was Visākhā and Sena was his son.

The fifteenth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 45-46) was Dhammadassī. He was born in the city of Saraṇa. His father was Saraṇa and mother Sunandā. Vicitolī was his wife and Puññavaḍḍhana his son.

The seventeenth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 48-50) was Tissa. He was born in the city of Khemaka. Janasandha was his father and Padumā his mother. Subhaddā was his wife and Ānanda his son.

The eighteenth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 50-51) was Phussa. He was born in the city of Kāsika. His father was Jayasena and Sirimā was his mother. His wife was Kisāgotamī and his son was Ānanda.

The nineteenth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 52-54) was Vipassi. He was born in the city of Bandhumatī. His father was Bandhuma and Bandhumatī was his mother. His wife was Sutanā and his son was Saṃvāṭṭakkhanda.

The twentieth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 54-55) was Sikhi. He was born in the city of Aruṇavatī. Aruṇa was his father and Pabhāvātī was his mother. Sabbakāmā was his wife and Atula his son.

The twenty-first Buddha (Ibid., pp. 56-57) was Vessabhu. He was born in the city of Anoma. Supatita was his father and Yasavatī his mother. Sucittā was his wife and Suppabuddha his son.

The twenty-second Buddha (Ibid., pp. 58-59) was Kakusandha. He was born in the city of Khemavatī. The brahmin Aggidatta was his father and Visākhā his mother. His wife was Virocamānā and his son was Uttara.

The twenty-third Buddha (Ibid., pp. 60-61) was Koṇāgamana. He was born in the city of Sobhavatī. The brahmin Yaññadatta was his father and Uttarā his mother. Rucigattā was his wife and Satthavāha his son.

The twenty-fourth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 62-64) was Kassapa. He was born in the city of Benares. The brahmin Brahmadata was his father and Dhanavatī his mother. His wife was Sunandā and Vijitasena was his son.

The twenty-fifth Buddha (Ibid., pp. 65-66) was Gotama Buddha. He was born in the city of Kapilavatthu. His father was the king Suddhodana and his mother was Māyā. Bhaddakaccā was his wife and Rāhula was his son.

Cariyāpiṭaka

The Cariyāpiṭaka is the fifteenth book. It is a post-Asokan work. It means a canonical collection of stories illustrating the modes in which the Bodhisattva practised the cariyā or conduct. It contains in verse a series of narratives relating to the thirty-four of the supposed previous births of the historical Buddha himself. The lofty means or ten perfections (*dasa pāramiyas*) whereby Gautama attained Buddhahood are mentioned in it. The stories told in the verses of the Cariyāpiṭaka are parallel to the Jātaka stories in prose. The Rev. Richard Morris who has edited the text for the P.T.S. says "These birth-stories presuppose a familiar acquaintance with all the incidents of the corresponding prose tales". The verses are written in *anuṭṭhava chanda*. The language is simple and the style is similar to that of the Dhammapada.⁶⁸ This work was repeated by Ānanda and rehearsed by 500 arahats who were members of the First Council. Dr. Morris who has edited

⁶⁸ For a detailed comparison of these verses with the Jātaka tales, see Introduction to my Devanāgrī edition of the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, published by Messrs. Motilal Benarsi Dass, Saidmitha Street, Lahore.

this work for the P.T.S. has traced all the stories found in this work to their sources excepting three, namely, Mahāgovinda, Dharmādhamma, and Candakumāra, the sources of which have been traced by me (see my Edition of the *Cariyāpiṭaka*).

The work shows how the Bodhisattva had attained the ten pāramitās or perfections in his previous births. The first two pāramitās, generosity and goodness, are illustrated by ten stories each, while fifteen stories refer to the other eight perfections, viz., renunciation, wisdom, energy, patience, truthfulness, resolution, kindness to all beings, and equanimity. The stories are put into the mouth of Gautama himself. The stories of Akatti, Saṅkha, Dhanañjaya, Sudassana, Govinda, Nimi, Candakumāra, Sivi, Vessantara, Sasapaṇḍita, Silava-nāga, Bhūridatta, Campeyya, Cūlabodhi, Mahimsa-rāja, Ruru-miga, Mātāṅga, Dharmādhammadvaputta, Jayaddisa, Saṅkhapāla, Yudhañjaya, Somanassa, Ayoghara, Bhisā, Soṇapaṇḍita, Temiya, Vānariṇḍa, Saccasahvaya, Vaṭṭapotaka, Maccharājā, Kaṇhadīpāyana, Sutasoma, Suvaṇṇasāma, Ekarāja, and Mahālomahaṃsa form the subject-matter of the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, a summary of which is given below.

Akatti (*Cariyāpiṭaka*, P.T.S., P. 73)

Akatti was meditating in a forest. As he was making a strong effort to acquire merits, Indra came to test him in the guise of a brahmin. Akatti thrice gave in charity the leaves which had been heaped up in front of his leaf-hut, to the brahmin for the attainment of bodhi (enlightenment) (cf. Akatti Jātaka, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 236-242).

Saṅkha (*Ibid.*, p. 74)

Saṅkha went to the sea-shore and on the way he saw a sayambhu (Buddha) treading the path which was very hot and the sands on the path were also heated by the rays of the sun. Saṅkha saluted him and gave him in charity a pair of wooden slippers and an umbrella for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Saṅkhapāla Jātaka, *Jātaka*, V, pp. 161-177).

Dhanañjaya (*Ibid.*, pp. 74-75)

Dhanañjaya was the king of Indapatta. Some brahmins came to him from Kalinga, at that time greatly troubled by drought and famine, for a royal elephant, the presence of which in a country brings copious rain. Dhanañjaya gave in charity the elephant to them for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Kurudhamma Jātaka, II, pp. 365-381).

Sudassana (*Ibid.*, p. 75)

Sudassana was the king of Kusāvati. He thrice declared that he would satisfy the desire of everybody, when communicated to him. Hungry and thirsty people as well as those in need of garlands, unguents, clothes, wooden slippers, etc., came to him and he fulfilled their desires. In many parts of his kingdom, arrangements were made to offer charities. The charities made by him with a view to the attainment of bodhi, were unparalleled (cf. Mahāsudassana Jātaka, *Jātaka*, I, pp. 391-393).

Govinda (*Ibid.*, p. 76)

Govinda was a chaplain of seven kings. His income from the seven kingdoms was given in charity by him for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Mahāgovinda Suttanta, *Digha*, II).

Nimi (*Ibid.*, p. 76)

Nimi was the king of Mithilā. He built four dānasālās (alms houses) in which charities, on a large scale in drink, food, seats, garments, etc., were made to beasts, birds, human beings, all for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Nimi Jātaka, *Jātaka*, VI, pp. 95-129).

Canda-Kumāra (*Ibid.*, p. 77)

Canda-Kumāra was the son of Ekarājā of Pupphavati. He offered charities whole-heartedly and he never ate anything without first giving it to a beggar (cf. Khandahāla Jātaka, VI, pp. 129-157).

Sivi (*Ibid.*, pp. 77-78)

Sivi was a king of Ariṭṭha. He thought that he would offer such charities as no man had ever offered. He was ready to offer his eyes in charity if any body would ask for them. In order to test him, Inda in the guise of an old blind brahmin, came to him and asked for one of his eyes which he gave with great pleasure. When asked for another of his eyes he gladly offered to him. Simply for the attainment of bodhi, he offered his two eyes in charity (cf. Sivi Jātaka, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 401-412).

Vessantara (*Ibid.*, pp. 78-81)

Vessantara was the son of Sañjaya and Phusatī, king and queen of Jetuttara. When he was eight years old, he thought that he would offer his eyes, ears, heart, flesh, blood, etc., to anybody, if he so desired. Once on a full-moon sabbath day he went to the alms house, riding an elephant named Paccaya to offer charity. This elephant was the royal elephant, the presence of which would turn bad days into good days, drought into rain, famine into good harvest. At this time there was an outbreak of famine at Kaliṅga and the king of Kaliṅga sent some brahmins to him to request him to give the elephant. Vessantara at once gave him the elephant. On account of this act of giving the elephant to them, the inhabitants of the kingdom of Sivi became very angry and banished him from the kingdom to the Vaṅkapabbata. Vessantara asked the people of the kingdom of Sivi to allow him to offer a charity before he left Jetuttara. Being allowed he caused drums to be beaten in every part of his kingdom to announce that he would offer a large charity. There was a talk among the people that king Vessantara was being driven out of his kingdom for his charity but that it was a wonder that he was again preparing for a large charity. He left the city after offering in charity elephants, horses, chariots, slaves, slave-girls, cows, and everything he possessed. He went to Vaṅkapabbata with his queen Maddī, son and daughter, Jālī and Kaṇhā. One day he offered his son and daughter to a cruel brahmin named

Yojaka in the absence of Maddī. In order to protect Maddī, a faithful woman, Inda came to him in the guise of a brahmin and asked for Maddī. Vessantara gave Maddī, his queen, to the brahmin. For the attainment of bodhi, Vessantara gave in charity his wife, son, and daughter. Vessantara's father came to the Vaṅkapabbata and took him to his kingdom. On his arrival, the kingdom became prosperous (cf. Vessantara Jātaka, *Jātaka*, VI, pp. 479-593).

Sasapandita (*Ibid.*, pp. 82-83)

Once the Bodhisatta Siddhārtha was born as a hare. He used to live in a forest with three friends. His duty was to instruct his friends to offer charity, to observe precepts, and to do other meritorious deeds. On a sabbath day his friends collected something to offer but he had nothing to give in charity. To test him Inda in the guise of a brahmin first came to him and asked for something to eat. He told the brahmin that he would offer something not offered by anybody else before and he requested the brahmin to kindle a fire. The hare shook his body in order to let go other creatures existing on his body and then he jumped into the fire in order to have his body cooked so that the brahmin might take the cooked flesh. By the force of his virtue, the fire became cold as ice (cf. Sasa Jātaka, *Jātaka*, III, pp. 51-56).

Śilava-nāga (*Ibid.*, p. 84)

Śilava-nāga was devoted to his mother and he used to live in a forest looking after his old mother. A king was informed by the frequenters of the forest that an elephant was available in the forest which was worthy of being king's maṅgalaḥaṭṭhī. The king sent a skilful elephant-driver who saw the elephant in the forest picking up lotus-reed for his mother. When the elephant was caught, it did not show any sign of anger nor any grief for its mother. For the fulfilment of śilapāramī, the elephant behaved very gently when caught (cf. Śilava-nāga Jātaka, *Jātaka*, I, pp. 319-322).

Bhūridatta (*Ibid.*, p. 85)

Once Bodhisatta was born as a snake-king named Bhūridatta who was taken to the devaloka by king Virupakkha. Seeing the beauty and wealth of the devaloka, Bhūridatta made up his mind to acquire virtues which would enable him to attain heaven. He spent his days taking little food and observing precepts. He lay down on an ant-hill observing precepts. A certain person took him to various places, made him dance and gave him lots of trouble which he patiently bore for the observance of precepts (cf. Bhūridatta Jātaka, *Jātaka*, VI, pp. 157-219).

Campeyya (*Ibid.*, pp. 85-86)

Bodhisatta was born as a snake-king named Campeyya. On an uposatha day when he was observing the precepts a snake-charmer caught him and took him to the palace where he was made to dance. He was endowed with such a miraculous power that he could perform many miracles, but for the fulfilment of sīlapāramī he patiently did what he was forced to do (cf. Campeyya Jātaka, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 454-468).

Cūlabodhi (*Ibid.*, p. 86)

Once the Bodhisatta was born as Cūlabodhi. Finding fear in the world and delight in renunciation, he left his beautiful wife and led the life of a hermit. At Benares he was living in the king's garden not being attached to anything. His wife followed him into the garden and engaged herself in meditation there, a little away from him. The king asked him about his beautiful wife, but he was informed by Cūlabodhi that she was not his wife but she was following the same dhamma and same sāsana. The king forcibly took away the woman but Cūlabodhi patiently calmed his anger for the attainment of sīlapāramī (cf. Cūlabodhi Jātaka, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 22-27)

Mahimsa-rāja (*Ibid.*, p. 87)

Bodhisatta was born as a king of the buffaloes living in a forest. He was horrible to look at, stout and strong and bulky.

He used to lie down everywhere according to his will. In a nice place in the forest, he used to live. A monkey came there and troubled him much. A yakkha advised him to kill the monkey but he did not pay attention to his word, because the observance of the precepts might be disturbed (cf. Mahisa Jātaka, *Jātaka*, II, pp. 385-387).

Ruru-miga (*Ibid.*, pp. 87-88)

In a beautiful place near the banks of the Ganges there was a deer named Ruru. Farther up a person being oppressed by his master jumped from the spot, not caring for his life. The person being carried by the current came to the deer who took him to his abode. The deer asked him not to disclose the spot where he was living. He promised not to do so, but he left the place and soon came back with the king for profit. The deer said everything to the king who was going to kill the person for his treacherous conduct. The deer came to the rescue of the person with the result that the deer was killed with the arrow thrown by the king (cf. Ruru Jātaka, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 255-263).

Mātaṅga (*Ibid.*, pp. 88-89)

A Jaṭiḷa named Mātaṅga was a very pious hermit. He used to live on the banks of the Ganges with a brahmin. The brahmin out of jealousy cursed the Jaṭiḷa that his head would be broken. The hermit was very pious and faultless. The curse was therefore effective in the case of the brahmin and the hermit sacrificed his own life and saved the brahmin (cf. Mātaṅga Jātaka, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 375-390).

Dhammādhamma devaputta (*Ibid.*, p. 89)

A yakkha named Dhamma was endowed with miraculous powers and compassionate to all. He was always engaged in performing ten virtuous deeds and instructing others to do so. He used to travel from place to place with his retinue. Another yakkha named Adhamma used to travel from place to place in-

structing people to commit ten kinds of sins. One day both of them met each other on the way and quarrelled. Dhamma for the fulfilment of silapāramī did not quarrel with him and allowed him to pass (cf. Dhamma Jātaka, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 100-104).

Jayaddisa (*Ibid.*, p. 90)

In the kingdom of Pañcāla, in the city of Kappila there was a king named Jayaddisa. His son was Sutadhamma who was pious and virtuous and he was always protecting his own retinue. King Jayaddisa went out to hunt and was caught by a demon who was asked by the king to save his life for the time being by taking the deer. The king said he would again come to him after making necessary arrangements in his kingdom. Sutadhamma went to the demon not being armed. Sutadhamma asked the demon to kindle a fire into which he would jump to have his body cooked for his food. For the fulfilment of sīla he gave up his life (cf. Jayaddisa Jātaka, *Jātaka*, V, pp. 21-36).

Saṅkhapāla (*Ibid.*, p. 91)

Saṅkhapāla was a snake-king, endowed with miraculous powers and very poisonous. He sat at the junction of the four streets to offer himself in charity to any beggar. The sons of the Bhojas who were very rough, harsh, and cruel, drew him with a rope pushed through his nose. For the observance of precepts he did not cherish anger (cf. Saṅkhapāla Jātaka, *Jātaka*, V, pp. 161-177).

Yudhañjaya (*Ibid.*, p. 92)

When the Bodhisatta-Siddhārtha was a prince named Yudhañjaya in the kingdom of Kuru, he became disgusted with the worldly life on seeing dew drops becoming dried up by the rays of the sun. He left the world after saluting his parents. For the attainment of bodhi he did not care for the kingdom nor listen to the prayers of the king and his subjects (cf. Yuvañjaya Jātaka, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 119-123).

Somanassa (*Ibid.*, pp. 92-93)

In the city of Indapatta, the Bodhisatta was born as a prince named Somanassa. The king of Indapatta had a hermit named Kuhakatāpasa. The king used to love and respect Kuhaka and built a beautiful garden for him. Somanassa said to Kuhaka thus, "You are worthless, you have not the qualities of an honest man in you and you have fallen off from the state of a samaṇa. You have abandoned all good qualities, such as shame, etc." Kuhaka became angry with him and induced the king to drive him from the kingdom. Some cruel persons caught him and took him away from his mother. They presented him before the king. He then succeeded in appeasing the wrath of the king who offered him the kingdom. He left the world for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Somanassa Jātaka, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 444-454).

Ayoghara (*Ibid.*, p. 94)

The Bodhisatta was born as the son of Kāsīrāja. He was brought up in an iron house and hence he was called Ayoghara. He had to earn his bread with great difficulty. He was offered the kingdom, but he did not accept it and renounced the world for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Ayoghara Jātaka, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 491-499).

Bhisa (*Ibid.*, pp. 94-95)

Bodhisatta was born in a Kṣatriya family consisting of seven brothers and sisters. Parents, brothers, sisters, and companions asked him to marry and lead a household life, but he renounced the world for the attainment of bodhi (cf. Bhisa Jātaka, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 304-314).

Soṇapaṇḍita (*Ibid.*, p. 95)

In the city of Brahmavaḍḍhana, Bodhisatta was born in a very rich family. Parents and relatives asked him to enjoy worldly pleasures, but he did not hear them and renounced the worldly life for bodhi (cf. Sona-Nanda Jātaka, *Jātaka*, V, pp. 312-332).

Temiya (*Ibid.*, pp. 96-97)

The Bodhisatta, in order to attain bodhi (enlightenment) had to fulfil the ten pāramitās or perfections for which he had to undergo several births to fulfil each pāramitā. He fulfilled the adhiṭṭhāna pāramitā by steadfastly adhering to his endeavour to become a Buddha like a mountain unmoved by storm coming from all directions. He was born as the son of the king of Kāsī. He was brought up in a way that befits a prince. But he was not destined to indulge in the vile pleasures of a worldly life, which lead one to niraya or hell. In order to carry out what he desired he became deaf, dumb, and motionless through the help of the guardian deity. Thus he was not fit to do any sort of work. The commander, the chaplain, and the countryfolk unanimously agreed to leave him. The charioteer took him out of the city and dug a pit in order to bury him alive. But the Bodhisatta did not give up his steadfast resolve [cf. *Temiya Jātaka* (*Mūgapakkha Jātaka*), Vol. VI, pp. 1-30].

Vānarinda (*Ibid.*, p. 97)

Bodhisatta was born as a monkey-king living in a cave on the banks of a river where a crocodile, who was waiting to catch hold of him, invited him to come to him. Vānarinda said, "You open your mouth, I am coming". Then the monkey-king jumped over his head and fell on the other side of the river. This he did for the sake of truth (cf. *Kapi Jātaka*, *Jātaka*, II pp. 268-270).

Saccasahvaya (*Ibid.*, p. 97)

When the Bodhisatta was born as a hermit named Saccasahvaya, he asked the people to speak the truth. He effected the unity of the people by means of truth (cf. *Saccamkīra Jātaka*, I, pp. 322-327).

Vattapotaka (*Ibid.*, p. 98)

Bodhisatta was born as a young quail, his parents left him in the nest and went away for food. At this time there was a forest

fire. He could not fly as his wings were undeveloped. He asked the fire to extinguish itself as his parents were not in the nest and he also was unable to move. He acquired much merit in the previous births and hence the fire became extinguished due to the influence of this truth (cf. *Vaṭṭaka Jātaka*, I, pp. 212-215).

Maccharājā (*Ibid.*, p. 99)

Bodhisatta was born as a fish-king in a big pond. Crows, vultures, cranes, and other bipeds were always troubling his relatives. So he thought of saving his relatives, but finding no means, he made up his mind to save them by truth. He said that as far as he could remember, he never willingly killed any being. By this truth he prayed for rain. Soon there was a heavy rain and lands, high and low, were over-flooded, fishes went away hither and fither and the nests of birds were destroyed (cf. *Iaccha Jātaka*, *Jātaka*, I, pp. 210-212).

Kaṇhadīpāyana (*Ibid.*, pp. 99-100)

Bodhisatta was born as a sage named Kaṇhadīpāyana. He used to live unknown and free from attachment. A fellow brahmacārī named Maṇḍavya came to his hermitage with his wife and son. The son irritated a snake which bit him. His parents became overwhelmed with grief. Kaṇhadīpāyana did not do any harm to the angry snake. He saved the son and his parents were relieved (cf. *Kaṇhadīpāyana Jātaka*, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 27-37).

Sutasoma (*Ibid.*, pp. 100-101)

Bodhisatta was born as a king named Sutasoma who was attacked by a demon. The demon told the king that if he could free him, then one hundred Kṣatriyas who were seized and brought for the sacrifice would be sent to him. The king then abandoned his wealth and returned to the demon. For the sake of truth the king spared his life cf. *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*, *Jātaka*, V, pp. 456-511).

Suvaṇṇasāma (*Ibid.*, p. 101)

When the Bodhisatta was living in a forest as one named Sāma and used to practise meditation on mettā, Indra sent to him a lion and a tiger to test him. He was not frightened by the ferocious animals which surrounded him while he was practising meditation on mettā (friendliness) nor did he betray any fear before others (cf. Sāma Jātaka, *Jātaka*, VI, pp. 68-95).

Ekarājā (*Ibid.*, pp. 101-102)

Bodhisatta was born as a famous king named Ekarājā. He used to observe precepts and instructed his subjects to do so. He used to perform ten good deeds and caused his subjects to do so. He supported a great multitude by offering four requisites. A king named Dabbasena attacked his capital and looted his kingdom. Ekarājā always desired mettā of the enemy, although the enemy in his presence cut off his ministers, subjects, and seized his wife and son (cf. Ekarāja Jātaka, *Jātaka*, III, pp. 13-15).

Mahālomahaṃsa (*Ibid.*, p. 102)

Bodhisatta was born as Mahālomahaṃsa. In the cemetery, he used to lie down on a bed made of the bones of the dead ; villagers showed him various beautiful sights ; some came to him with various kinds of food and garlands. He was indifferent to those who troubled him and to those who pleased him. He retained the balance of mind in prosperity or in adversity (cf. Lomahaṃsa Jātaka, *Jātaka*, I, pp. 389-391).

Dr. B.M. Barua's edition of the Cariyāpiṭaka is in the Press. He has made an attempt to reconstruct this text with the help of some quotations in the Atthasālinī, the Jātaka commentary, and the commentary on the Cariyāpiṭaka by Dhammapāla. His edition shows that there were other stories to illustrate the three pāramitās, e.g., viriya, pañña, and adhiṭṭhāna.

Apadāna

The Apadāna is the sixteenth and last book. It is an anthology of legends in verse, which describes great deeds of Buddhist Arahats. It contains biographies of 550 male members and 40 female members of the Buddhist Order in the time of the Buddha. This book has been published in Roman character in two volumes by M. E. Lilley for the P.T.S. In the P.T.S. edition we find that there are Buddhāpadāna and Paccekabuddhāpadāna. Then we have the Therāpadāna which contains biographies of 547 theras, e.g., Sāriputta, Mahā-Moggallāna, Mahākassapa, Anuruddha, Puṇṇa-Mantāniputta, Upāli Aññakondañña, Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja, Khadiravaniya Revata, Ānanda, Nanda, Pilindavaccha, Rāhula, Raṭṭhapāla,⁶⁹ Sumaṅgala, Subhūti, Uttiya, Mahā-Kaccāna, Kāludāyī, Cunda, Sela, Bakkula, and others. The Therī-Apadāna contains biographies of 40 therīs, e.g., Gotamī, Khemā, Paṭācārā, Bhaddā-Kuṇḍalakesā, Dhammadinnā, Yasodharā, Bhaddā-Kāpilānī, Abhirūpanandā, Ambapālī, Selā, and others.

⁶⁹ Read *The Legend of Raṭṭhapāla in the Pāli Apadāna and Buddhaghosa's commentary* by Mabel Bode. Buddhaghosa in his Papañcasūdanī and Dhammapāla in his ṭīkā enlarged the legend of Raṭṭhapāla in their most instructive vein. The Apadāna commentary while glossing carefully the phrases of eulogy of the Buddha, does not after all dwell much on Raṭṭhapāla's earlier existences as deva and king. Those features of the legend come out with more distinctness and colour in the Manorathapūraṇī where Buddhaghosa takes as his starting point the mere mention of his hero's name in a list of theras. But still the Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā, possibly written last of the three, adds something even to the elaborate detail of the Papañcasūdanī and the charming fable of the Manorathapūraṇī. The legend that can be touched and retouched and adorned); the portrait that can be painted in different attitudes are dear to artificers like Buddhaghosa. Under his hand the personages who begin as traditional types often end as human beings, with a physiognomy that we remember. But naturally it is rather as the collector of legends than as the romancer that the old commentator can claim our gratitude. In his numerous commentaries (where no opportunity to tell a story is lost) there is material for comparison with the Sanskrit and Chinese. The entirely Buddhistic and pious anupubbakathā of Raṭṭhapāla gives, it is true, little opportunity for such a comparison as is

The word Apadāna means 'pure action', or 'heroic deed', and each of the Apadānas gives us first the life of its hero or heroine in one or more previous births. An "Apadāna" has both a story of the past and a story of the present, but it differs from a Jātaka in that the latter refers always to the past life of a Buddha, whereas an Apadāna deals usually, not always, with that of an arahat.

The Apadāna stories lay much stress on formal aspects of religion, e.g., puṇḍā, vandanā, dāna, etc. They exemplify by the lives of theras and therīs how the heavenly rewards so obtained continue until arahatship is attained. They show the importance of worship of shrines, relics, and topes, and they also emphasise the charitable and humanitarian aspects of the faith.

Many extracts from the 40 biographies of bhikkhunīs are given in Eduard Muller's edition of the commentary on the Therīgāthā (P.T.S., 1893). One of the Apadānas⁷⁰ seems to allude to the Kathāvatthu, as an Abhidhamma compilation (*Apadāna*, P.T.S., Pt. I, p. 37). "If this be so," Professor Rhys Davids⁷¹ argues, "the Apadāna must be one of the very latest books in the canon. Other considerations point to a similar conclusion, Thus the number of Buddhas previous to the historical Buddha is given in the Dīgha Nikāya as six ; in later books, such as the Buddhavaṃsa, it has increased to twenty-four. But the

admirably worked out in M. Felix Lacote's study of that (conte profane), the legend of the king Udayana (or Udena), one of Buddhaghosa's personages, who also appears in the vivid narrative of Guṇāḍhya. But the most conventional figures have their interest as landmarks, when we are seeking the ancient and common source whence Buddhaghosa and writers of other schools, of widely differing doctrine, drew their edifying legends. Only as an earnest of further research in this direction these few notes are offered to the master who has inspired and guided us to do our part in exploring a province of Buddhist literature where the borders between (North) and (South) sometimes disappear (Mabel Bode *The Legend of Raṭṭhapāla in the Pāli Apadāna and Buddhaghosa's Commentary*).

⁷⁰ "Abhidhammanayaññoḥaṃ Kathāvatthu visuddhiyā sabbesam viññāpetvāna viharāmi anāsavo."

⁷¹ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 603.

Apadāna (see Eduard Muller's article, *Les Apadānas du sud* in the Proceedings of the Oriental Congress at Geneva, 1894, p. 167) mentions eleven more, bringing the number up to thirty-five. It is very probable that the different legends contained in this collection are of different dates; but the above facts tend to show that they were brought together as we now have them after the date of the composition of most of the other books in the canon."

Section III. The Abhidhamma Piṭaka

The third main division of the Tripiṭaka or Tipiṭaka is the Abhidhamma Piṭaka¹ or 'Basket of higher expositions' ; or as Childers puts it 'Basket of Transcendental Doctrine'. It treats of the same subject as the Sutta Piṭaka and differs from that collection only in being more scholastic. It is composed chiefly in the form of questions and answers like a catechism. The starting point of this collection appears to have been the Sutta Piṭaka. The Abhidhamma treatises follow a progressive scheme of treatment, the mātikās or uddesas are followed by the niddesas. The ideas are classified in outline. They are overloaded with synonyms. In some places, it is difficult to find out the real meaning. Originality appears to be wanting everywhere. The Abhidhamma is a supplement to Dhamma or sutta and not a systematic presentation of philosophy. The Abhidhamma Piṭaka comprises seven works:

1. Dhammasaṅgaṇi, 2. Vibhaṅga, 3. Kathāvattu, 4. Puggalapaññatti, 5. Dhātukathā, 6. Yamaka, and 7. Paṭṭhāna.

These seven books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka are commonly known as Sattapakaraṇa or seven treatises. We hold with Mrs. Rhys Davids that the very form of a group of works like the Abhidhamma shows that centres of education and training had

¹ There is a book called *Abhidhamma mātikā* which is a summary of the whole of Abhidhamma or the metaphysics of Buddhism (cf. *Abhidhammamūlāṭīkā* which is a commentary on the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* written by Ānanda Mahāthera of Anurādhapura. This is the oldest ṭīkā on the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*). Read a valuable paper by C.A.F. Rhys Davids on *The Abhidhamma Piṭaka and Commentaries*, J.R.A.S., 1923.

been established, drawing to themselves some at least of the culture of the day. Such logical development and acumen as were possessed by the sophists and causists, mentioned in the Brahmajāla Sutta and the Udāna, would now find scope in the growing Theravāda teaching and literature.

Dhammasaṅgaṇi: The Dhammasaṅgaṇi is one of the most important books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. It is known as Sangīti-pariyāya-pada to the Sarvāstivāda school. The text has been edited by Eduard Müller, Ph.D., for the Pāli Text Society, London, from a Burmese manuscript in the India Office and a Sinhalese manuscript from the Vanavāsa vihāra in Bentaṭa in Ceylon. It means something like "enumeration of conditions" or more literally "coenumeration of dhamma". It may mean "enumeration of phenomena". It really means exposition of dhamma. "Kāmāvacara rūpāvacarādīdhamme saṅgaṇya saṅkhipitvā vā gaṇayati saṅkhyāti etthāti dhammasaṅgaṇi." The Dhammasaṅgaṇi is so called because therein the author after compilation and condensation enumerates and sums up the conditions of the Kāmaloka, the Rūpaloka, and so on as what Childers puts it (*Pāli Dictionary*, p. 447). "It is, in the first place", says Mrs. Rhys Davids, "a manual or text-book, and not a treatise or disquisition, elaborated and rendered attractive and edifying after the manner of most of the Sutta Piṭaka. And then, that its subject is ethics, but that the inquiry is conducted from a psychological standpoint, and indeed, is in great part an analysis of the psychological and psycho-physical data of ethics" (*Psychological Ethics*, p. xxxii). King Vijayabāhu I (A.D. 1065-1120) of Ceylon made a translation of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi from Pāli into Sinhalese (see Mrs. Rhys Davids *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, Introductory Essay, p. xxv). The first English rendering of this work owes its origin to the erudite pen of Mrs. Rhys Davids and is entitled *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics* the introductory essay herein gives a bright idea of the history, date, contents, etc., of the text very lucidly and exhaustively. The Dhammasaṅgaṇi aims at enumerating and defining a manner of scattered terms or categories of terms, occurring in the nikāyas

of the Sutta Piṭaka. That the technical terms used in the nikāyas are used in it, leads one to place the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, in point of time, after the nikāyas. The Kathāvatthu which is the fifth book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka is said to have been composed by Tissa Moggaliputta in the middle of the third century B.C. According to Mrs. Rhys Davids, Dhammasaṅgaṇi deals with the same topics as in the nikāyas differing only in method of treatment. The Kathāvatthu raises new questions belonging to a later stage in the development of the faith. The Dhammasaṅgaṇi is, therefore, younger than the nikāyas and older than the Kathāvatthu. If we date it half-way between the two, that is, during the first third of the fourth century B.C., we shall be on the safe side. But Mrs. Rhys David thinks that the Dhammasaṅgaṇi should be dated rather at the middle than at the end of the fourth century or even earlier.

The Dhammasaṅgaṇi opens with an introductory chapter which serves the purpose of a table of contents and which falls into two subdivisions: (1) the sections referring to Abhidhamma and (2) those referring to Suttanta. The total number of these sections amounts to about 1,599 and treats of various points of psychological interest. This book is divided into three main divisions. The first part deals with the subject of consciousness in its good, bad, and indeterminate states or conditions. The main eight types of thought relating to sensuous universe (*Kāmāvacara mahācittaṃ*) are the first things considered here. The Dhammasaṅgaṇi lays down that whenever a good thought relating to sensuous universe arises, it is accompanied by pleasure, taste, touch and is then followed by contact (*phassa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), volition (*cetanā*), thought (*cittaṃ*) and in this way come other things which include also the right views (*sammādiṭṭhi*) and other methods of the noble path, the various *balas* (or sources of strength), e.g., *saddhā* (faith), *virīya* (energy), etc. Then follows an exposition of *phassa* (contact), *vedanā* (feeling), and so on. In the explanation and exposition a strict commentarial method has been adopted giving out fully the significance of each term.

The Dhammasaṅgaṇi contains the simple enumeration and the occasion for the rise of sampajaññaṃ (intelligence), samatho (quiet), paggāho (grasp), and avikkhepo (balance). It points out that the constituents of the first type of thought deal with the four Khandhas (aggregates), the two āyatanas (abodes), two dhātus (elements), the three āhāras (nutriments), the eight indriyas (senses), the five-fold jhānas (as distinguished from the four jhānas), the five-fold path, the seven balas (as distinguished from one as we find in the Nettīpakaraṇa), tayo hetu (three causes), eko phassa (one contact), one vedanā (sensation), one saññā (consciousness), eka cetanā (thinking), ekam cittaṃ (one thought), the manāyatana (sphere of ideation), the manoviññā-nadhātu (element of intellection). The four khandhas are separately dealt with. In the enumeration of the Saṅkhārakhandho about 50 states beginning with phasso (contact) and ending with avikkhepo (balance) have been mentioned. The enumeration and arrangement of this list differ from those given in the first chapter of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi dealing with the Kusaladhammā.

The two āyatanas are the manāyatana and dhammāyatana, the sphere of mind and that of mental states.

There are two dhātus or elements, Manoviññādhātu (intellection) and Dhammadhātu (condition). The Dhammadhātu includes the vedanā-khandha (aggregate of sensation), saññā-khandha (aggregate of consciousness), and saṅkhāra-khandha (aggregate of confections).

The three āhāras (nutriments) are contact, volition, and consciousness. Then come the Pañcaṅgikadhamma, the fivefold jhāna which includes the vitakka and vicāra (initial and sustained application), joy, happiness, and concentration of mind.

The Dhammasaṅgaṇi then deals with the fivefold path, namely, the right views, the right intention, right exertion, right intellection, and right concentration.

Then the seven potentialities are discussed, namely, faith, energy, recollection, concentration, insight, consciousness, and the fear of blame.

Then the three hetus or moral roots are discussed : they

are absence of avarice, hatred, and delusion. Then contact, sensation, and perception are treated of.

Then come the other topics, e.g., vedanā-khandha, saññā-khandha, saṅkhāra-khandha, and viññāna-khandha, all these include the Dhamma and the Khandha.

The Indriyas (senses) are the following: saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), sati (recollection), samādhi (meditation), paññā (wisdom), manindriya (mind), somanassindriya (delight), and jvitindriya (vigour).

The saṅkhāra-khandha includes phassa (contact), cetanā (thinking), vitakka and vicāra (initial and sustained application), ekaggatā (concentration), saddhā (faith), energy, recollection, vigour, right determination, exertion, meditation, potency of faith, energy, concentration, fear of blame and sin, absence of avarice, of hatred, of covetousness, of malice, calmness of mind and body, etc. In the Dhammasaṅgaṇi there are chapters which analyse everything into groups or pairs. The method adopted here is merely by questioning and answering the main points.

The Dhammasaṅgaṇi also discusses the four modes of progress and four objects of thought. It also deals with objects of meditation (aṭṭhakasiṇaṃ). Then it discusses about forms as infinite and as beautiful and ugly.

The four jhānas or the sublime abodes may be developed in sixteen ways. Then come the sphere of infinite intellect, the sphere of nothingness and the sphere where there is neither perception nor non-perception. Then come the topics of the kāmāvacarakusalāṃ, rūpāvacarakusalāṃ, and lokuttara cittaṃ. Then come the twelve akusala cittaṃ, manadhātu having kusala-vipāka (mind as a result of meritorious work), manoviññāna dhātu (consciousness associated with joy as a result of meritorious deed), consciousness associated with upekkhā (indifference).

Then come Aṭṭhamahāvīpāka, rūpāvacara-arūpāvacara vipāka, suddhika-paṭipadā (path leading to purity), suddhika saññatāṃ (four modes of progress taken in connection with the notion of emptiness).

Then come the nineteen conceptions, and the modes of progress taken in connection with the dominant influence of desire. Then are discussed the following topics:

1. The Paṭhamamaggo vipāka: the result of the first path.
2. The Lokuttara vipāka: the result of Lokuttara citta.
3. Akusala vipāka avyākata: the result of demerit not falling under the category of kusala and akusala.

Kāmāvacara-kiriyā is the action in the sensuous world, rūpavacara-kiriyā, action in the world of form, and arūpāvacara-kiriyā, action in the world of formlessness.

After the conclusion of the subjects of kusala and akusala, the avyākata (which is neither kusala nor akusala) is treated in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi.

Next follows the portion dealing with the form which is created through some cause, the collection of forms in two, in groups of three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, and eleven. In this way the forms are divided.

Then come the three kusala hetus, the three akusala hetus, and the three avyākata hetus.

Then follow the mental impurities, avarice, hatred, pride, false belief, doubt, dullness, restlessness, shamelessness, and disregard of blame and sin.

The latter portion of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi is a summary of what has been told in the previous portion. The book is full of repetitions and is a crude attempt at explaining certain terms of Buddhist psychology by supplying synonyms for them, but not the detailed explanations. It is free from metaphor or simile.

The topics set forth in the table of contents have been treated in the body of the book. There are in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi passages which can be traced in the Puggalapaññatti, Sāmaññaphala Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, and in the Milinda Pañha. A detailed explanation of the important topics treated of in this book is given in the Visuddhimagga.

Method of exposition in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi

In dealing with the Buddhist method of exposition in the Abhidhamma treatises, we should bear in mind the fact that the method of exposition is the same in all the Abhidhamma books. For the sake of our convenience let us take up the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, the first book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Mrs. Rhys Davids in her *Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics* (pp. xxxii-xxxvii), a translation of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi or Compendium of states or phenomena, has dealt exhaustively with the method of exposition followed in the above book.

The Dhammasaṅgaṇi is, in the first place, a manual or text-book, and not a treatise or disquisition elaborated and rendered attractive and edifying after the manner of most of the Sutta Piṭaka. That the Buddhist Philosophy is ethical first and last, is beyond dispute. So it is with the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. Its subject is ethics. But the inquiry is conducted from a psychological standpoint and, indeed, is in great part an analysis of the psychological and psychophysical data of ethics.

The work was not compiled solely for academic use. Buddhaghosa maintains that, together with the rest of the Abhidhamma, it was the *ipsissima verba* of the Buddha not attempting to upset the mythical tradition that it was the special mode he adopted in teaching the doctrine to the "hosts of devas come from all parts of the sixteen world-systems, he having placed his mother (reincarnate as a devī) at their head because of the glory of her wisdom". Whether this myth had grown up to account for the formal, unpicturesque style of the Abhidhamma, on the ground that the devas were above the need of illustration and rhetoric of an earthly kind, we cannot say. The commentary frequently refers to the peculiar difference in style from that employed in the suttanta as consisting in the Abhidhamma being *nippariyāyadesanā* teaching which is not accompanied by explanation or disquisition. The definition of the term Abhidhamma in it shows that this piṭaka, and *a fortiori* the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, was considered as a subject of study more advanced than the other piṭakas, and intended to serve as the comple-

ment and crown of the learners' earlier courses. Acquaintance with the doctrine is taken for granted. The object is not so much to extend knowledge as to ensure mutual consistency in the intension of ethical notions, and to systematise and formulate the theories and practical mechanism of intellectual and moral progress scattered throughout the suttas.

It is interesting to note the methods adopted to carry out this object. The work was in the first instance inculcated by way of oral teaching respecting a quantity of matter which had been already learnt in the same way. And the memory had to be assisted by other devices. First of these is the catechetical method. Questions, according to Buddhist analysis, are put on five grounds:

To throw light on what is known

To discuss what is known;

To clear up doubts;

To get assent (i.e., the premises in an argument granted);

To (give a starting-point from which to) set out the content of the statement.

The last is selected as the special motive of the catechising here resorted to. It is literally the wish to discuss or expound, but the meaning is more clearly brought out by the familiar formula quoted, viz., "Four in number, brethren, are these stations in mindfulness. Now which are the four?" Thus the questions in the Manual are analytic or explicative.

And the memory was yet further assisted by the symmetrical form of both question and answer, as well as by the generic uniformity in the matter of the questions. Throughout the first book, in the case of each enquiry which opens up a new subject, the answer is set out in a definite plan called *uddesa*, or "argument", and is rounded off invariably by the *appanā*, or emphatic summing up. The *uddesa* is succeeded by the *niddesa* or exposition, i.e., analytical question and answer on the details of the opening argument. Again, the work is in great part planned with careful regard to logical relation. There is scarcely an answer in any of these *niddesas* but may perhaps be judged to suffer in

precision and lucidity. They substitute for definition proper the method of the dictionary. In this way precision of meaning is not to be expected, since nearly all the so-called synonyms do but mutually overlap in meaning without coinciding. Mrs. Rhys Davids, in her *Buddhist Psychology* (pp. 139-140), says that the definitions consist very largely of enumerations of synonymous or partly synonymous terms of, as it were, overlapping circles. But they reveal to us much useful information concerning the term described, the terms describing, and the terms which we may have expected to find, but find not. And they show the Sokratic earnestness with which these early Schoolmen strove to clarify their concepts, so as to guard their doctrines from the heretical innovations, to which ambiguity in terms would yield cheap foothold.

Number plays a great part in Buddhist classes and categories. But of all numbers none plays so great a part in aiding methodological coherency and logical consistency as that of duality (positive and negative).

Throughout most of the second book the learner is greatly aided by being questioned on positive terms and their opposites, taken simply and also in combination with other similarly dichotomized pairs. Room is also left in the "Universe of discourse" for a third class, which in its turn comes into question. Thus the whole of the first book is a development of triplet questions with which the third book begins.

Finally, there is, in the way of mnemonic and intellectual aid, the simplifying and unifying effect attained by causing all the questions (exclusive of sub-inquiries) to refer to one category of dhammā.

There is, it is true, a whole book of questions referring to rūpaṃ, but this constitutes a very much elaborated sub-inquiry on material "form" as one sub-species of a species of dhammā-rūpino-dhammā, as distinguished from all the rest, which are arūpinodhammā.

Thus the whole Manual is shown to be a compendium or more literally, a co-enumeration of dhammā.

Vibhaṅga: The *Vibhaṅga* or the *Dharmaskandha* of the Sarvāstivāda school is the second book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. Mrs. Rhys Davids has edited this volume for the P.T.S., London. There are Sinhalese, Siamese, and Burmese editions of this text.

The *Vibhaṅga* (exposition) generally deals with the different categories and formula treated of in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. It has many of the repetitions of the chapters of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, but the method followed in the *Vibhaṅga* and the matter contained in it are found to be almost different from those of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. It contains some terms and definitions not found in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. The book is divided into eighteen chapters called *Vibhaṅga*. Each of these chapters has three portions, viz. : (1) *Suttantabhājanīya*, (2) *Abhidhammabhājanīya*, and (3) *Paññāpucchaka* or catechism. The *Vibhaṅga* opens with *Khandhavibhaṅga* or the chapter on aggregates. In the *Suttantabhājanīya* portion, each of the ingredients, *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saññā*, and *saṅkhāra*, is treated of and has been examined with reference to its time, space, and matter. In the *Abhidhammabhājanīya* portion, each of the five ingredients has been separately dealt with. There are four ways in which *rūpa* arises ; there is no *hetu* or primal cause for the *rūpa*. Likewise there are ten ways for the rise of *vedanā* or sensation. *Vedanā* can also be classified into various groups according as *kusala* (good), *akusala* (bad), *avyākata* (neither good nor bad), and object ideation (*ārammaṇa*) are taken into consideration. There are various methods by which *saññā* can be classified and so are the cases with *saṅkhāra* and *viññāna*. In the chapter on *Paññāpucchaka* the five *khandhas* have been variously classified. In this chapter all the *khandhas* are taken into consideration with respect to *sukha*, *vedanā*, etc. *Rūpakhandha* is not an object ideation. The three *khandhas* are *cetasika*. *Rūpa* is outside the *citta* group while *vedanā* cannot be said to be so. In this way all the *khandhas* have been differently treated. In the *Suttantabhājanīya* portion various *āyatana*s (abodes) are taken into consideration. Each of them is impermanent, nonexistent, and unchanging. In the

Abhidhammabhājanīya portion, each of the two groups of āyatanas is separately dealt with. The manoviññāna āyatana can be traced by touch. Rūpāyatana is that which is based on four great elements. In this way all the āyatanas are considered with reference to their time, space, and causation. In the Dhātu-vibhaṅga portion it is stated that there are six dhātus, viz. : paṭhavī, āpa, teja, vāyu, ākāsa, and viññāna.

Paṭhavī dhātu is of two kinds, (1) internal and (2) external. Portions of body are internal and anything outside one's own self is external. Besides these, there are six other dhātus. A further list of six dhātus is added. So we find that there are eighteen dhātus. In the Abhidhamma portion also we find the same number of dhātus. In the Paññāpucchaka portion it is stated that some of the eighteen dhātus are kusala, some akusala, while others avyākata. The dhātus are then variously classified according as they are citta or cetasika, sinful or not, caused or uncaused, determinable or indeterminate. We like to mention here in brief some more vibhaṅgas. In the chapter on the Saccavibhaṅga, the four ariyasaccas, e.g., dukkhaṃ, dukkhasamudayaṃ, dukkhanirodhaṃ, dukkhanirodhagāmini-paṭipadā (i.e., suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering, and the path leading to the cessation of suffering) are dealt with. In the Indriyavibhaṅga twenty-two indriyas have been treated. The twenty-two indriyas are :

1. cakkhu (eye), 2. sota (ear), 3. ghāna (nose), 4. jhivā (tongue), 5. kāya (sense of touch), 6. mana (mind), 7. itthi (femininity), 8. purisa (masculinity), 9. jīvita (vitality), 10. sukha (joy), 11. dukkha (suffering), 12. somanassa (delight), 13. domanassa (grief), 14. upekkhā (indifference), 15. saddhā (faith), 16. viriya (energy), 17. sati (recollection) 18. samādhi (concentration or contemplation), 19. paññā (wisdom), 20. anaññatāññassamitindriyaṃ (the sense which says, "I will know what is not known"), 21. aññindriyaṃ (sense of knowledge), and 22. aññātavindriyaṃ (sense of having thoroughly known).

In the Paccayākāravibhaṅga various paccayas are enumerated and explained after which the suttanta portion naturally

closes. In the Satipaṭṭhānavibhaṅga the suttanta portion deals with the four satipaṭṭhānas, each of which is separately explained and at the end of each there is an annotation of difficult words. In the Sammapadhāna vibhaṅga the four essentials have been dealt with at length after which a word-for-word commentary follows. In the Bojjhaṅgavibhaṅga the seven bojjhaṅgas or supreme knowledge, e.g., sati (recollection), dhammavicaya (investigation), viriya (energy), pīti (joy), passadhi (calm), samādhi (contemplation), and upekkhā (equanimity) are mentioned and the same plan has been followed as in the previous sections. In the Maggavibhaṅga the Noble Eightfold Path, e.g., sammādiṭṭhi (right view), sammāsaṅkappa (right thought), sammāvācā (right speech), sammākammanta (right action), sammāājīva (right living), sammāvāyāma (right exertion), sammā sati (right recollection), and sammāsamādhi (right meditation), has been discussed in the same method as noticed before. In the Jhānavibhaṅga various jhānas have been enumerated and explained. Then we have sections on sikkhāpadas or precepts which have been taken into consideration beginning with pāṇātipāta, etc. The Paṭisambhidā-vibhaṅga, jñānavibhaṅga, Khuddakavathuvibhaṅga, and Dhammahadayavibhaṅga are discussed one after the other and these form the closing sections of the Vibhaṅga.

To sum up : the object is to formulate the theories and practical mechanism of intellectual and moral progress scattered throughout the Sutta Piṭaka and not to extend knowledge.

The Kathāvatthu: The Kathāvatthu² or the Vijñānapada is the third book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. It is a Buddhist book of debate on matters of theology and philosophy. It is younger than the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. A close investigation will make it evident that this book of controversy is looked upon in one way as no more than a book of interpretation. A few specimens of controversy which the Kathāvatthu has embodied show that

² An interesting paper by T. W. Rhys Davids, *Question discussed in the Kathāvatthu*, J.R.A.S., 1892, deserves mention. Read *Buddhist Notes, The Five Points of Makhādeva*, and the *Kathāvatthu*, J.R.A.S., 1910.

both sides referred to the Buddha as the final court of appeal. This work has been edited by Mr. A. C. Taylor for the P.T.S. in two volumes and translated into English by Mr. S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids under the title of *Points of Controversy*. Mrs. Rhys Davids has ably written a chapter on some psychological points in the Kathāvatthu in her work on *Buddhist Psychology*, Second Ed. (1924), which deserves mention. The editor has made use of the following manuscripts in editing the text :

1. Paper manuscript from the collection of Mrs. Rhys Davids,
2. Palm-leaf manuscript belonging to Prof. Rhys Davids,
3. Palm-leaf manuscript belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, and
4. Mandalay palm-leaf manuscript from the India Office collection.

A Siamese edition of this work has been used by the editor. This book consists of 23 chapters.

The first chapter deals with Puggala or personal entity,³ falling away of an arahant,⁴ higher life among the devas,⁵ the putting away of corruptions or vices by one portion at a time,⁶ the casting off sensuous passions (kāmarāga) and ill-will (byāpāda) by a worldling (puthujjano),⁷ everything as persistently existing,

³ I like to draw the reader's attention to an interesting paper by Mrs. Rhys Davids published in the *Prabuddha Bhārata*, May, 1931, entitled, *How does man survive ?* According to the Buddhists the individual has no real existence. It is only a Sammuti. Buddhaghosa accepts this view. He says that on the existence of Khandhas, such as rūpa, etc., there is the usage 'evaṃnāma', 'evaṃgotta'. Because of this usage, common consent, and name, there is the Puggala-Kathāvatthupakaraṇa aṭṭhakathā, pp. 33-35.

⁴ "Falling away" is, more literally, declined, the opposite of growth (vide *Points of Controversy* by Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 64 f.n.).

⁵ The higher life is of twofold import : path-culture and renunciation of the world. No deva practises the latter (vide *Points of Controversy*, p. 71).

⁶ This comes under the head of Purification piecemeal in the *Kathāvatthu* "Odhisodhiso kilese jahatīti ?" *Kathāvatthu*, Vol. I, p. 103.

⁷ It means an average man of the world.

some of the past and future as still existing, applications in mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*), and existence in immutable modes (*atītaṃ atthīti*):

“H’ev’ atthi h’eva
n’atthīti. S’eva’atthi s’eva n’atthīti ?
Na h’evaṃ vattabbe-pe-s’ ev’ atthi
s’eva n’atthīti ? Āmantaā.”

(For English translation vide *Points of Controversy*, pp. 108 foll.)

The second chapter deals with the arahant or the elect, the knowledge of the arahant, the arahant being excelled by others, doubt in the arahant, specified progress in penetration, Buddha’s everyday usage⁸ (*vohāra*), duration of consciousness, two cessations (*dve nirodhā*), etc.

The third chapter deals with the powers or potentialities of the *Tathāgata* (*Tathāgatabalaṃ*).⁹ It further deals with emancipation,¹⁰ controlling powers of the eighth man (*aṭṭhamaka puggala*),¹¹ divine eye,¹² divine ear (*dibbasota*),¹³ insight into

⁸ According to the *Andhakas*, his daily usages were supramundane usages (*Points of Controversy*, p. 134).

⁹ Of a *Tathāgata*’s “ten powers” some he holds wholly in common with his disciples, some not, and some are partly common to both (*Points of Controversy*, p. 139).

¹⁰ “*Sarāgaṃ cittaṃ vimuccati*”: That “becoming emancipated” has reference to the mind full of passion.

¹¹ The eighth man has no *saddhā* (faith), *virīya* (energy), *sati* (recollection), *samādhi* (meditation), and *paññā* (wisdom). Vide *Kathāvatthu*, Vol. I, p. 247.

¹² *Fleshy eye* (*maṃsacakkhu*), when it is the medium of an idea (*dhammapatthaddhaṃ*) becomes the *celestial eye* (*dibbacakkhu*): *Kathāvatthu*, Vol. I, p. 251. Vide also *Points of Controversy*, p. 149. This is a view of the *Andhakas* and *Sammitiyas*, says Mrs. Rhys Davids on the authority of the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇaattakathā*.

¹³ Cf. *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. II, 19 *Dibbāya sotadhātuyā*.

destiny according to deeds,¹⁴ moral restraint (samvaro), scious life,¹⁵ etc.

The fourth chapter deals with the following subjects, e.g., attainment of arahatship by a layman (gīhi or householder).¹⁶ common humanity of an arahant, retention of distinctive endowments,¹⁷ arahant's indifference in sense-cognition,¹⁸ entering on the path of assurance,¹⁹ putting off the fetter,²⁰ etc.

¹⁴ Yathākammupagataṃ nāṇaṃ dibbacakkhanti ? the celestial eye amounts to insight into destiny according to deeds (*Kathāvatthu*, Vol. I, p. 256 and *Points of Controversy*, p. 151). Cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 82: "So dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkantamānusakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne, hīne paṇite suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate yathā kammūpage satte pajānāti."

¹⁵ Asaññasattesu saññā atthīti ? Is there any consciousness among the unconscious beings ? *Kathāvatthu*, Vol. I, p. 260. The Andhakas concede consciousness to those devas of the unconscious sphere at the moment of rebirth and of decease (*Points of Controversy*, p. 153).

¹⁶ Cf. Yasa, Uttiya, Setu who attained arahatship in all the circumstances of life in the laity. *Points of Controversy*, p. 158.

¹⁷ Under this section arise the following questions : arahā catūhi phalehi samannāgato ti ? Is an arahat endowed with four fruitions ? Is an arahat endowed with four kinds of contact (phassa), four kinds of sensation (vedanā), four kinds of consciousness (saññā), four kinds of cetanā (volition), four kinds of thought (citta), four kinds of faith (saddhā), four kinds of energy (viriya), four kinds of recollection (sati), four kinds of meditation (samādhi), and four kinds of knowledge or wisdom (paññā) ? (*Kathāvatthu*, Vol. I, p. 274.) The answers to these questions are in the affirmative. All personal endowments, according to the Theravādins, are only held as distinct acquisitions, until they are cancelled by other acquisitions. *Points of Controversy*, p. 161.

¹⁸ An arahat is endowed with sixfold indifference (upekkhā).

¹⁹ During the dispensation (pavacana doctrine, teaching) of Kassapa Buddha the Bodhisatta has entered on the path of assurance and conformed to the life therein. *Points of Controversy*, p. 167 cf. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 46 foll.

²⁰ Sabbasaññojanānaṃ pahānaṃ arahattanti ? This is the question raised in this section. The answer is that arahatship is the removal of all obstacles. Mrs. Rhys Davids points out on the authority of the commentary that this is an opinion of the Andhakas.

The fifth chapter deals with knowledge of emancipation (vimuttiñāṇaṃ), perception (viparīte ñāṇaṃ), assurance (niyāma), analytical knowledge (paṭisambhidā), popular knowledge (sammutiñāṇaṃ), mental object in telepathy (cetopariyāyeñāṇaṃ), knowledge of the present (paccuppanna ñāṇaṃ), knowledge of the future (anāgata ñāṇaṃ), and knowledge in the fruition of a disciple (sāvakassa phaleñāṇaṃ).

The sixth chapter begins with the controverted point that the assurance (of salvation or niyāma) is unconditioned or uncreated, so also is Nibbāna. Then it treats of causal genesis (paṭiccasamuppāda or dependent origination), four truths (cattāri saccāni), four immaterial spheres of life and thought,²¹ of the attaining to cessation (nirodhasamāpatti), of space (ākāsa) as unconditioned (asaṅkata) and visible, and of each of the four elements, the five senses, and action as visibles.

The seventh chapter treats of the classification of things²² (saṅgahītakathā), of mental states as mutually connected (sampayutta), of mental properties (cetasikas), of the controverted points that dāna is (not the gift but) the mental state (cetasika dhammā), that merit increases with utility (paribhogamayāmpuññaṃ vaḍḍhati), that earth is a result of action (paṭhavīkammavipāka), that decay and death (jarāmaraṇa) are consequences of action, that Ariyan states of mind (ariyadhamma) have no positive result (vipāka), that result is itself a state entailing resultant states²³ (vipākadhammadhammo).

²¹ Ākāsañāṇācāyatanāṃ asaṅkataṃ the sphere of infinite space is unconditioned or uncreated.

²² The things cannot be grouped together by means of abstract ideas (N'atthi keci dhammā kehici dhammehi saṅgahītā). We learn from the commentary that it is a belief held by the Rājagirikas and the Siddhatthikas that the orthodox classification of particular material qualities under one generic concept of matter, etc., is worthless for this reason that things cannot be grouped together by means of ideas. The argument seeks to point out a different meaning in the notion of grouping (*Points of Controversy*, p. 195).

²³ See *Points of Controversy* (P.T.S.) by S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids. Vide also *Buddhist Psychological Ethics* by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 253, fn. 1.

The eighth chapter deals with the six spheres of the destiny (chagatiyo). According to the Buddha there are five destinies, such as purgatory (niraya), the animal kingdom (tiracchānani), the peta realm (pettivisaya), mankind (manussā), and the devas (devā). To these five the Andhakas and the Uttarāpathakas add another, namely, the Asuras. Then it treats of the following controverted points : that there is an intermediate state of existence (antarābhava), that the kāma-sphere means only the five-fold pleasures of sense (Pañc'eva kāmagonā kāmadhātu), that the ultimate 'element of Rūpa' is the thing cognised as material, that the ultimate element of arūpa is the thing cognised as immaterial, that in the rūpa-sphere the individual has all the six senses (saḷāyatana), that there is matter among the immaterials, that physical actions proceeding from good or bad thoughts amount to a moral act of karma, that there is no such thing as a material vital power²⁴ (n'atthi rūpajivīndriyanto), and that because of karma an arahant may fall away from arahantship (kammahetu arahā arahattā parihāyati).

The ninth chapter deals with the way whereby the fetters are put off for one who discerns a blessing (in store) (ānisaṃsā-dassāvissa saññojanānaṃ pahānaṃ). Then it discusses that the "Ambrosial" (amataṃ) is an object of thought not yet freed from bondage, whether matter should be subjective or objective, that latent (immoral) bias and insight are without mental object. Then it records a discussion between the Uttarāpathakas and the Theravādins as to whether consciousness of a past object or of future ideas is without object. The former holds that when mind recalls a past object, it is without object. Their views are proved to be self-contradictory by the Theravādins.

The tenth chapter deals with the five 'operative' (kiriya) aggregates (khandhas) which arise before five aggregates seeking rebirth have ceased. It treats of the eightfold path and bodily form and discusses the points that the eightfold path can be developed while enjoying the five kinds of senseconsciousness

²⁴ Cf. *Vibhaṅga*, 123 vital power is twofold material and immaterial.

(pañca viññāna) which are 'co-ideational (sābhogā), good (kusalā), and bad (akusalā), that one engaged in the path practises a double morality (dvīhisīlehi), that virtue, which is not a property of consciousness, rolls along after thought, that acts of intimation (viññatti) are moral (sīlam) and those of non-intimation (aviññatti) are immoral (dussilyam).

The eleventh chapter begins with the disputed point that the latent bias (anusaya) is 'indeterminate' (avyākata). It discusses that insight is not united with consciousness, and that insight into the nature of ill is put into operation from the utterance of the word, "This is ill". It treats of the force of the iddhi (magic gift, miracle), concentration (samādhi), the causality of things (dhammaṭṭhitatā parinipphannā), and impermanence (aniccatā).

The twelfth chapter deals with acts of restraint (saṁvaro kamma). It discusses that all actions have moral results and that sense-organs are the results of karma. It further treats of seven rebirths, limit, murder, evil tendencies which are eliminated in the case of a person who has reached the seventh rebirth.

The thirteenth chapter deals with a doomed man's morality, captivity, and release, lust for the unpleasant, etc.

The fourteenth chapter discusses that the roots of good and bad thoughts follow consecutively and conversely. It treats of the development of sense-organs of a being in human embryo. It deals with the questions relating to the immediate contiguity in sense, outward life of an ariya, unconscious outbursts of corruption, desire as innate in heavenly things, the unmoral and the unrevealed and the unincluded.

The fifteenth chapter treats of correlation as specifically fixed, reciprocal correlation, time, four āsavas (sins), decay and death of spiritual things, trance as a means of reaching the unconscious sphere, and of karma and its accumulation (karma is one thing and its accumulation is another).

The sixteenth chapter deals with controlling and assisting another's mind, making another happy, and attending to everything at the same time. It discusses that material qualities are

accompanied by conditions good or moral, bad or immoral ; they are results of karma. This chapter further treats of matter as belonging to the material and immaterial heavens, of desire for life in the higher heavens.

The seventeenth chapter records that an arahat accumulates merit and cannot have a premature death, that everything is due to karma, that dukkha is completely bound up with sentient organisms, that all other conditioned things excepting the Ariyan Path only are held to be ill (dukkha). It treats of the Order, the accepting of gifts, daily life, the fruit of giving (a thing given to the Order brings great reward), and sanctification of the gift (a gift is sanctified by the giver only and not by the recipient).

The eighteenth chapter deals with the Buddha's living in the world of mankind, the manner in which the Dhamma was taught, the Buddha feeling no pity, one and only path, transition from one jhāna (rapt musing or abstraction) to another, seeing visible objects with the eye, etc.

The nineteenth chapter treats of getting rid of corruption, the void which is included in the aggregate of mental co-efficients (saṅkhāra-khandha), the fruits of recluseship, patti (attainment) which is unconditioned, fundamental characteristics of all things which are unconditioned, Nibbāna as morally good, final assurance, and the moral controlling powers (indriyakathā).

The twentieth chapter treats of the five cardinal crimes, insight which is not for the average man, guards of purgatories,²⁵ rebirths of animals in heaven, the Aryan Path which is fivefold, and the spiritual character of insight into the twelvefold base.

The twenty-first chapter discusses that the religion is subject to reformation. It treats of certain fetters, supernormal potency (iddhi), Buddhas, all-pervading power of the Buddha,

²⁵ Some hold that there are no such beings but that the helldoomed karmas in the shape of hell-keepers purge the sufferers. *Points of Controversy*, p. 345.

natural immutability of all things, and inflexibility of all karmas.

The twenty-second chapter treats of the completion of life, moral consciousness, imperturbable (Fourth Jhāna) consciousness, attainment of Arahatsip by the embryo, penetration of truth by a dreamer, attainment of Arahatsip by a dreamer, the unmoral, correlation by repetition, and momentary duration.

The twenty-third chapter deals with the topic of a Bodhisatta who (a) goes to hell (vinipātaṃ gacchati), (b) enters a womb (gabbhaseyyaṃ okkamati), (c) performs hard tasks (dukkara-kārikaṃ akāsi), (d) works penance under alien teachers of his own accord and free will (aparantapaṃ akāsi, aññaṃ satthāraṃ uddisi). This chapter further deals with the controverted point that the aggregates, elements, controlling powers—all save ill is undetermined (aparinipphanna).

Kathāvatthu, a work of Aśoka's time

The Kathāvatthu is undoubtedly a work of the Aśokan age. The generally accepted view is that the Kathāvatthu was composed by Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, President of the Third Buddhist Council which was held at Pāṭaliputta (modern Patna) under the patronage of King Aśoka.²⁶ The Mahāvamsa gives a clear account of the council. It is evident from it that at the time of Aśoka there existed different schools of Buddhism. It was apprehended that Theravādism might be supplanted by other Buddhist sects which seceded from it. Even in the Buddhist Church at Pāṭaliputta, which is doubtless an orthodox church, Theravāda practices were going out of use. Aśoka who was certainly a follower of Theravādism (otherwise we do not find any reason why he should stand for the Theravādins—a losing side), with a view to bring order in place of disorder, and in order that the true doctrine (Theravādism) might long endure, was eager to convene a council which, as we have said before, was held under the presidency of Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, the leader of

²⁶ *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), Chap. V, 55.

the orthodox Buddhist Church. It was decided that the Buddha was a Theravādin or a Vibhajjavādin and the doctrine preached by him was synonymous with Buddhism. Moggaliputta then composed the Kathāvatthu in which he refuted the heretical views which were against Theravādisim. It will not be out of place to mention here that other Buddhist sects did not take part in the proceedings of the council. Accordingly this council was regarded as a party meeting of the Theravādins.

The internal evidences of the Pāli books themselves point to the fact that the Kathāvatthu is a compilation of the Aśokan age. Let us see whether external evidences also lead us to the same conclusion. For this we are to turn to the lithic records of Aśoka. It has now been definitely settled that Aśoka was a Buddhist. This king, in his Bhābrū Edict, recommends to the sisters and brethren of the Order, and to the lay disciples of either sex, frequently to hear, and to meditate upon, certain selected passages, namely, Aliya-vasāni, Anāgata-bhayāni, Munigāthā, Moneya-sūte, Upatisapasine, and Lāghulovāde.²⁷ All these passages have now been identified with those in the Pāli canonical works. It is true that Aśoka does not mention the Kathāvatthu by name in the lithic records. But if we carefully read his inscriptions we shall find the influence of the Kathāvatthu in the Rock Edict IX.

In the Rock Edict IX, the inscription runs as follows:

Siyā va-taṃ aṭṭhaṃ nivateyā (.) siyapunā no hidalokike cha vase (.) Iyaṃ-punā dhāmmamagale akālikye (.) Haṃche pi tam-atham no ṇiṭe-ti hida aṭṭham palata anaṃtaṃ (punā) pasavati (.) Haṃche punā taṃaṭṭhaṃ nivate-ti hida tato ubhaye ladhe hoti hida chā se-aṭṭhe palatā. chā anaṃtaṃ puṇṇaṃ pasavati tenā dhammamagalenā (.)

The style of composition and the subject of discussion which we notice here, resemble those of the Kathāvatthu and the Sāmaññaphala Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya (Vol. I) respectively.

²⁷ Vide Dr. B. M. Barua's interesting paper on the *Bhabra Edict*, J.R.A.S., 1915, 805 ff. and Dr. Max Walleser's thoughtful paper on this edict, *Das Edikt Von Bhabra (Materialism Zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Leipzig, 1923)*.

Historical connection between the Kathāvatthu and the Milinda Pañha

Both the Kathāvatthu and the Milinda Pañha are very interesting books of controversial apologetics. The differences between them are just as one might expect (a) from the difference of date, and (b) from the fact that the controversy in the older book is carried on against a member of the same community, whereas in the Milinda we have a defence of Buddhism as against the outsider. The Kathāvatthu is regarded as a work of Aśoka's time (3rd cent. B.C.). There were different Buddhist sects in the time of Aśoka. There was every chance that Theravādisms might disappear. So the council was held under the patronage of Aśoka and under the presidency of Moggaliputta Tissa Thera. After the council was over, Moggaliputta composed the Kathāvatthu in which he refuted the views of other Buddhist sects. The Milinda has been placed between 100 and 200 of the Christian era. Mr. Trenckner says that our text can scarcely be older than the first century A.D., but it may be younger. There is, however, a limit which cannot be passed. It is older than the beginning of the fifth century A.D. for it is quoted by Buddhaghosa. The book consists of the discussion of a number of points of Buddhist doctrine treated of in the form of conversations between King Milinda and Nāgasena the Elder. These are not real conversations. The questions raised, or dilemmas stated, which are put into the mouth of the king, are really invented for the solutions which are put into the mouth of Nāgasena. It is likely that the questions which have been discussed in the Milinda agitated the Buddhist community as like questions did in the time of Aśoka.

There are a number of points raised in Tissa's discussions, which are also discussed by the author of the Milinda. In every instance the two authors agree in their views, Nāgasena in the Milinda is always advocating the opinion which Tissa puts forward as that of the Theravādins. This is especially the case with those points which Moggaliputta thinks of so much importance that he discusses them at much greater length than the other.

His first chapter, for instance, by far the longest in his book, is on the question whether, in the truest sense of the word, there can be said to be a soul. It is precisely this question which forms also the subject of the very first discussion between Milinda and Nāgasena. The thera convinces the king of the truth of the orthodox Buddhist view that there is really no such thing as a soul in the ordinary sense.

The discussion in the Milinda as to the manner in which the Divine Eye (dibba cakkhu) can arise in a man, is a reminiscence of the question raised in the Kathāvatthu as to whether the eye of flesh can, through strength of dhamma, grow into the Divine Eye.

The discussion in the Milinda as to how a layman, who is a layman after becoming an arahat, can enter the Order, is entirely in accord with the opinion maintained, as against the Uttarāpathakas in the Kathāvatthu.

The discussion in the Milinda as to whether an arahat can be thoughtless or guilty of an offence is foreshadowed by the similar points raised in the Kathāvatthu.

The two dilemmas in the Milinda, especially as to the cause of space, may be compared with the discussion in the Kathāvatthu, as to whether space is self-existent.

The Kathāvatthu takes almost the whole of the conclusions reached in the Milinda for granted and goes on to discuss further questions on points of detail. It does not give a description of arahatship in glowing terms, but discusses minor points as to whether the realisation of arahatship includes the fruits of the three lower paths, or whether all the qualities of an arahat are free from the āsavas or sins, or whether the knowledge of his emancipation alone makes a man an arahat, or whether the breaking of the fetters constitutes arahatship, or whether the insight into the arahatship suffices to break all the fetters, and so on.

Puggalapaññatti: The Puggalapaññatti or the Prajnaptipada is the fourth book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Rev. Richard Morris, M.A., LL.D., has edited this work for the P.T.S.,

London. This book has been translated into English for the P.T.S., London, by Dr. B. C. Law known as the Designation of Human Types and into German by Nyanatiloka, under the name of *Das Buch der charaktere*, published in Breslau in 1911. The Puggalapaññatti throws some light on several obscure Buddhist terms and phrases. Nothing is known definitely as to the date of this work. It can be said with certainty that it was written after the nikāyas. The following are the topics discussed in this book:

- (1) six designations,
- (2) grouping of human types by one,
- (3) grouping of human types by two,
- (4) grouping of human types by three,
- (5) grouping of human types by four,
- (6) grouping of human types by five,
- (7) grouping of human types by six,
- (8) grouping of human types by seven,
- (9) grouping of human types by eight,
- (10) grouping of human types by nine,
- (11) grouping of human types by ten.

‘Puggala’ means an individual or a person as opposed to a group or multitude or class. It also means a person ; in later Abhidhamma literature it is equal to character or soul (vide *P.T.S. Dictionary*, Puggala).

According to the Buddhists an individual has no real existence. The term “Puggala” does not mean anything real. It is only sammutisacca (apparent truth) as opposed to paramatthasacca (real truth). A Puggalavādin’s view is that the person is known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact, but he is not known in the same way as other real and ultimate facts are known (*Points of Controversy*, pp. 8-9). He or she is known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact, and his or her material quality is also known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact. But it cannot truly be said that the material quality is one thing and the person another (*Points of Controversy*, pp. 14-15), nor can it be truly predicated that the person is related or absolute, conditioned

or unconditioned, eternal or temporal, or whether the person has external features or whether he is without any (*Points of Controversy*, p. 21). One who has material quality in the sphere of matter is a person, but it cannot be said that one who experiences desires of sense in the sphere of sense-desire is a person (*Ibid.*, p. 23). The genesis of the person is apparent, his passing away and duration are also distinctively apparent, but it cannot be said that the person is conditioned (*Ibid.*, p. 55).

Paññatti means 'notion, designation, etc.' It means what the mind both conceives and renders articulate (*Expositor*, Vol. II, p. 499, n. 3). It is stated in the Compendium of Philosophy that it is twofold according as it is known (Paññapiyatīti) or as it makes things known (paññā petīti). According to the Puggala-paññatti commentary, paññatti means 'explanation', 'preaching', 'pointing out', 'establishing', 'showing', and 'exposition'. There are, it says, six paññattis. These amount to so many (a) designations, (b) indications, (c) expositions, (d) affirmations, and (e) depositions (paññāpanā, desanā, pakāsanā, ṭhapanā, and nikkhipanā). All these are the meanings of paññatti. According to the commentarial tradition, Puggalapaññatti means 'pointing out', 'showing', 'expositions', 'establishing', and deposition of persons or it may also mean 'notion' or 'designation' of types of persons. At the outset, the author classifies the paññatti or notion into group (khaṇḍha), locus (āyatana), element (dhātu), truth (sacca), faculty (indriya), and person (puggala). Of these six, the last one is the subject-matter of this work. Mr. S. Z. Aung in his Introductory Essay while discussing the word paññatti has shown that this word might be used for both name and notion (or term and concept) (*Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 264). It is interesting to note that the author of the Puggalapaññatti follows the method of the Aṅguttara Nikāya. Not only in the treatment of the subject-matter but also as regards materials, the compiler owes a good deal to the Saṅgīti of the Dīgha Nikāya and to the Aṅguttara Nikāya.

At the outset, a mātīkā or a table of contents has been given which in a nutshell speaks of the different chapters that are to

follow. The first chapter deals at length how and in what way the six paññattis (designations) are manifested. But in the treatment of puggala a long list of different types is given according as one is a sekha (learner), an arahat (one who is emancipated), paccekabuddha (individual Buddha), sammāsambuddha (Exalted Buddha), saddhānusārī (one who follows faith), dhammānusārī (one who follows dhamma), sotāpanna (one who has attained the first stage of sanctification), sakadāgāmi (one who has attained the second stage of sanctification), anāgāmi (one who has attained the third stage of sanctification), or an arahant (saint). In this way fifty different types are stated in it.

In the second chapter a class of persons has been considered to have acquired two qualities so that he may be known, e.g., as one who is both angry as well as an enemy or who is both idle and unscrupulous, slothful and sensuous, etc. There are in this way twenty-six different types.

The third chapter describes a type of beings according to three qualities. It deals with those persons who defy the silas or moral conduct, who are not observers of celibacy as also all those who actually do so. It includes all those who are free from āsavas or sins and those who are speakers of truth, those who are so blind as not to see kusala and akusala states. It also includes persons who are not to be adored as well as those who ought to be done so. It includes persons who are teachers.

The fourth chapter includes persons who are good men and saints as well as those who are not so. There are four types of Dhammakathikas (preachers of dhamma). There are four kinds of persons who are like clouds, who though speak loudly but do not act accordingly, while others do not act accordingly and speak less. This chapter closes with an exhaustive treatment of persons who are lustful, self-seeking as well as those who devote their lives for others and with persons who are still evilminded and having attachment.

The fifth chapter treats of the persons who act or do not act and are or are not remorseful, and who do not know when and how kusala and akusala dhammas disappear, etc. There are

five types of persons : (1) those who hold in contempt all those whom they give, (2) those who hold in contempt all those with whom they live, (3) those who are in gaping mouth at the praise and blame of the people, (4) those who have low pursuits, and (5) those who are dull and stupid.

In the sixth chapter, six types of persons are described. There are three types of persons who even though they have not heard the doctrine before, obtain omniscience and fruition thereof, put an end to suffering in this very existence and attain the perfection of discipleship and remove suffering in this existence and become non-returners by thoroughly understanding truths by their own efforts. There are also three types of persons corresponding to those above, who do not obtain omniscience and the fruition thereof, put an end to suffering but do not obtain the perfection of discipleship, and do not remove suffering but become once-returners.

The seventh chapter deals with seven types of persons : those who are in touch with akusala dhamma suddenly float or sink as if in water or cross over to the other banks or pass over to both the banks of the sea of life. This metaphor refers to the life of a man.

In the eighth chapter we find that the eight types of people are those who are in the four stages : Sotāpatti, Sakadāgāmi, Anāmi, and Arahats, as well as the four of those who are in the stage of fruition.

The ninth chapter deals with nine types of people, e.g., those who are all wise, those who are yet to be Buddhas, those who are free both ways, whose wisdom is free, whose body is pure, who have attained purity in thought, freedom in faith, follow the dhammas and become faithful.

In the tenth or the last chapter we find that there are five persons who are accomplished, who though they live in this world yet by strenuous effort attain to the highest stage of perfection. There are further five classes included in the ten classifications of persons, e.g., such persons as have got too early parinibbāna before the prime of life in a brāhmaṇa world, and those who

have risen to a stage of Anāgāmi as well as those who have risen to a stage of Anāgāmi as well as those who never return.

Dhātukathā: The *Dhātukathā* or the *Dhātukāya-pada* of the Sarvāstivāda school is the fifth book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. It means 'talk on elements' as Mrs. Rhys Davids puts it in her book *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 28. E.R. Gooneratne has edited this work for the P.T.S., London. It can hardly be regarded as an independent treatise, its purpose being to serve as a supplement to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. It fully discusses the mental characteristics most likely to be found in conjunction with converted and earnest folk. It treats of the five *khandhas* (aggregates) : *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saññā*, *saṅkhāra*, and *viññāna* ; twelve *āyatanas* (abodes) : *cakkhu*, *sota*, *ghāna*, *jihvā*, *kāya*, *rūpa*, *sadda*, *gandha*, *rasa*, *phoṭṭhabba*, *mana*, and *dhamma* ; eighteen *dhātus* (elements) : *cakkhu*, *sota*, *ghāna*, *jihvā*, *kāya*, *rūpa*, *sadda*, *gandha*, *rasa*, *phoṭṭhabba*, *cakkhuvīññāna*, *sotavīññāna*, *ghānavīññāna*, *jihvāvīññāna*, *kāyavīññāna*, *mano*, *manovīññāna*, and *dhamma*, four *satipaṭṭhānas* (recollections), mindfulness as regards body (*kāya*), thought (*citta*), feeling (*vedanā*), and mind-states (*dhammā*) ; four truths (*sacca*) : *dukkha* (suffering), *samudaya* (origin of suffering), *magga* (the way leading to the destruction of suffering), *nirodha* (the destruction of suffering) ; four *jhānas* (stages of meditation *paṭhama*, *dutiya*, *tatiya*, *catuttha*) ; five *balas* (potentialities) : *saddhā* (faith), *virīya* (energy), *sati* (mindfulness), *samādhi* (concentration), and *paññā* (insight) ; seven *bojjhaṅgas* (elements of knowledge) : *sati* (recollection), *dhammavicaya* (investigation of the Norm), *virīya* (energy), *pīti* (satisfaction), *passaddhi* (equanimity), *samādhi* (rapt concentration), *upekkhā* (indifference) ; the Noble Eightfold Path : *sammādiṭṭhi* (right view), *sammasamkappo* (right aim), *sammāvācā* (right speech), *sammākammanto* (right action), *sammā-ājīvo* (right living), *sammāvṣyāmo* (right exertion), *sammāsati* (right mindfulness), and *sammāsamādhi* (right concentration). It also treats of the senses of suffering, delight, faith, energy, recollection, concentration, attachment, sins, consciousness, excellent *dhamma* (law), *kusalā dhammā* (merits),

akusalā dhammā (demerits), rūpāvacara and arūpāvacara dhammas, etc.

Yamaka: The Yamaka ("The Pairs-book") or the Prakaraṇapada of the Sarvāstivāda school is the sixth book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. The P.T.S., London, under the able editorship of Mrs. Rhys Davids has published an edition of the work in two volumes. Mrs. Rhys Davids was assisted by Mary C. Foley and Mabel Hunt in editing the first volume ; while in editing the second volume she was helped by C. Dibben, Mary C. Foley, Mabel Hunt, and May Smith. Ledi Sadaw has written an excellent dissertation on the Yamaka published by the P.T.S., London, in 1913. Matters of psychological, ethical, and eschatological interest are noticeable throughout the work. Mūla Yamaka deals with kusaladhammā and akusaladhammā and their roots. Khandha Yamaka deals with five khandhas (aggregates), e.g., rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra, and viññāna. Āyatana Yamaka deals with the twelve āyatanas, e.g., cakkhu, sota, ghāna, jhivā, kāya, rūpa, etc. Ohātu Yamaka deals with the eighteen dhātus or elements. Sacca Yamaka treats of four noble truths. Saṅkhāra Yamaka deals with three saṅkhāras. Anusaya Yamaka treats of the anusayas (inclinations), e.g., kāmarāga (passion for sensual pleasures), paṭigha (hatred), diṭṭhi (false view), vicikicchā (doubt), māna (pride), bhavarāga (passion for existence), and avijjā (ignorance). Citta Yamaka deals with mind and mental states. Dhamma Yamaka deals with kusala and akusala dhammā. Indriya Yamaka deals with the twenty-two indriyas.

Paṭṭhāna: The Paṭṭhāna²⁸ (Book of Causes) or the Jñānaprasthāna of the Sarvāstivāda school is the seventh or the last book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Mrs. Rhys Davids has edited the volume for the P.T.S., London. The book consists of three divisions : eka, duka, and tika. The twenty-four paccayas are so many paṭṭhānas. They are enumerated in the Paccayavi-

²⁸ Buddhaghosa offers three alternative meanings of the word Paṭṭhāna. Paṭṭhāna means paccaya or something analysed or an established procedure.

bhaṅgavāra of the Tikapaṭṭhāna, pt. I, as follows :

1. Hetupaccaya (condition, causal relation),
2. Ārammaṇapaccaya (object presented in mind),
3. Adhipatipaccaya (dominance),
4. Anantarapaccaya (contiguity),
5. Samanantarapaccaya (immediate contiguity),
6. Sahjātapaccaya (co-nascence),
7. Aññaṃaññapaccaya (reciprocity),
8. Nissayapaccaya (dependence),
9. Upanissayapaccaya (suffering dependence),
10. Purejātapaccaya (antecedence),
11. Pacchājātapaccaya (consequence),
12. Āsevanapaccaya (habitual recurrence),
13. Kammaṇapaccaya (action),
14. Vipākaṇapaccaya (result),
15. Āhārapaccaya (support),
16. Indriyapaccaya (control, faculty),
17. Jhānapaccaya (meditation),
18. Maggaṇapaccaya (path, means),
19. Sampayuttaṇapaccaya (association),
20. Vippayuttaṇapaccaya (dissociation),
21. Atthipaccaya (presence),
22. Natthipaccaya (absence),
23. Vigātapaccaya (abeyance), and
24. Avigātapaccaya (continuance).

The entire paṭṭhāna is devoted first to an enquiry into these twenty-four ways in which X is paccaya to Y, secondly into illustrating how in things material or mental each kind of paccaya and groups of paccayas originate. Some of the paccayas are hetu (cause), ārammaṇa (object presented to mind), adhipati (lord), and so on.

CHAPTER III

Pāli counterparts of the seven Abhidhamma treatises of the Sarvāstivāda School

The Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism recognises and holds as authoritative seven Abhidhamma treatises which have nothing in common with the seven texts of the Pāli Abhidhamma Piṭaka except as to their total number. All these seven treatises, called padas, are preserved in Chinese translations and are altogether lost in their original. The Indian originals of these treatises, so far as one can ascertain, were written in Sanskrit. In the Sarvāstivāda set of seven treatises, the highest place in importance is accorded to the Jñānaprasthāna shāstra of Kātyāyanīputra in the same way that in the pāli set similar importance is attached to the seventh book called the Paṭṭhāna or Mahāpakaraṇa or the great treatise. For the parallels to the Sarvāstivāda treatises the pāli Abhidhamma Piṭaka is not certainly the place to make the search. Strangely enough, the available Pāli counterparts of all these treatises are embodied in the Sutta Piṭaka and pass as suttanta texts. On a careful examination of the contents of these Pāli counterparts it appears, however, that they represent a step in advance from the general bulk of the suttas and as a matter of fact form a link of transition between the Pāli suttas and the Abhidhamma books.

The principal Abhidhamma treatise of the Sarvāstivāda school is, as noted above, Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna Śāstra to which there are six supplements called 'Padas'. The seven Abhidhamma works are as follows :

(1) *Jñānaprasthāna* by Āryakātyāyanīputra: The author is one of the famous Sarvāstivāda teachers and lived in Kashmir three hundred years after the parinibbāna of the Buddha. The work was translated into Chinese in 383 A.D., by a Kashmirian monk named Gautama Saṃghadeva. The second word of the title Prasthāna corresponds to Paṭṭhāna in Pāli. Hence Kern was led to believe that the two works were probably related to each other. Dr. Barua has tried to convince us with some cogent reasons that although the arrangements of topics differ, the topics treated of in the Jñānaprasthāna Śāstra and the Pāli Paṭisambhīdāmagga are almost the same. The final decision of this point is to be waited for till we have the complete English translation of the Chinese version of the Jñānaprasthāna Śāstra to enable us to make a thorough comparison between the contents of the two texts.

The whole work is divided into eight books. The first book deals with the Lokuttara-dhammavaggo, Nāna-vaggo, Puggala-vaggo, Ahirikānottappa-vaggo, Rūpa-vaggo, Anatta-vaggo, Cetanā-vaggo, and a vaggo on love and reverence. In the Lokuttara-dhamma-vaggo the following questions are raised : what is the Lokuttara-dhamma,? to what category does it belong? Why is it the highest in the world? In this vaggo the relation of the Lokuttara-dhamma to twenty-two Sakkāyadiṭṭhis is also discussed. In the Nāna-vaggo, the cause of knowledge, memory, doubt, six causes of stupidity by the Buddha, cessation of the causes, etc., are discussed at length. In the Puggalavaggo the question at issue is how many of the twelve Paṭicca-samuppādas¹ belong to the past, present, and future Puggala. It also deals with the question of final liberation. The Ahirikāno-

¹ Mrs. Rhys Davids has ably discussed this subject in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

ttappavaggo deals with ahirikā (shamelessness), anottappa (fearlessness of sinning), akusalamūla (the increasing demerits), etc. In the Rūpa-vaggo it is said that the rūpadhamma going through birth and death is impermanent. The Anatta-vaggo says that all the practices of austerity are in vain, for the things desired cannot be secured. The Cetanā-vaggo deals with thinking, reflecting, awakening (vitakka), observing (vicāra), unsettled mind (uddhacca), ignorance (avijjā), arrogance (māna), hardness of heart, etc. The vaggo on love and reverence deals with respect out of love (pema), respect out of honour (gāraṇa), two sorts of honour (gāraṇa), wealth (dhana), and religion (dhamma), strength of the body, nirvāṇa, the ultimate end, etc. The second book deals with the bond of human passions. It explains demerits (akusalamūla), 3 saṃyojanas (bonds or fetters), 5 views, 9 saṃyojanas, 98 anusayas with their details, scopes, and results ; sakadāgāmin (those who come but once) and the germs of passions still left in the Sakadāgāmins. It also deals with moral defilements arising in men from views and from practices, 4 fruits of sāmāñña, death and rebirth, and regions having no rebirth. It then explains causes or moral defilements, single cause and double cause ; order of various thoughts and thought connected with indriyas ; knowledge that can destroy the causes (prahāṇa-parijñā) and realisation of the destruction (nirodha-sākṣātkāra). The third book deals with sekha and asekha ; five kinds of views, right and wrong ; the knowledge of another's mind (paracitta-ñāṇa) ; the cultivation of knowledge, and knowledge attained by the ariya-pugglas. The fourth book explains wicked actions, erroneous speech, injury to living beings (himsā), demonstrable and undemonstrable, and actions bearing the selfsame results. The fifth book deals with pure organs (indriyas), conditions of the combination of elements, visible truth and internal products. The sixth book explains the twenty-two indriyas, all forms of becoming (bhava), sixteen kinds of touch, primal mind and mind that is primarily produced. It also explains whether the faculties of organs are conditioned by the past. The seventh book deals with all conditions of the past, meditations on causes and

conditions in the dhyāna heavens, ten forms of meditation (kasiṇāyatana), eight kinds of knowledge, three forms of samādhi, five states of anāgāmins, and states of the sakadāgāmins. The eighth book deals with :

(2) *Sanḅitī Paryāya* by *Mahā-Kauṣṭhila*. According to the Chinese authorities the work is attributed to Sāriputra himself, but Yasomitra, a Sarvāstivāda teacher, attributes it to Mahā-Kauṣṭhila who was a Sarvāstivāda teacher of great fame. The work was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang in the middle of the 7th century A.D. By an analysis of the work Prof. Takakusu has established its correspondence with the Sanḅitī Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. The arrangements in both the works are similar. The order in the Pāli texts, however, is more cumbrous and thus it is evident that the Sarvāstivāda Abhidhamma text is anterior to the Pāli one. This work deals with eka-dharmas (all beings living on food, etc.), dvi-dharmas (mind and matter nāma-rūpa), tri-dharmas, (three akusalamūlas ; three kusalamūlas ; three pudgalas ; three vedanās ; three vidyās, etc.), catur-dharmas (four āryasatyas ; four Śrāmaṇyaphalas ; four Smṛtyupasthānas, etc.), pañca-dharmas (five skandhas ; five sorts of attachments to nativity, home, love, luxury, religion ; five balas ; five indriyas ; five gatis ; five nīvaraṇas, etc.) sad-dharmas (six abhijñās ; six anuttara dharmas, etc.), sapta-dharmas (seven sambodhyaṅgas ; seven anuśayas ; seven dhanas ; seven adhikaraṇasamathādharmas, etc.), aṣṭadharmas (eight ārya-mārgas ; eight pudgalas ; eight vimuktis ; eight lokadharmas, etc.), nava-dharmas (nine abodes of beings sattvāvasas), and dasadharmas (ten kṛtṣṇāyatanas ; ten aśaikṣa-dharmas).

(3) *Prakaraṇapāda* by *Sthavira Vasumitra*: Vasumitra was one of the greatest teachers of the Sarvāstivāda school and was a contemporary of Kanishka. This work treats of the five dharmas (rūpa, citta, caittadharma, citta-viprayukta-saṃskāra, asaṃskṛta-dharma), ten kinds of knowledge (dharmajñāna, anvayajñāna paracittajñāna, samvṛtījñāna, duḅkhajñāna, samudaya, nirodha, mārga, kṣaya, anupāda), twelve organs and objects of sense (lakṣa, śrotra, ghrāna, jihvā, kāya, manas, rūpa, gandha, śabda,

rasa, spraṣṭavya, dharmā yatana), seven categories (18 dhātus, 12 āyatanas, 5 skandhas, 10 mahābhūmikadharmas, 10 kuśalamahābhūmikas, 10 kleśamahābhūmikas, 10 upakleśabhūmikas, etc.), minor passions (98 anuśayas, 36 of the kāmadhātu, 31 of the rūpadhātu, and 31 of the arūpadhātu), and various questions about Sikṣāpadas, Śrāmaṇyaphalas, āryasatyas, ṛddhipādas, smṛtyupasthānas, āryasatyas, dhyānas, bodhyaṅgas, indriyas, āyatanas, dhātus, skandhas, etc. So far as may be judged by its contents, the Prakaraṇapāda is just the Sarvāstivāda treatise which is in correspondence with the Vibhaṅga Pakaraṇa of the Pāli Abhidhamma Piṭaka. But it may be³⁰ that the Sarvāstivāda work is a counterpart of an earlier compilation of the Suttanta-bhājanīyas without the Abhidhammabhājanīyas and the Pañha-pucchakas.

(4) *Vijñānakāya*³¹ by *Sthavira Devasarmā*: The tradition says that it was composed one hundred years (according to another tradition, three hundred years) after the Buddha's death. It was translated into Chinese in 649 A.D. by Hiuen Tsang who tells us that this work was composed by Devasarmā in Viśoka near Śrāvastī. This work treats of Maudgalyāyana's opinion about pudgalas, indriyas, cittas, kleśas, vijñānas, bodhyaṅgas, etc. It discusses various forms of thought and also the relation of the theory of pudgala to the theory of śūnyatā.

(5) *Dhātukāya* by *Pūrṇa*: According to the Chinese authorities it is attributed to Vasumitra, but Yaśomitra attributes it to Pūrṇa. Vasumitra was a Sarvāstivāda teacher of the time of Kaṇiṣka. The work was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang in 663 A.D. In Khaṇḍa I of this work 10 mahābhūmikadharmas (vedanā, saṃjñā, cetanā, sparśa, manaskāra, chanda, adhimokṣa, smṛti, samādhi, and mati), 10 kleśamahābhūmikadharmas (avidyā, pramāda, kausīdya, āsrāddhya, muṣitasmṛti, vikṣepa, asaṃprajanya, ayonisomanaskāra, mithyādhimokṣa, and auddhatya), 10 upakleśabhūmikas (krodha, mraṁkṣa, mātsarya,

³⁰ I am indebted to Dr. B.M. Barua for this suggestion.

³¹ Its Pāli counterpart is not yet ascertained.

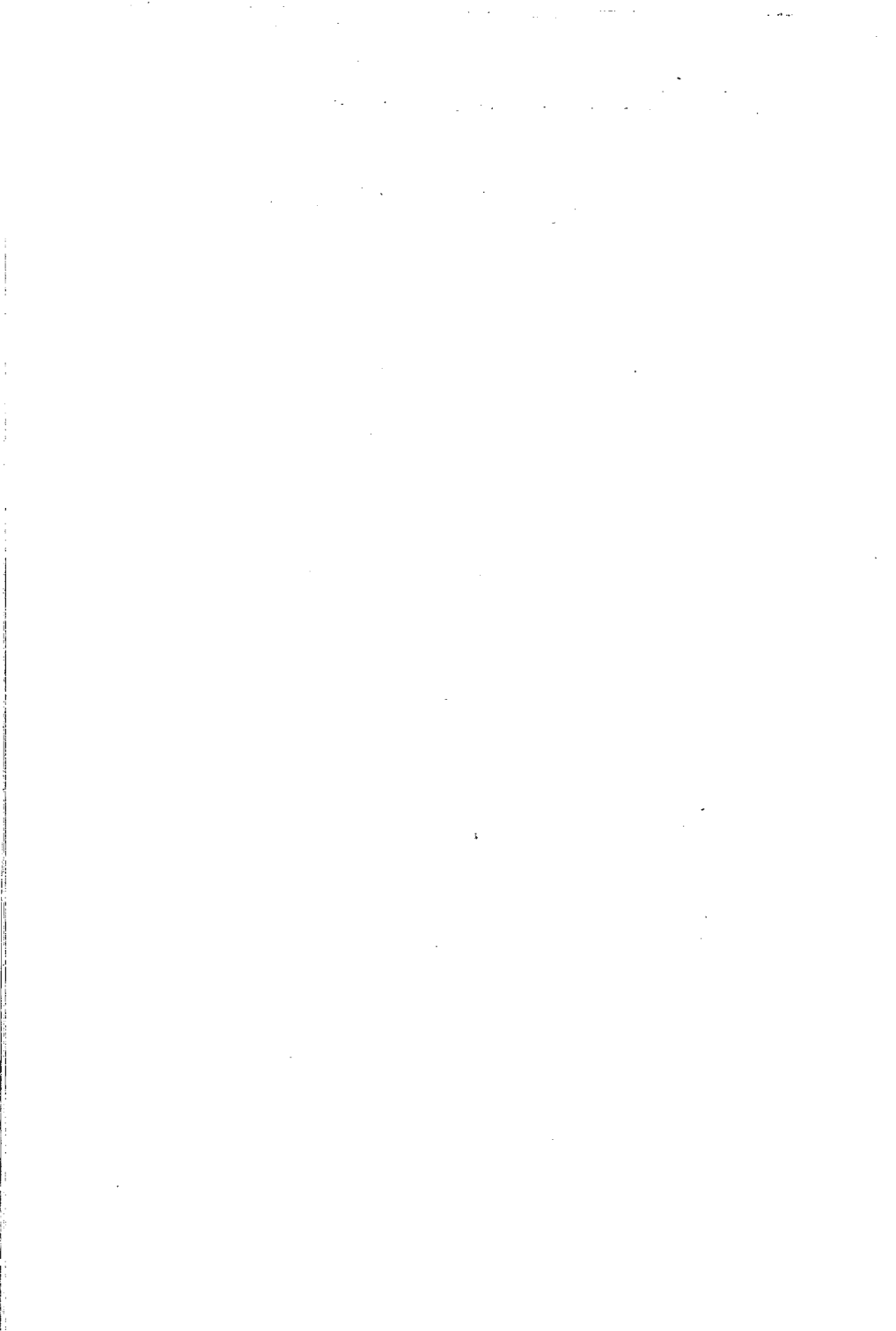
īrṣyā, pradāśa, vihiṃsā, upanāha, māyā, śāṭhya, and mada), 5 moral defilements (kāmalobha, rūpalobha, arūpyalobha, dveṣa, and vicikitsā), 5 views dṛṣṭi (satkāya, antagrāha, mithyā, dṛṣṭipāramarśa, and silavrataparāmarśa), and 5 dharmas (vitarka, vicāra, vijñāna, āhrikyā, and anapatrāpya), are dealt with. In Khaṇḍa II of the same work, mutual relations of eighty-eight categories are minutely discussed under sixteen sections, beginning with five vedanās, six vijñānas, and two akusalabhūmis (āhrikyā and anapatrāpya), these forming a separate class. If the Pāli correspondence of this treatise is to be sought for, one must turn rather to the Dhātusaṃyutta in the Saṃyutta Nikāya, part II, than to the Abhidhamma book called the Dhātukathā which has nothing in common with it.

(6) *Dharmaskandha* by Ārya Sāriputra: It was translated into Chinese in 659 A.D. by Hiuen Tsang. We are not yet in a position to suggest its Pāli counterpart. This work treats of five precepts (Sīla, etc.) ; Srotaāpannas, their attainment, etc. ; four sorts of purity as to Buddha, Dhamma, Saṃgha, and Sīla ; four stages of Śrāmaṇyaphala (Srotaāpattiphala, Sakṛdāgāmiphala, Anāgāmiphala, Arhattvaphala); four ārya-varṇśas (four classes of the Buddha's disciples, etc.); four forms of victory ; four modes of attaining ṛddhipāda (samādhi, vīrya, smṛti, and achanda or suppression of desire) ; four modes of the earnest meditation (smṛtyupasthānas) kāyānupaśyanā, vedanānupaśyanā, cittānupaśyanā, dharmānupaśyanā ; four noble truths explained by the Buddha at Benares ; four stages of the ārūpya dhātu ; seven bodhyaṅgas ; twenty-two indriyas, twelve āyatanas, five skandhas, and twelve pratītya-samutpādas.

(7) *Prajñapti-śāstra* by Ārya Maudgalyāyana: There is nothing in common with the Pāli Puggalapaññatti but in name. It was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang. In this work instruction about the world (loka-prajñapti) belonging to the Abhidharma-Mahāśāstra is given. This work treats of the seven ratnas of a Cakravartī king ; 32 signs of Buddha and Cakravartī king ; the Buddha's teaching of three moral defilements rāga, dveṣa, and moha ; tṛṣṇā (love), a great cause of life ; causes of

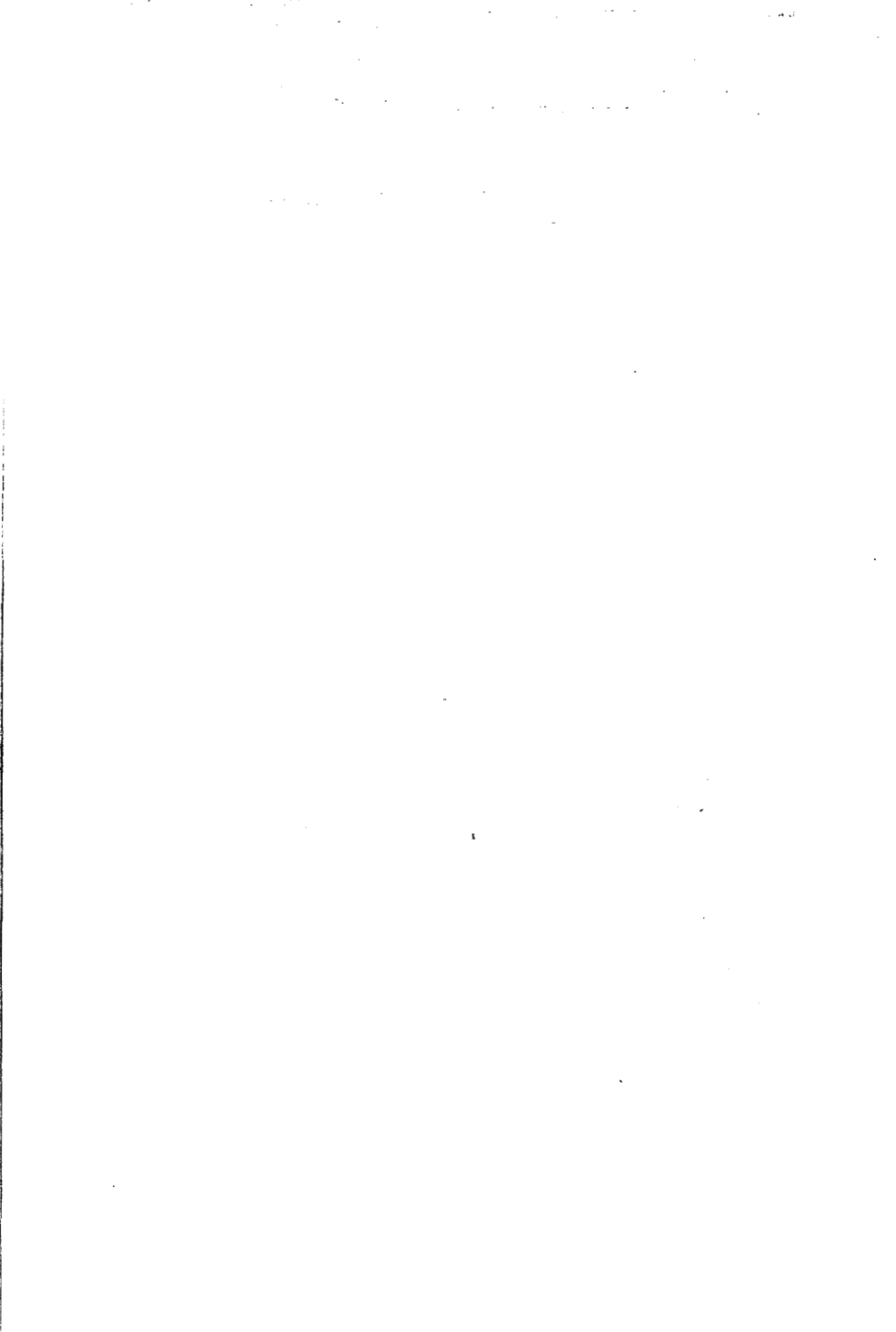
Seven Abhidamma Treatises

drowsiness, arrogance, wickedness, talkativeness, insufficiency in speech, inability in meditation; difference of mental faculties between the Buddha and his disciples ; eight causes of rain ; cause of a rainy season, etc. These contents go to show that this treatise has a close correspondence with the Pāli Lakkhaṇa Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. III.



PART II

Post-Canonical Pāli Literature



INTRODUCTION

In between the closing of the Pāli canon and the writing of the Pāli commentaries by Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla, there is a short but dark period of development of Pāli literature which has not as yet engaged adequate attention of scholars. Broadly speaking, this period extends from the beginning of the Christian era to the close of the 4th century A.D. The Nettipakarāṇa, the Peṭakopadesa, and the Milinda Pañha are undoubtedly the three extra-canonical and highly useful treatises that may be safely relegated to the earlier part of this period. There are a few other work, more or less, of a commentarial nature that are closely pre-supposed by the great commentaries of Buddhadatta, Duddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla. These comprise, among others, (1) certain earlier commentaries written in Sinhalese, such as the Mūla or Mahā-aṭṭhakathā, the Uttara Vihāra aṭṭhakathā (the Commentary of the dwehers in the "North Minster"), Mahā-paccariya, the Kurundiya or Mahākurunda aṭṭhakathā quoted by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries, (2) two other earlier commentaries, the Andhaka and the Saṅkhepa current in South India, particularly in Kañchipura or Conjeveram, and quoted by Buddhaghosa, (3) the Vinayavinicchaya by Buddhasiṃha, a fellow bhikkhu of Buddhadatta, pre-supposed by the Vinayavinicchaya of Buddhadatta and the Samantapāsādikā of Buddhaghosa, (4) the Sinhalese commentary on the canonical Jātaka book referred to and quoted by Buddhaghosa under the name of Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, (5) certain views and interpretations of the schools of reciters quoted by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries, (6) the Dīpavaṃsa, the earlier Pāli chronicle quoted by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the Kathāvatthu, and (7) the Aṭṭhakatha Mahāvaṃsa presupposed by Mahānāma's great chronicle of Ceylon.

The writings of Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla come necessarily after these earlier works in both Pāli and Sinhalese and occupy chronologically a place next to them. The Mahāvaṃsa or the great epic chronicle of Ceylon composed by Mahānāma, the Anāgatavaṃsa, a later supplement to the

Buddhavaṃsa, and the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā written by a thera at the personal request of the elder Atthadassī, Buddhāmitta of the Mahimsāsaka sect and Bhikkhu Buddhadeva of clear intellect may be assigned to almost the same period of Buddhist literary activities in Ceylon which is covered by the writings of Buddhaghosa. Mahānāma's Mahāvaṃsa may be regarded as a Pāli model of certain chronicles the Pūjāvaliya and the rest written in Sinhalese. The commentaries on the books of the Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma Piṭakas were followed by certain ṭīkāś to be chronologically discriminated as mūla and anu, Ānanda and Sāriputta being noted as authors of some of these mūla and anu ṭīkāś. From the sixth or seventh century A.D. onwards we see also the beginning of a Pāli grammatical literature headed by Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar as well as of Pāli lexicons headed by the Abhidhānappadīpikā. The literary processes connected with the commentaries and sub-commentaries and the compilations in the shape of handbooks continued resulting in the growth of a somewhat different type of later literature. The Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha and many other books of great authority written by the eminent Anuruddha and others are to be counted as remarkable literary output of this stage of the development of Pāli. The Narasiḥagāthā quoted in the Nidānakathā of the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā, the Telakaṭṭhagāthā ranking with the śatakas headed by the compositions of Bhartṛhari, the Jinacarita which is a kāvya attempted in Pāli less successfully on the model of Aśvaghōṣa's Buddhacarita, the Pajjamadhu, a Pāli poetical composition produced in Ceylon, the Pañcatidīpana and the Saddhammopāyana, two similar poetical compositions of Ceylon and the Rasavāhīnī, a book of interesting Buddhist folktales, written in simple prose, are some of the literary pieces that are included in our scheme of Post-Canonical Pāli literature. We are generally to exclude from our scheme various Pāli works on law, grammar, prosody, lexicography, and the commentaries written in Burma and Ceylon from the 15th century A.D. onwards. In dealing with the Post-Canonical Pāli literature we are first of all to take up the extra-canonical works presupposed by the Pāli commentaries, next the Pāli commentaries, then the Pāli chronicles, Pāli Manuals, Pāli literary pieces and lastly Pāli grammars, books on prosody and lexicons the classification being arbitrary.

CHAPTER IV

Extra-canonical works presupposed by Pāli commentaries

Nettipakaraṇa

The title *Nettipakaraṇa*¹ as explained by Dhammapāla, means exposition of that which leads to the knowledge (Nettipakaraṇa) of the Good Law. The Netti shows the methodical way of attain-

¹ This work has been edited by Prof. E. Hardy for the P.T.S., London, and published by the said society in 1902. There is also a Burmese edition of this text. The text is not entirely free from inaccuracies but all such defects are pardonable when we remember that it is a pioneer work. The text edited by the P.T.S. is based on the following manuscripts:

(i) Palm leaf manuscript of the India Office in Burmese character (see *Catalogue of the Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library* by Prof. V. Fausboll, J.P.T.S., 1896) ;

(ii) Palm leaf manuscript of the India Office (Phayre collection), likewise written in Burmese character (see *Catalogue of the Pāli MSS. in the India Office Library* by H. Oldenberg);

(iii) Paper manuscript (brought from W. Subhuti by Prof. Rhys Davids) in Sinhalese character (Introduction, o. xxxv) Prof. Hardy has relied on the palm leaf manuscript of the India Office in Burmese character in noting readings whenever they are found to contribute to a better understanding of the text.

Nettipakaraṇa revised and edited by D. Sudassi thera and finally revised by Ven Srisumaṅgala Ratanasāra, Colombo, 1923, should be consulted.

Mrs. Rhys Davids translates '*Nettipakaraṇa*' as the '*Book of Guidance*' (*Sākyā or Buddhist Origins*, p. 127).

ing textual knowledge. It contains much of the materials which are so grouped as to form a book by itself. The commentary on the Nettipakaraṇa says that without an able instructor it is impossible for men to be guided in the right understanding of the doctrines.

This treatise was translated into Burmese by Thera Mahāsīlavamsa in the fifteenth century of the Christian era, and again two centuries later, by a dweller in the Pubbārāma-Vihāra. It was composed at the request of Thera Dhammarakkhita and highly praised by Mahākaccāna. The Mandalay manuscript ascribes its authorship to Mahākaccāna as every section bears a clear testimony to the authorship of Mahākaccāna who has been described here as Jambuvanavāsīn, i.e., dweller in the rose-apple grove.

The Netti is essentially a Pāli treatise on the textual and exegetical methodology, a Buddhist treatment upon the whole of the Tantra Yuktis discussed in the Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra, the Sūrutasaṁhitā, the Carakasaṁhitā, and the Aṣṭāṅga-Hṛdaya. The Netti and Jñānaprasthāna Sāstra have many points in common as they were written to serve a similar purpose. It stands in the same relation to the Pāli canon as Yāska's Nirukta to the Vedas. The scheme of methodology has been worked out in a progressive order, the thesis being developed or elaborated by gradual steps. To begin with we have the opening section, Saṅgahavāra, or the conspectus of the whole book which is a feature also of the Milinda Pañha. Then we have the Vibhāgavāra or the section presenting a systematic treatment in classified tables. This section comprises three tables or sub-sections: (1) Uddesavāra, (2) Niddesavāra, and (3) Paṭiniddesavāra. The Uddesavāra merely presents a bare statement of the theses and as such it serves as a table of contents. It is followed by the Niddesavāra which briefly specifies the import or definitions of the theses awaiting detailed treatment in the section immediately following, we mean the Paṭiniddesavāra, which is but an elucidation and elaboration of the Niddesa scheme. The theses in the Uddesavāra are introduced in three separate tables or categories: (1) that of sixteen hāras (connected chains), (2) that of five nayas (modes of inspection), and (3) that of eighteen mūlapadas (main ethical topics). The sixteen hāras consist of desanā (the method of instruction), vicaya (the method of en-

quiry), yutti (the method of establishing connection in groups), padaṭṭhāna (the method of teaching with reference to the fundamentals), lakkhaṇa (the method of determining implications by characteristic marks), catuvyōha (the method of fourfold array), āvatta (the cyclical method), vibhatti (the method of classification), parivattana (the method of transformation), vevacana (the method of synonyms), paññatti (the method of determining signification), otaṇa (the method of descending steps), sodhana (the method of rectification), adhiṭṭhāna (the method of determining positions), parikkhāra (the method of discriminating causal relations), and samāropana (the method of attribution).

The five *nayas* consist of the following modes of viewing things: (1) *nandiyāvatta* (2) *tīpukkhalā* (by the triple lotus), (3) *sihavyikkīlita* (the lion-like sport), (4) *disālocana* (broad vision), and (5) *aṅkusa* (focussing).

The eighteen *mūlapadas* comprise nine *kusalas* and nine *akusalas*. The nine *akusalas* are *taṇhā* (thirst), *avijjā* (ignorance), *lobha* (covetousness), *dosa* (hatred), *moha* (delusion), *subhasaññā* (false idea of purity), *niccasaññā* (false idea of permanence) *attasaññā* (false idea of personal identity), etc. The nine *kusalas* are *samatha* (tranquillity), *vipassanā* (insight), *alobha* (absence of covetousness), *adosa* (absence of hatred), *amoha* (absence of delusion), *asubhasaññā* (idea of impurity), *dukkhasaññā* (idea of discordance), *aniccasaññā* (idea of impermanence), and *anattasaññā* (idea of non-identity).

In the *Niddesavāra*, the reader is to expect nothing more than a general specification of the meaning of the topics proposed in the *Uddesavāra* for treatment. From the *Niddesavāra* the reader is led on to the next step, the *Paṭiniddesavāra* which contains four broad divisions, namely, (1) *Hāravibhaṅga* (explanations of the connected chains), (2) *Hārasaṅpāta* (discussions of the *hāra* projections), (3) *Nayasamuṭṭāna* (exposition of the modes of inspection), and (4) the *Sāsanapathhāna* (the classification and interpretation of Buddha's instructions).

The treatise deals in detail with sixteen *hāras* in the specified order as follows:

The *Desanāhāra* directs the reader to notice six distinctive features in the Buddha's method of instructions, namely,

assādaṃ (bright side), adinavaṃ (dark side), nissaraṇaṃ (means of escape), phalaṃ (fruition), upāyaṃ (means of success), and ānattiṃ (the moral upshot). It also points out that Buddha's instructions are carefully adapted to four classes of hearers, namely (1) those of right intellect (understanding things by mere hints), (2) those needing short explanations, (3) those to be slowly led by elaborate expositions, and (4) those whose understanding does not go beneath the words. In the same connection it seeks to bring home the distinction between the three kinds of knowledge, sutamayī, cintāmayī, and bhāvanāmayī.

In the Vicayaḥāra the method of ruminating over the subjects of questions and thoughts and repetitions in thought is laid down, and this is elaborately illustrated with appropriate quotations from the canonical texts.

In the Yuttihāra we are introduced to the method of grouping together connected ideas and the right application of the method of reasoning or inference in interpreting the dharma.

The Padaṭṭhānahāra explains the doctrinal points by their fundamental characteristics and exemplifies them. *This hāra has an important bearing on the Milinda expositions.*

The Lakkhaṇahāra points out that when one of a group of matters characterised by the same mark is mentioned, the others must be taken as implied. For instance, when the sense of sight is mentioned in a passage, the implication should be that other senses received the same treatment.

The Catuvyūhahara unfolds the method of understanding the doctrines by noting the following points:

(1) the text, (2) the term, (3) the purport, (4) the introductory episode, and (5) the sequence, illustrating each of them with quotations from the canonical texts.

The Āvattahāra aptly illustrates with authoritative quotations how in the teachings of the Buddha all things turn round to form cycles of some fundamental ideas such as taṇhā, avijjā, the four Aryan truths and the like.

The Vibhattihāra explains the method of classifying Buddha's discussions according to their character, common or uncommon, or according to their values, inferior, superior or mediocre.

The Parivattanahāra contains an exposition of the method

by which the Buddha tried to transform a bad thing into a good thing and transform also the life of a bad man.

The *Vevacanahāra* calls attention to the dictionary method of synonyms by which the Buddha tried to impress and clarify certain notions of the Dhamma. This section forms a landmark in the development of Indian lexicography.

In the *Paññattihāra* it is stated that though the Dhamma is one, the Lord has presented it in various forms. There are four noble truths beginning with *dukkha*. When these truths are realised then knowledge and wisdom come in and then the way to *Bhāvanā* is open to the knower. The elements may be compared but *Nibbāna* cannot be compared.

In the section on *Otaraṇa* the *Netti* illustrates how in the schemata of Buddha's doctrines diverse notions spontaneously descend under the burden of certain leading topics such as, *indriyas*, *paṭiccasamuppāda*, five *khandhas* and the like.

The *Sodhanahāra* illustrates the method by which the Buddha corrected the form of the questions in the replies offered by him.

The *Adhiṭṭhānahāra* explains in detail the method of determining the respective positions of different ideas according as they make for certain common notions. In the *Adhiṭṭhānahāra* the basis of all truth is given. The four truths beginning with *dukkham* are described and side by side *avijjā* is shown to be the cause working in opposite ways. There are also paths bringing about the extinction of *dukkha*, etc. The various *kāyas* and *dhātus* are also considered. *Samādhi* is the only means of removing evils.

In the *Parikkhārahāra* the *Netti* explains and exemplifies how one can distinguish between the causal elements, broadly between *hetu* and other causal relations. *This section has an important bearing on the Paṭṭhāna of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka.*

We come at last to the section called the *Samāropanahāra*. This section explains and illustrates the Buddha's method of fourfold attribution, (1) by way of fundamental ideas, (2) by way of synonyms, (3) by way of contemplation, and by way of getting rid of the immoral propensities.

Hāra Sampāta is a division which is dependent on the *hāra* as its purpose is to present the projections or main moral implications of the *hāras* or the connected chains previously dealt with.

This division like the preceding one consists of sixteen parts exactly under the same headings.

In the Hāra Saṃpāta the commentator Dhammapāla has added and rearranged many new things. He cites the passages from the text and then puts a lay dissertation on them by way of questions and answers. *This division stands almost as an independent treatise by itself.*

Desanā hāra Saṃpāta: In this division it is laid down that Māra invades only a mine which is quite unprotected (pamāda-citta) which is based on false beliefs on idleness, etc.

Vicaya hāra Saṃpāta: In this section it is laid down that desire (taṇhā) of two kinds : kusala and akusala. The one leads to nibbāna and the other to birth and suffering (saṃsāra). Mind is both kusala and akusala in nature. The real nature of things can only be seen in the fourth Jhāna stage. The various signs and nature of nibbāna and samādhi are described. Samādhi has five characteristics, namely, joy, happiness, consciousness, enlightenment, and right perception. There are ten objects of meditation (kaṣiṇāyatanāni), e.g., paṭhavī, āpo, etc. They are then attached to three objects, anicca (non-permanent), dukkha (suffering), and anatta (non-existence of soul).

A differentiation is brought about between an ordinary man and a man with knowledge. The former can do any kind of offence that may be possible. But the latter cannot. They former can even kill his father or mother, can destroy the stūpas but the latter cannot ; when one practises the four Jhānas, and attains to Samādhi, his previous life and futurity are known to him.

In the Yutti-hāra-saṃpāta it is stated that sloth, stupor and misery disappear from him who is well protected in mind, firm in resolution, and adheres to right seeing.

In the Padaṭṭhāna-hāra and Lakkhaṇa-hārasaṃpāta, the padaṭṭhānas (reasonings) are described as belonging to one who is well restrained in mind, words, and actions and who by the proper attainment of padaṭṭhānas realises the highest path.

In the Catuvyūhahāra-saṃpāta, Āvatta lārasaṃpāta, Vibhatti-hāra-saṃpāta, etc., great stress is laid on right perception, mindfulness, and kusala deeds which lead to the knowledge of paṭicca-samuppāda.

The third division called the *Nayasamuṭṭhāna* contains a detailed treatment of the five specified modes of viewing things. Under the *Nandiyāvatta* mode, it is pointed out that the earlier extremity of the world cannot be known owing to *avijjā* (ignorance) which has *taṇhā* (desire) at the root. Those who walk in the field of pleasure are bound down in heretical beliefs and are unable to realise the truth. There are four noble truths : *Dukkham, dukkhasamudayam, dukkhanirodham, and dukkhanirodhagāminipaṭipadā*. There is a middle path (*majjhima paṭipadā*) which rejects the two extreme views and which is identified with the eightfold noble path (*ariya aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*). He who has avoided *diṭṭhī* (false view) escapes from *kāma* (lust). Hence avoidance of desire (*taṇhā*) and ignorance (*avijjā*) leads to quietude or calmness. *Kamma* is recognised as the cause of the world of sufferings. But consciousness and all that concerns consciousness may be seen in their increment in the ten *vatthus*. The ordinary enjoyment of food and touch, etc., is the cause of distress of a man with desire.

The various *āsavas* (sins) are next described. The sufferings of a man with attachments, faults, and wrong views are also narrated. The four paths, the four foundations of recollections, the four *Jhānas*, the four essentials (*sammappadhānas*), the four meditations, the four pleasure yielding states, etc., are also stated; each of these is described as an antidote for the man with attachment, delusion, and wrong views.

Buddhas, Pacceka-Buddhas, the disciples, and all those who are devoid of attachment, hatred, delusion, etc., are like lions. Those who look to the right aspects, the senses, the counter forces of the views with as strong reasons as Buddhas, Pacceka-Buddhas, etc., are said to have seen things just like a lion. Human types are four in number. Each of these has to undergo some sort of training. To each of them is offered an advice as to taṇhā (desire), rāga (attachment), kusala (merit), etc. This is the way shown to be of the Tipukkhala and of the Ankusa described in the text.

Now turning to the fourth division, the *Sāsanapaṭṭhāna*, we get a treatment of the proper method of classification and interpretation of the texts of the *Dhamma*. That is to say, the *Sāsanapaṭṭhāna* embodies a classification of the *Piṭaka* passages according to their leading thoughts. It is suggested that the discourses

of the Buddha can be classified according to the themes into: (1) Saṅkilesabhāgiya (those dealing with saṅkilesa or impurity), (2) Vāsanābhāgiya (those dealing with desire), (3) Nibbedhabhāgiya (those dealing with penetration), (4) Asekhabhāgiya (those dealing with the subject of a non-learner), (5) Saṅkilesabhāgiya and Vāsanābhāgiya, (6) Saṅkilesa and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (7) Saṅkilesa and Asekhabhāgiya (8) Saṅkilesa and Nibbedha and Asekhabhāgiya, (9) Saṅkilesa and Vāsanā and Nibbedhabhāgiya (10) Vāsanā and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (11) Taṇhāsaṅkilesabhāgiya, (12) Diṭṭhi-saṅkilesabhāgiya, (13) Duccaritasāṅkilesabhāgiya, (14) Taṇhāvodānabhāgiya, (15) Diṭṭhivodānabhāgiya, (16) Duccaritavodānabhāgiya. Of these, saṅkilesas are of three kinds, taṇhā (desire), diṭṭhi (false view), and duccaritas (wrong actions).

Various padas, ślokas, and texts are cited while explaining each of these textual classifications.

The eighteen main padas are those which are worldly (lokikaṃ), unworldly (lokuttaraṃ), etc. In fact the chapter is made highly interesting by its numerous quotations from familiar texts and it does not enter deep into philosophical or logical arguments. But the classification and reclassifications are no doubt interesting as intellectual gymnastics.

That the Nettipakaraṇa is an earlier book than the Paṭṭhāṇa (Mahāpakaraṇa) has been ably shown by Mrs. Rhys Davids (J.R.A.S., 1925, pp. 111-112). She says that in the Netti there is a short chapter on parikkhāra, i.e., equipment. Usually applied to a monk's necessities of life, it is here applied to mean all that goes to bring about a happening, all the conditions to produce an effect. These are twofold: paccaya and hetu. Take now this happening : "A seeing something". Here the eye is the dominant condition (adhipateyyapaccayatāya paccayo). The thing seen is the object condition (ārammaṇa paccayatāya paccayo). The light is the medium condition (Sannissāyatāya paccayo). But attention is the hetu. In conclusion it states: Whatever is sufficing condition (upanissaya) that is a causal antecedent (parikkhāra). "This simple exposition," says Mrs. Rhys Davids, "is a development of the yet simpler wording in the Suttas. There no distinction is drawn between hetu and paccaya".

She then turns her attention to the Paṭṭhāṇa. Here at the

start not only has a distinction been drawn but an elaborate classification of paccayas —twenty-four in kind, is drawn up as standardised knowledge.

Hetu is a species of paccaya, first and chief of them. Further, 'dominance, object', 'medium'. 'sufficing condition', are classed as paccayas, Nos. 3, 2, 9, and 8. And further, the invariable way of assigning causal relation in a happening is not the Netti's way but (hetu, etc.) —paccayena paccayo. We may conclude from this that the writer of the Netti did not know the Paṭṭhāna. He did know some Abhidhamma. He alludes to a method in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, to a definition in the Vibhaṅga but never to that notable scheme in the Paṭṭhāna.

Petakopadesa

The Petakopadesa is another treatise on the textual and the exegetical methodology ascribed to Mahākaccāna and it is nothing but a different manipulation of the subject treated in the Nettipakaraṇa. Interest of this treatise, if it was at all a work of the same author, lies in the fact that it throws some new light here and there on the points somewhat obscure in the Netti. Its importance lies also in the fact that in places it has quoted the Pāli canonical passages mentioning the sources by such names as Saṃyuttaka (=Saṃyutta Nikāya) and Ekuttaraka (=Ekuttara or Aṅguttara Nikāya). Its importance arises no less from the fact that in it the four Ariyan truths are stated to be the central theme or essence of Buddhism the point which gained much ground in the literature of the Sarvastivādin school. The importance of the last point will be realised all the more as we find how the discourses developed in the Netti in the course of formulating the textual and exegetical methodology centered round the four Ariyan truths. This work has not yet been edited. The P.T.S., London, has undertaken an edition of it. *Specimen de Petakopadesa* by R. Fuchs, Berlin, 1908 deserves mention.

Milinda Pañha. Introduction

The Milinda Pañha or the questions of Milinda had originally been written in Northern India in Sanskrit or in some North

Indian Prakrit by an author whose name has not, unfortunately enough, come down to us. But, the original text is now lost in the land of its origin as elsewhere; what now remains is the Pāli translation of the original which was made at a very early date in Ceylon. From Ceylon, it travelled to other countries, namely, Burma and Siam, which have derived their Buddhism from Ceylon, and where at a later date it was translated into respective local dialects. In China, too, there have been found two separate works entitled "The Book of the Bhikkhu Nāgasena Sūtra", but whether they are translations of the older recensions of the work than the one preserved in Pāli or of the Pāli recensions is difficult to ascertain. However, in the home of Southern Buddhism, the book is accepted as a standard authority, second only to the Pāli Piṭakas. Prof. Rhys Davids rightly observes, "It is not merely the only work composed among the Northern Buddhists which is regarded with reverence by the orthodox Buddhists of the Southern schools, it is the only one which has survived at all amongst them".²

Character of the book

The book purports to discuss a good number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism; and this discussion is treated in the form of conversations between King Milinda of Sāgala and Thera Nāgasena. Milinda raises the questions and puts the dilemmas, and thus plays a subordinate part in comparison to that played by Nāgasena who answers the questions and solves the puzzles in detail. Naturally, therefore, the didactic element predominates in the otherwise romantic account of the encounter between the two.

The two heroes

Milinda who has been described as the King of the Yonas with his capital at Sāgala (Sākala=Sialkot), has long been identified with Menander, the Bactrian Greek King who had his sway in the Punjab. He was born, as our author him say, at Kalasi in Alasanda, i.e., Alexandria; and if we are to believe our author,

² *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXV, Intro., p. xii.

he, resolved of all doubts as a result of his long conversations with Nāgasena, came to be converted to Buddhism. Nāgasena, however, cannot be identified with any amount of certainty.

Author

The name of the author, as we have already said, has not come down to us. A close analysis of the book shows that a considerable number of place names refers to the Punjab and adjacent countries, and a few to the sea-coast, e.g., Surat, Bhārukaccha, etc. Most of the rivers named refer again to the Punjab. It is, therefore, natural for us to conjecture that the author of the book resided in the far north-west of India or in the Punjab. Mrs. Rhys Davids has a theory of her own regarding the author of the Milinda Pañha. She thinks that the recorded conversations of Milinda and Nāgasena were edited in the new book form after Milinda's death, by special commission by a Brāhmaṇa of Buddhist Collegiate training, named Māṇava. She points out that the author was not a convinced Buddhist and that the detached first portion of the Milinda Pañha is in no way to be matched in style or ideas with the quite different dilemmas and the following portions. The first part is a set of jerky rather desultory talks breaking off and bearing roars of being genuine notes taken by recorders at the time. The latter portions are evidently written compositions, dummy conversations. "As to his name," says Mrs. Rhys Davids, "that is not by me made of any importance: it is, let us say, my playful guess: a brāhmaṇa name like the Shakespeare hidden allusions, alluded to in a gāthā, which there was no reason for quoting save as a hint at the name".

Date

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain exactly the date of the Book. Milinda or Menander is, however, ascribed to the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C. The book must, therefore, have been written after that date. On the other hand, it must have long been an important book of authority when Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator, flourished in the 5th century A.D. For, he quoted from the book often in his commentar-

ies, and that in such a manner that it follows that he regarded the book as a work of great authority. From a close analysis of the books referred to as quoted by the author of the *Milinda Pañha*, Prof. T.W. Rhys Davids, the learned editor and translator of *Milinda Pañha*, came to the conclusion that "the book is later than the canonical books of the Pāli Piṭakas (the author of the *Milinda Pañha* quotes a large number of passages from the Piṭaka texts), and on the other hand, not only older than the great commentaries, but the only book outside the canon, regarded in them as an authority which may be implicitly followed".³

Style and language

The *Milinda Pañha* has a marked style of its own. Its language is most elegant, and studied against the background of ancient Indian prose, it is simply a masterpiece of writing. The formal exactness of the early Piṭakas as well as the studied ornamentation of later-day Pāli or Sanskrit-Buddhist treatises are alike absent from its pages. The charm of the style is captivating and there are passages that are eloquent in their meaning and gesture. The perorations with which the long discussions are often closed are supreme inventions by our author of the art of conversation as well as of writing. Its style and diction bear a close resemblance to and are somewhat maturer than those of the famous Hastigumpha inscription of Khāravēla which is assigned by Dr. B.M. Barua to the second quarter of the 1st century A.D.⁴

Text

At Sāgala, a city of wealth and affluence, ruled King Milinda versed in arts and sciences and skilled in casuistry. He had his doubts and puzzles with regard to Buddha's doctrines and utterances and other knotty problems of Buddhism. To resolve these doubts he went to Nāgasena, the famous arahat; and then began a wonderful conversational discourse between the two. But before the discourse really begins, we are introduced by our

³ *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXXV. Intro., p. xxxviii.

⁴ Barua: *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, p. 172.

author to the previous birth history (Pubba-yoga) of these two personages and then to the contents of various sorts of puzzles.

(a) Book I

We are told that Nāgasena in a previous birth of his was one of the members of the religious brotherhood near the Ganges, where Milinda, in his turn, in a previous birth of his, was a novice. In accordance with his acts of merit in that birth and his aspirations, this novice after wandering from existence to existence came to be born at last as king of the city of Sāgala, a very learned, eloquent, and wise man. Now he had doubts and problems in his mind, and in vain did he seek the venerable Kassapa and Makkhali Gosāla to have them solved while all these were happening. The brother of the religious brotherhood who came to be born in a Brahman family was Nāgasena. When he was seven years old he learnt the three Vedas and all else that could be learnt in a Brahmanical house. Then he left the house, meditated in solitude for sometime and he was afterwards admitted into the order as a novice by a venerable Buddhist priest, Rohaṇa and was eventually converted into Buddhism. He was then sent to Pāṭaliputra to the venerable Buddhist sage Dhammarakkhita where he became an Arahat. Now while he was living there he was invited at the Guarded Slope in the Himalayas by an innumerable company of arahats who were being harassed by King Milinda who delighted in putting knotty questions and arguments this way and that. Nāgasena readily accepted the challenge of Milinda and went to Sāgala attended by a band of samaṇas. Just at that time Milinda had met Āyupāla, an Arahat of the Saṅkheyya monastery, whom too he confronted with his casuistry. Nāgasena who was then living at the same hermitage came now to the rescue of the Order. Milinda with five hundred Yonakas then repaired to Nāgasena, and after mutual exchanges of courtesy and compliments the conversational discourse began.

(b) Book II

The first discourse turned on the distinguishing characteristics of moral qualities. Milinda enquired how Reverend Nāgasena

was known and what was his name. Upon it Nāgasena initiated a discussion on the relation between name and individuality, and explained it thoroughly with the help of an instructive simile. The king then, obviously to test his knowledge, put to him a riddle and questioned him as to his seniority of years. Nāgasena fully vindicated himself, and the king then satisfied sought the permission of the Reverend Arahāt to discuss with him. The Arahāt in his turn told that he was agreeable to a discussion if he would only discuss as a scholar and not as a king. Then one by one Milinda put questions and Nāgasena solved them with his wonderful power of argumentation, simile, and illustration. He contended that there was no soul in the breath ; he explained one by one the aim of Buddhist renunciation, the Buddhist idea of reincarnation, the distinction between wisdom and reasoning, and wisdom and intelligence. He further contended that virtue was the basis of the five moral powers requisite for the attainment of nirvāna and that other moral powers were faith,⁵ perseverance, mindfulness, and meditation which a recluse should develop in himself. The characteristic marks of each of these qualities were expounded in detail, and their power to put an end to evil dispositions. A very important metaphysical question is next discussed wherein Nāgasena wants to establish with the help mainly of illuminating illustrations that when a man is born, he remains neither the same nor another ; like a child and a growing man through different stages of life. "One comes into being" another passes away ; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. In this connection it is discussed if a man who will not be reborn feel any painful sensation; and then what is after all reborn. A discourse is next initiated as to what is meant by "time", the root and the ultimate point of it. This leads to another discussion as to the origin and developments of qualities, as to other existence or non-existence of anything as soul, which in its turn most naturally leads to a further discussion as regards thought-perception and sight-perception, and lastly to the distinguishing characteristics of contact or phassa, sensation or vedanā, idea or saññā, purpose or cetanā, perception or viññāna, reflection or vitakka, and investigation or

⁵ Cf. *Summary of faith in the Nettipakaraṇa*, p. 28.

vicāra. In all these discourses and solutions, Milinda is fully convinced and is full of admiration for Nāgasena.

(c) Book III

The second discourse turns on the question of removal of difficulties and dispelling of doubts in the way of attaining a life of renunciation. The various questions as to these doubts are not always related to one another, but all of them are instructive and helpful to solve doubts in the mind of Milinda, the King. He wants to know why really there is so much distinction between man and man, how renunciation is brought about, what is the character of the influence of karma, and what is after all nirvāṇa, and whether all men attain it or not. The interesting point raised next is whether rebirth and transmigration are one and the same thing, and if there is a soul or any being that transmigrates from this body to another. Among other doubts that conflicted Milinda were if the body were very dear to the Buddhist recluse, if the Buddha had really thirty-two bodily marks of a great man, if the Buddha was pure in conduct, if ordination was a good thing. Milinda further enquired of Nāgasena what had been the real distinction between one full of passion, and one without passion, and lastly what was meant by an Arahāt who recollected what was past and done long ago. Then there were also other difficulties of various kinds which were all solved by the venerable Nāgasena. Milinda was satisfied that he had propounded his questions rightly, and the replies had been made rightly. Nāgasena thought that the questions had been well-put and right replies had been given.

(d) Book IV

This book deals with solutions of puzzles arising out of contradictory statements made by the Buddha. These puzzles were many and varied and were distributed in eighty-two dilemmas which were put by Milinda to Nāgasena, who, in his turn, gave satisfactory explanations to each of them. The contradictions in the Buddha's utterances were more apparent than real. About them strife was likely thereafter to arise, and it was difficult to find a teacher like Nāgasena. So an early solution of these dilemmas

was imperative for the guidance of intending disciples of the Order. These dilemmas are particularly interesting as well as instructive and it is profitable to be acquainted here with a few examples. Milinda was puzzled by dilemma : If the Buddha has really passed away, what is the good of paying honour to his relics ? Nāgasena said to him, "Blessed One, O King, is entirely set free from life and he accepts no gifts. If gods or men put up a building to contain the jewel treasure of the relics of a Tathāgata who does not accept their gift, still by that homage paid to the attainment of the supreme good under the form of the jewel treasure of his wisdom do they themselves attain to one or other of the three glorious states (Tisso Sampattiyo). There are other reasons too. For, gods and men by offering reverence to the relics, and the jewel treasure of the wisdom of a Tathāgata, though he has died away, and accepts it not, can cause goodness to arise in them, and by that goodness can assuage and can allay the fever and the torment of the threefold fire. And even if the Buddha has passed away, the possibility of receiving the three attainments is not removed. Beings, oppressed by the sorrow of becoming, can, when they desire the attainments, still receive them by means of the jewel treasure of his relics and of his doctrine, discipline, and teaching. Like the seeds which through the earth attain to higher developments are the gods and men who, through the jewel treasures of the relics and the wisdom of the Tathāgata —though he has passed away and consent not to it— being firmly rooted by the roots of merit, become like unto trees casting a goodly shade by means of the trunk of contemplation, the sap of true doctrine and the branches of righteousness, bearing the flowers of emancipation, and the fruits of monkhood. It is for all these reasons that even when the Buddha has passed away, an act done to him notwithstanding his not consenting thereto, is still of value and bears fruit."

A second dilemma that conflicted Milinda was, how can the Buddha be omniscient, when it is said that he reflects or thinks ? To solve this dilemma, Nāgasena analysed the thinking powers of men from the lowest individual full of lust, ill-will and delusion to the highest Buddha having all knowledge and bearing about in themselves the tenfold power and whose thinking powers are on every point brought quickly into play, and act with ease. He then

classified these different kinds of thinking powers into seven classes. The thinking power of the Supreme Buddhas is of the last or seventh class, and its stuff is very fine, the dart is highly tempered and its discharge is highly powerful. It altogether out-classes the other six and is clear and active in its high quality that is beyond an ordinary man's comprehension. It is because the mind of the Blessed One is so clear and active that the Blessed One has worked so many wonders and miracles. For his knowledge is dependent on reflection, and it is on reflection that he knows whatever he wishes to know. It is more rapid than that, and more easy in action in the all embracing knowledge of the Blessed One, more rapid than his reflection. His all-embracing knowledge is like the store-house of a great king who has stores of gold, silver and valuables, and all sorts of eatables ; it is with the help of reflection that the Blessed One grasps easily and at once whatever he wants from the big store-house of his knowledge.

A third dilemma was, why did the Blessed One admit Devadatta to the Order, if he knew of his machinations ? In giving a solution out of this dilemma Nāgasena told Milinda that the Blessed One was both full of mercy and wisdom. It was when he in his mercy and wisdom consider the life history of Devadatta that he perceived how having heaped up karma on karma, he would pass for an endless series of kalpas from torment to torment, and from perdition to perdition. And the Blessed One knew also that the infinite karma of that man would, because he had entered the Order, become finite, and the sorrow caused by the previous karma would also therefore become limited. But if that foolish person were not to enter the Order, then he would continue to heap up karma which would endure for a kalpa. And it was because he knew that, in his mercy, he admitted him to the Order. And by doing so, the Blessed One acted like a clever physician, and made light the heavy sorrow of Devadatta who would have to suffer many hundreds of thousands of kalpas. For having caused schism in the Order, he (Devadatta) would no doubt suffer pain and misery in the purgatories, but that was not the fault of the Blessed One, but was the effect of his own karma. The Blessed One did in his case act like a surgeon who with all kind intent and for man's good smears a wound with burning

ointment, cuts it with lancet, cauterises with caustic, and administers to it a salty wash. So did the Blessed One cause Devadatta to suffer such pain and misery that at the end he might be relieved of all pains and miseries. If he had not done so, Devadatta would have suffered torment in purgatory through a succession of existences, through hundreds of thousands of kalpas.

Of other puzzles that arose in Milinda's mind, mention may be made of three out of many. These were, for example, how was it that an Arahāt could do no wrong ; why did not the Buddha promulgate all the rules of the Order at once and how could Vessantara's giving away of his children be approved. Speaking as to the faults of the Arahāt, Nāgasena told Milinda that the Arahāts, like laymen, could be guilty of an offence, but their guilt was neither due to carelessness or thoughtlessness. Sins are of two kinds: those which are a breach of the ordinary moral law, and those which are a breach of the Rules of the Order. Now, an Arahāt, in the true sense of the term, cannot be guilty of a moral offence ; but it is possible for him to be guilty of any breach of the Rules of the Order of which he might have been ignorant. Next, speaking as to the method of promulgating the Rules from time to time and not all at once, Nāgasena quoted the authority of the Tathāgata ; for the Tathāgata thought thus, "If I were to lay down the whole of the hundred and fifty rules at once the people would be filled with fear, those of them who were willing to enter the Order would refrain from doing so, they would not trust my words, and through their want of faith they would be liable to rebirth in states of woe. An occasion arises, therefore, illustrating it with a religious discourse, will I lay down, when the evil has become manifest, each Rule." As to the justification of King Vessantara's giving away his beloved sons in slavery to a Brāhmaṇa, and his dear wife to another man as wife, Nāgasena told Milinda that he who gave gifts in such a way as to bring even sorrow upon others, that giving of his brought forth fruit in happiness and it would lead to rebirths in states of bliss. Even if that be an excessive gift it was not harmful, rather it was praised, applauded, and approved by the wise in the world.

The last four dilemmas of Milinda are concerned with the difficult problem of Nirvāṇa. Is Nirvāṇa all bliss or partly pain ;

the form, the figure, duration, etc., of Nirvāṇa, the realisation of Nirvāṇa, and the place of Nirvāṇa; these are the puzzles that afflicted the mind of the king. Nāgasena solved them all one by one to the satisfaction of Milinda. According to him Nirvāṇa is bliss unalloyed, there is no pain in it. It is true that those who are in quest of Nirvāṇa afflict their minds and bodies, restrain themselves in standing, walking and sitting, lying, and in food, suppress their sleep, keep their senses in subjection, abandon their very body and their life. But it is after they have thus, in pain, sought after Nirvāṇa, that they enjoy Nirvāṇa which is all bliss. By no metaphor, or explanation, or reason, or argument can its form or figure, or duration, or measure be made clear, even if it be a condition that exists. But there is something as to its qualities which can be explained. Nirvāṇa is untarnished by any evil dispositions. It allays the thirst of the craving after lusts, desire for future life, and the craving after worldly prosperity. It puts an end to grief, it is an ambrosia. Nirvāṇa is free from the dead bodies of evil dispositions, it is mighty and boundless, it is the abode of great men, and Nirvāṇa is all in blossom of purity, of knowledge and emancipation. Nirvāṇa is the support of life, for it puts an end to old age and death ; it increases the power of Iddhi (miracle) of all beings, it is the source to all beings of the beauty of holiness, it puts a stop to suffering in all beings, to the suffering arising from evil dispositions, and it overcomes in all beings the weakness which arises from hunger and all sorts of pain. Nirvāṇa is not born, neither does it grow old, it dies not, it passes not away, it has no rebirth, it is unconquerable, thieves carry it not off, it is not attached to anything, it is the sphere in which Arahats move, nothing can obstruct it, and it is infinite. Nirvāṇa satisfies all desires, it causes delight and it is full of lustre. It is hard to attain to, it is unequalled in the beauty of its perfume, it is praised by all the Noble Ones. Nirvāṇa is beautiful in Righteousness, it has a pleasant taste. It is very exalted, it is immovable, it is accessible to all evil dispositions, it is a place where no evil dispositions can grow, it is free from desire to please and from resentment.

As to the time of Nirvāṇa, it is not past, nor future, nor present, nor produced, nor not produced, nor producible. Peaceful, blissful, and delicate, Nirvāṇa always exists. And it is

that which he who orders his life aright, grasping the idea of all things according to the teaching of the conquerors realises by his wisdom. It is known by freedom from distress and danger, by confidence, by peace, by calm, by bliss, by happiness, by delicacy, by purity, and by freshness. Lastly as to the place of Nirvāṇa, there is no spot either in the East, or the South or the West or the North, either-above or below where Nirvāṇa is. Yet it exists just as fire exists even if there is no place where it is stored up. If a man rubs two sticks together, the fire comes out, so Nirvāṇa exists for a man who orders his life well. But there is such a place on which a man may stand, and ordering his life aright, he can realise Nirvāṇa, and such a place is virtue.

(e) Book V

This book deals with solutions of problems of inference. Milinda asked Nāgasena how they could know that Buddha had ever lived. Nāgasena told him that as the existence of ancient kings was known by their royal insignia, their crown, their slippers, and their fans, so was the existence of Buddha known by the royal insignia used by the Blessed One and by the thirty-five constituent qualities that make up Arahatsip which formed the subject of discourse delivered by Gotama before his death to his disciples. By these can the whole world of gods and men know and believe that the Blessed One existed once. By this reason, by this argument, through this inference, can it be known that the Blessed One lived. Just at the sight of a beautiful and well-planned city, one can know the ability of the architect, so can one, on examining the City of Righteousness which the Buddha built up, come to know of his ability and existence.

(f) Book VI

The sixth book opens with an interesting discussion. Can laymen attain Nirvāṇa? Nāgasena told that even laymen and women could see face to face the condition of peace, the supreme good, Nirvāṇa. "But, what purpose then do extra vows serve?" asked Milinda again. To this Nāgasena replied that the keeping of vows implied a mode of livelihood without evil, it has blissful calm as its fruit, it avoided blame and it had such twenty-

eight good qualities on account of which all the Buddhas alike longed for them and held them dear. And whosoever thoroughly carried out the vows, they became completely endowed with eighteen good qualities without a previous keeping of the vows by those who became endowed with these good qualities, there was no realisation of Arahatsip ; and there was no perception of the truth to those who were not purified by the virtues that depended on the keeping of the vows. Nāgasena next explained in detail with the help of a good number of similes the character that came as a result of keeping the vows for the good growth of the seed of renunciation and for the attainment of Nirvāṇa. But those who being unworthy take the vows incur a two-fold punishment and suffer the loss of the good that may be in him. He shall receive disgrace and scorn and suffer torment in the purgatory. On the contrary those who being worthy take the vows with the idea of upholding the truth deserve a two-fold honour. For he comes near and dear to gods and men, and the whole religion of the recluses becomes his very own. Nāgasena then gave Milinda the details of the thirteen extra vows by which a man should bathe in the mighty waters of Nirvāṇa. Upasena the elder, practised all these purifying merits of the vows and Blessed One was delighted at his conduct. The thirty graces of the true recluse are detailed next and whosoever is endowed with these graces is said to have abounded in the peace and bliss of Nirvāṇa. Sāriputta, according to Nāgasena, was one like this who became in this life of such exalted virtue that he was the one who, after the Master, set rolling the royal chariot wheel of the Kingdom of Righteousness in the religion of Gotama, the Blessed One.

(g) Book VII

The seventh or the last book is concerned with a detailed list of the similes or qualities of Arahatsip ; of these similes thirty-eight have been lost and sixty-seven are still preserved. Any member of the Order who wishes to realise Arahatsip must be endowed with these one hundred and five qualities. Milinda silently and reverently heard detailed descriptions of these qualities ; and at the end he was full of admiration for the venerable Thera Nāgasena for his wonderful solution of the three hundred and

four puzzles. He was filled with joy of heart ; and all pride was suppressed within him. He ceased to have any more doubts and became aware of the virtue of the religion of the Buddhas. He then entreated Nāgasena to be accepted as a supporter of the Faith and as a true convert from that day onward as long as life should last. Milinda did homage to Nāgasena and had a vihāra built called the 'Milinda-Vihāra' which he handed over to Nāgasena.

The Milinda Pañha like the Bhagavat Gītā is the most interesting and instructive literary production of an age which is heroic. Its long narrative is composed of a long series of philosophical contest between two great heroes, King Milinda on the one hand and the Thera Nāgasena on the other. A pubba-yoga or prelude is skilfully devised to arouse a curiosity in the reader to witness the contest and watch the final result with a great eagerness. On the whole, the Milinda successfully employs a novel literary device to put together the isolated and disconnected controversies in the Kathāvatthu as representing different stages in the progress of the philosophical battle, and in doing so it has been in one place guilty of the literary plagiarism in respect of introducing King Milinda as a contemporary of the six heretical teachers on the model of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta.

Place and country names in the Milinda Pañha

Alasanda (dīpa): the island town of Alexandria on the Indus, founded by Alexander.

Yavana (Bactria): That province watered by the Oxus or the Amu Daria and the premier satrapy of the Achaemenian kings later on came to be conquered by Alexander and in 321 B.C. fell to the share of Seleukos Nikator. Hundred years later the Bactrian Greeks threw off their allegiance to their Seleukidan lord, asserted independence, and gradually moved towards India to establish there an independent principality. Milinda or Menander was one of the kings of this line of Bactrian Greeks who came to establish their power in India.

Bharukaccha: an ancient seaport equivalent to modern Broach in the Kaira district in Guzrat; Barygaza of the Greek geographers.

Cīna (country): China.

Gandhāra: an important ancient kingdom that had its capital

at Puruṣapura or Peshwar in the North-western Frontier Province.

Kaliṅga: an ancient kingdom on the Orissan coast, identical with the modern Ganjam region. All older works, such as the Jātaka, Mahāvastu, and Dīgha Nikāya, mention a kingdom named Kaliṅga with its capital Dantapura ages before Buddha's time.

Kalasa (gāma): a village situated in the Alasanda island on the Indus; the birthplace of Milinda.

Kajangala: mentioned in very early Buddhist Pāli texts as a locality somewhere near Rajmahal.

Kasmīr (raṭṭham): a famous kingdom in the North of India.

Kosala: an ancient province identical with South Bihar, capital Śrāvastī.¹

Kolopattanam: an ancient seaport probably on the Coromandel coast.

Magadha (raṭṭham): an ancient kingdom identical with East Bihar ; capital Pāṭaliputra.

Madhurā (nigamo): an ancient city identical with modern Mathurā. Coins of Menander have been found here.

Nikumba (raṭṭham): somewhere in the north-west of India.

Sāgala (nagaram): identical with Sākala, modern Sialkot, capital city of the King Milinda.

Sāketa: identical with ancient Ayodhyā country.

Saka country: the kingdom of the Sakas or Scythians in the time of Menander was confined to the Bactrian lands south of the Oseus and to Sogdiana to the north.

Sovīra: ancient Sauvīra, the country of the Sauvīra tribe adjacent to the Sindhu country.

Suratṭho (nigamo): an ancient seaport, modern Surat.

Bārānasī: modern Benares.

Suvannabhūmī: identical probably with Lower Burma and Malay Peninsula.

Pāṭaliputra (nagaram): an ancient city, capital of Magadha near modern Patna.

Udicca: a country in the north-west of India.

Vaṅga: identical with East Bengal.

Vilāta: an ancient kingdom somewhere in the north-west of India.

Takkola: an ancient seaport near Thaton in Lower Burma.

Ujjenī: identical with ancient Ujjayinī, capital of the ancient Malwa country.

Greek (country): ancient Greece in Eastern Europe.

Names of rivers in the Milinda Pañha

1. *Gaṅgā*: The Ganges.
2. *Acīravatī*: an ancient river in Eastern India flowing through the Kosala country past Srāvastī.
3. *Yamunā*: a tributary of the Ganges, the Isamos of the Greeks.
4. *Sarabhū*: identical with Sarayū, a tributary of the Ganges.
5. *Mahī*: a river south to the Vindhya flowing into the Bay of Bengal. These five rivers are often mentioned together in the Piṭakas.
6. *Sarassatī*: an ancient tributary of the Indus.
7. *Vitamsa*: identical probably with Vitastā, a tributary of the Indus, the Hydaspes of the Greeks.
8. *Candrabhāgā*: identical with modern Chenab, a tributary of the Indus.

Books referred to and mentioned in the Milinda Pañha

A. Books silently referred to:

1. Dīgha Nikāya, 2. Kathāvatthu, 3. Aṅguttara Nikāya, 4. Mahāvagga, 5. Cullavagga, 6. Vessantara Jātaka, 7. Sivi Jātaka, 8. Majjhima Nikāya, 9. Sutta Vibhaṅga, 10. Cātuma Sutta, 11. Dhammacakka-pavattana Sutta, 12. Amba Jātaka, 13. Dummedha Jātaka, 14. Tittira Jātaka, 15. Khantivāda Jātaka, 16. Cūla-nandiya Jātaka, 17. Taccha-Sūkara Jātaka, 18. Cariyā-piṭaka, 19. Silavanāga Jātaka, 20. Sabbadāṭṭha Jātaka, 21. Apaṇṇaka Jātaka, 22. Nigrodhamiga Jātaka, 23. Mahāpaduma Jātaka, 24. Ummagga Jātaka, 25. Sutta Nipāta, 26. Thera Gāthā, 27. Saṃyutta Nikāya, 28. Dhammapada, and 29. Nigrodha Jātaka.

Books or passages of books mentioned by name

1. Vinaya, Sutta, Abhidhamma, 2. The Suttantas, 3. Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi, 4. Vibhaṅga, 5. Dhātu-Kathā, 6. Puggala Paññatti, 7. Kathāvatthu, 8. Yamaka, 9. Paṭṭhāna, 10. The Abhidhamma Piṭaka, 13. Mahā-Samaya Suttanta — (Dīgha Nikāya), 14. Mahā-maṅgala

Suttanta —(Sutta Nipāta), 15. Sama-cittapariyāya Suttanta —(unknown), 16. Rāhulvāda Suttanta (Majjhima), 17. Parābhava Suttanta —(Sutta Nipāta), 18. Saṃyutta Nikāya, 19. The Sutta Nipāta, 20. Ratana Sutta —(Sutta Nipāta), 21. Khandha Parittā —(not traced), 22. Mora Parittā, 23. Dhajagga Parittā —(Jātaka Book), 24. Ātānāṭiya Parittā —(Dīgha Nikāya), 25. Aṅgulimāla Parittā —(Majjhima Nikāya), 26. The Pātimokkha, 27. Dhammādayāda Sutta (Majjhima Nikāya), 28. Dakkhina Vibhaṅga of the Majjhima Nikāya, 29. Cariyā Piṭaka, 30. Navangaṃ Buddha Vacanaṃ, 31. Dīgha Nikāya, 32. Majjhima Nikāya, 33. Khuddaka Nikāya, 34. Mahā Rāhulovāda (Majjhima Nikāya), 35. Purābheda Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 36. Kalaha Vivāda Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 37. Cūla-Vyūha Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 38. Mahā-Vyūha Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 39. Tuvaṭṭaka Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 40. Sāriputta Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 41. Mahāsamaya Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 42. Sakkha-Pañha Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 43. Tirokuḍḍa Suttanta (Khuddaka Pāṭha), 44. Ekuttara Nikāya (Aṅguttara Nikāya), 45. Dhaniya Sutta (Sutta Nipāta) 46. Kummūpama Suttanta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 47. Sacca Saṃyutta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 48. Vidhura Puṇṇaka Jātaka, 49. Dhammapada, 50. Sutasoma Jātaka, 51. Kaṇha Jātaka, 52. Lomahaṃsana Pariyāya, 53. Cakkavāka Jātaka, 54. Culla Nārada Jātaka, 55. Lakkheṇa Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 56. Bhaḷlāṭiya Jataka, 57. Parinibbāna Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya).

V. Trenckner's edition of the *Milinda Pañha* first published by Williams and Norgate in 1880 has been reprinted by the trustee of the James G. Forlong Fund, Royal Asiatic Society, in 1928 with a general index by C. J. Rylands and an index of gāthās by Mrs. Rhys Davids. There is another edition of this work by Hsaya Hbe, Rangoon, 1915. A Burmese word for word interpretation of this text by Ādiccavaṃsa, Rangoon, should be consulted. It has been translated into English by T.W. Rhys Davids and included in the *Sacred Books of the East Series* as Vols. XXXV - XXXVI. There is a Sinhalese translation of the *Milinda Pañha* by Hinaṭi Kumbure under the title *Milinda prashnaya*, Colombo, 1900.

The following books may be consulted :

1. *Le Bonheur du Nirvāṇa extrait du Milindapprashnaya ; ou Miroir des doctrines sacrées* traduit du Pali par Lewis da Sylva Pan-

dit. (Revue de l'histoire des religions, Paris, 1885.)

2. *Deux Traductions chinoises du Milinda Pañha* par E. Specht avec introduction par S. Levi.

3. *Chinese translations of the Milinda Pañha* by Takakusu, J.R.A.S., 1896. This paper contains a number of Chinese translations in existence, the date of the two translations and the story of the discussions of King Milinda and Bhikkhu Nāgasena found in the Buddhist sūtra called Saṃyutta-Ratnapīṭaka.

4. *Historical basis for the questions of King Menander from the Tibetan* by L. A. Waddel, J.R.A.S., 1897. This paper points out that the Milinda Pañha is known to the Tibetans.

5. *Nāgasena* by Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, J.R.A.S., 1891.

6. *Milinda Questions* by Mrs. Rhys Davids 1930.

7. *Critical and philological notes to the first chapter of the Milinda Pañha* by V. Trenckner rev. and ed. by Dr. Anderson, J.P.T.S., 1908.

8. Paul Pelliot: *Les noms propres dans les traductions chinoises du Milinda Pañha*. (Journal Asiatic, Paris, 1914.)

9. There is a Bengali edition of this work published by the Bangīya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta, which can vie, if it can vie at all, in its uncritical method and blunders.

10. F. Otto Schrader, *Die Fragen des König Menandros* (Berlin, 1903).

11. Garbe, *Der Milindapañha, ein Kulturhistorischer Roman*, Indische Kulturgeschichte.

12. G. Cagnola, *Dialoghi del Re Milinda* (Italian translation of the Milinda Pañha).

13. *Milinda* by T.W. Rhys Davids (Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, pp 631-633).

14. M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur* (vol. 2, Leipzig, 1920).

Earlier Commentaries

In the Gandhavaṃsa (pp. 58 foll. J.P.T.S., 1886) which is a comparatively modern Pāli compilation we have interesting classification of the Buddhist teachers of India, Ceylon, and Burma connected with Pāli literature. This classification goes to divide the teachers chronologically into three orders : (1) Porāṇācariyas, (2) Aṭṭhakathācariyas, and (3) Gandhakāracariyas.

By the Porāṇācariyas or ancient teachers are meant the distinguished and profoundly learned theras of old numbering about 2,200 Arhats, who as selected representatives of different sections of the orthodox saṅgha took part in the proceedings of the first three Buddhist Councils and rehearsed the canonical texts. These teachers are arbitrarily identified with the Aṭṭhakathācariyas or teachers commanding the commentarial authority. Buddhaghosa and others are, according to this classification, to be counted among the Gandhakaracariyas or teachers representing individual authorship. Such teachers are also to be known as Anekācariyas or different authors.

The *Gandhavaṃsa* expressly treats the earlier Sinhalese commentaries such as *Kurundīya attha-kathā* and the *Mahāpaccariya aṭṭhakathā* presupposed by the writings of Buddhaghosa as remarkable productions of individual authorship.⁶

We may be prepared to appreciate this suggestive chronological classification in so far as it leads us to contemplate the beginning of individual authorship from a certain stage of literary development, a stage which is represented by *Buddhadatta*, *Buddhaghosa*, and *Dhammapāla*. In the first or early stage we have the various texts of the three Pāli piṭakas, all of which the Saṃgītikāras made their own by virtue of a joint rehearsal and canonisation. Though tradition ascribes the *Kathāvatthu* and the *Parivārapāṭha* to two different authors, namely, *Moggaliputtatissa* and the learned *Dīpa*, one need not be astonished to find that the claim of individual authorship has altogether merged in the interests of the Saṃgītikāras, and ultimately of the saṅgha as a whole.

The authority of the *Milinda Pañha* has been wrongly cited by *Buddhaghosa* and others with the stamp of individual authorship of *thera Nāgasena*. It is the same thing to ascribe the *Milinda Pañha* to the authorship of *Nāgasena* as to ascribe all the Pāli canonical texts to the authorship of the Buddha. As a matter of fact *Nāgasena* plays no more than the role of the more powerful of the two controversialists in the dramatic narrative of the *Milinda Pañha* a position which is in many respects similar to that assigned to *Vāsudeva*

⁶ *Gandhavaṃsa*, p. 59: "Katame anekācariyehi kata Gandhācariyo kurundiḡandham nāma akāsi. Aññatāro ācariyo mahāpaccariyam nāma aṭṭhakatham akāsi. Aññatāro ācariyo kurundiḡandhassa aṭṭhakatham akāsi".

in the dramatic conversational narrative of the Bhagavat Gītā.

The Gandhavaṃsa (p. 59) ascribes the Netti and the Peṭakopadesa along with four other treatises, exegetical and grammatical, to the authorship of Mahākaccāyana—the venerable Mahākaccāyana who was one of the immediate disciples of the Buddha, doing his missionary work in western India. This is a lump of anachronism which is too big for a critical scholarly mouth to swallow. As regards individual authorship, the Netti and the Peṭakopadesa stand in the same position as the Milinda Pañha. Have we in this respect to confront a different position with regard to the earlier Sinhalese commentaries under notice? Highly doubtful is the source of information that has enabled the author of so modern a work as the Gandhavaṃsa to say that a certain individual author wrote out a treatise called Kurundigandha, another author, the Mahapaccariya-aṭṭhakathā and another author, the Aṭṭhakathā of the Kurundigandha.

Some earlier commentaries have been quoted by Buddhaghosa without even meaning to regard them as works of any individual authors. Even in cases where he has referred to them as personal authorities, he appears to have recourse to such an indefinite expression as aṭṭhakathācariyas.⁷ On the other hand there are several statements in which Buddhaghosa and other commentators have regarded these earlier commentaries not as works of any individual authors but as authoritative books of interpretation of different monastic schools of teachers (cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, P.T.S., pp. 1-2; *Atthasālinī*, p. 2).

“Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ dīpayanto vīnicchayaṃ
Atthaṃ pakāsayissāmi āgamatṭhakathāsūpi.

The earlier commentaries mentioned or cited by Buddhaghosa in his *Samantapāsādikā*, *Atthasālinī*, *Sumaṅgalavilāsīnī*, and other commentaries are :

- (1) The Mahā Aṭṭhakathā.
- (2) The Mahāpaccariya.
- (3) The Kurundī or Kurundiya.⁸
- (4) Andha Aṭṭhakathā.

⁷ *Atthasālinī*, pp. 85 123, and 217

⁸ *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 10.

- (5) Samkhepa Aṭṭhakathā.
- (6) Āgamatṭhakathā.⁹
- (7) Ācariyaṇaṃ samānatṭhakathā.¹⁰ (?)

According to the Saddhama Sangaha, the Mahā, the Mahāpaccari, and the Kurunda are the three earlier Sinhalese commentaries quoted by Buddhaghosa in his Samantapāsādikā while the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā was made the basis of his commentaries on the first four nikayas.¹¹

The Porāṇas and the Aṭṭhakathācariyas represent indeed a broad chronological classification of the pubbācariyas which may as well be inferred from Buddhaghosa's own statements. In the prologue of his Samantapāsādikā, he expressly says that the Mahā, the Mahāpaccari, and the Kurundī are the three earlier commentaries that were written in the native dialect of Sihala (Ceylon) samvaṇṇanā sihaladīpakena vākyena, Samantapāsādikā, I, p. 2).

The Mahā-aṭṭhakathā otherwise known as the mūla aṭṭhakathā or simply the aṭṭhakathā is undoubtedly the old Sinhalese commentary on the three piṭakas developed in the school of the Mahāvihāra or Great Minster at Anurādhapura. There was a second monastery at Anurādhapura called Uttara-vihāra or North Minster. A commentarial tradition was developed also in this school. The distinction between the traditions of Mahāvihāra and Uttara-vihāra would seem to lie in the background of Buddhadatta's two Vinaya manuals —the Vinaya-*vinicchaya* and the *Uttaravinicchaya*. The name of Mahāpaccari or Great Raft can be so called "from its having been composed on a raft somewhere in Ceylon" (*Saddhammasaṅgaha*, p. 55). The suggested origin of the name is quite fanciful and therefore unreliable like the Mahā or mūla. The Mahāpaccari appears to have been a distinct compilation of a monastic school of Ceylon. The Kurundī was so called because it was composed at the Kurundaveluvihāra in Ceylon (*Saddhammasaṅgaha*, p. 55).

The Andha-aṭṭhakathā represented a commentarial tradition handed down at Kañcipura (Conjeveram) in South India. Presumably it was written in some native dialect of the Deccan.

⁹ *Atthasālim*, p. 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹¹ *Saddhama Sangaha*, pp. 55-56, J.P.T.S., 1890.

The Saṅkhepa aṭṭhakathā or short commentary is mentioned together with the Andha commentary and it is likely that like the latter it was a South Indian work.

The Āgamaṭṭhakathā referred to in Buddhaghosa's Atthasālinī is now taken to be an old general commentary on the āgamas or nikāyas.

Acariyānaṃ Samānaṭṭhakathā has been catalogued by Mrs. Rhys Davids as though it were a separate commentary but the context of the passage in Buddhaghosa's Atthasālinī (p. 90) in which the term occurs, shows the matter to be otherwise. By this expression (Ettikā ācariyānaṃsamānaṭṭhakathā nāma, *Atthasālinī*, p. 90) Buddhaghosa appears simply to mean an explanation which is common to all the schools of interpretation. If so, there will be no justification whatever for regarding the term ācariyānaṃ samānaṭṭhakathā as a title of any commentary.

Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā

Fausböll's edition of the Jātaka commentary now extant is known by the name of Jātakathavaṇṇanā¹² containing about 550 Jātakas.¹³ In the Jātakathavaṇṇanā itself there is a reference to an older commentary namely, the Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā which, as rightly guessed by Prof. Rhys Davids, is "the older commentary of Elu, or old Singhalese, on which the present work is based"¹⁴ This older commentary must have been the source from which Buddhaghosa has quoted several birth stories in his commentaries. Judging by Buddhaghosa's narrations of the Jātakas bearing a close resemblance with those in the present Atthavaṇṇanā, we can say that the contents and arrangement of the Jātakas in the Aṭṭhakathā had not materially differed from those in the Atthavaṇṇanā. It is evident from Buddhaghosa's own statement in his Sumaṅgalavilāsini that the total number of the Jātakas already came to be counted in his time as 550.¹⁵ But as shown by

¹² Fausböll's *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 1: "...Jātakas' Atthavaṇṇanaṃ Mahāvihāra-vāsinaṃ vācānamaggaṇissitaṃ bhāsitaṃ".

¹³ Strictly speaking the total number of the Jātakas contained in it is 547.

¹⁴ *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 173, f.n. 2; Fausböll's *Jātaka*, I, p. 62.

¹⁵ *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, I, p. 24: "Apaññaka-jātakādini paññāsādhikāni pañca-jātaka-satāni Jātakan ti veditabbam".

Dr. B.M. Barua, the earlier total as mentioned in the Cullanidde (p. 80: "Bhagavā pañca jātaka-satāni bhāsanto attano ca paresañ ca atītaṃ ādisati"), which is a canonical commentary on the Khaggavisāna Sutta and the suttas of the Pārāyaṇavagga, was not 550 but 500 (pañcajātaka-satāni). He seems to think that the same inference as to the earlier total of the Jātakas may as well be drawn from an account of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien stating that he witnessed representations of 500 Jātakas when he visited Ceylon in the beginning of the 5th century A.D.¹⁶ The various literary processes by which the Jātakas were mechanically multiplied have been well discussed¹⁷ and need no further orientation here.

Buddhasiḥa's Vinayavinicchaya

The word vinicchaya means "investigation, trial, ascertainment, and decision". The meaning which suits the title of the work under notice is "decision". Certain decisions helping the right interpretation and application of the Vinaya rules and prescriptions embodied in the Vinaya Piṭaka grew up as a result of discussions among the theras of Ceylon and South India, the decisions of the Mahāvihāra school being generally regarded as the most authoritative. These decisions referred to in the lump by Buddhaghosa as aṭṭhakathāvinicchayas were also incorporated in such Sinhalese commentaries as the Mahā (Mahāvihāra), the Mahākarundiya, and the Mahāpaccariya. It was binding on Buddhaghosa and other later commentators to see that the interpretations suggested by them were not only not inconsistent with the canonical texts but also with the aṭṭhakathāvinicchayas.¹⁸ In many places of his Samantapāsādikā Buddhaghosa has termed even his own decisive interpretation as a Vinicchaya.¹⁹ Even apart

¹⁶ *The Travels of Fa-hsien* by H.A. Giles, p. 71: "representations of the five hundred different forms in which the Bodhisatva successively appeared".

¹⁷ B. M. Barua's paper: *Multiplication of the Jātakas*, I.H.Q.

¹⁸ *Samantapāsādikā*, I 539. In discarding a particular interpretation, Buddhaghosa says "aṭṭhakathā vinicchayehi na sameti" i.e., it does not tally with the decisions of the commentaries.

¹⁹ Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 648: "Ayaṃ tava anto dasāhaṃ adhiṭṭheti vikappeti ettha adhiṭṭhāne vinicchayo". Again at p. 649 'ayaṃ vikappeti imasmim pade vinicchayo'.

from the decisive interpretations in the earlier Sinhalese commentaries Buddhaghosa appears to have cited certain authoritative Vinayavinicchayas without mentioning the source from which he cited them. Looking out for the source we are apt to be led back to a treatise written by therā Buddhasiha which clearly bore the title of Vinayavinicchaya.

In the epilogue of his Vinayavinicchaya Buddha datta expressly says that his own work was nothing but an abridged form of Buddhasiha's treatise. Buddhasiha himself is represented as a saddhivihārī of a fellow monk residing in the monastery erected by Veṅhudāsa or Kaṅhadāsa in the beautiful river port of Kāverī.²⁰

No trace of Buddhasiha's treatise lingers except perhaps in citations in Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā. The treatise was in all probability written in prose while Buddhadatta's is a manual written entirely in verse.

Narasīhagāthā

Narasīhagāthā is the title of an interesting Pāli octade consisting of eight stanzas composed in an elegant style. The theme of this poem which became very popular throughout Ceylon is a description of 32 major bodily marks of the Buddha represented as a lion-like man (narasīha). The gāthās are characteristically put into the mouth of Rāhulamātā. Only the first stanza of the ancient octade is quoted in the Pāli Jātakanidānakathā (Fausböll, *Jātaka*, I, p. 89), the reading of which goes to show that its wording changed here and there in the octade as it comes down to us through the Buddhist literature of Ceylon.

(a) Earlier reading:

“Siniddhanīlamudukuñcitakeso
suriyasunimmalatalābhinalāṭo
yuttatūṅgamudukāyatanāso
ramsijālavitato narasīho' ti.”

²⁰ Buddhadatta's *Vinavavinicchaya*, p. 229.

“Vuttassa Buddhasihena Vinayassa vinicehayo
Buddhasiham samuddisse mama saddhivihārikam
kato 'yam pana bhikkhūnam hitatthāya samāsato.”

(b) Later reading:

“Suddhanilamudukuñcitakeso
suriyanimmalatalābhinalāto
yuttatuṅgamudukāyatanāso
ramsijālopitāte narasiho.”

The octade may be regarded as an earlier specimen of the Sinhalese Pāli poetry.

Dīpavaṃsa

The Dīpavaṃsa is the oldest known Pāli chronicle of Ceylon (dīpatthutī) and of Buddhism, the account of which is closed with the reign of King Mahāsenā which may be assigned to the middle of the 4th century A.D. Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the Kathāvatthu, a book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, expressly quotes a number of verses from the Dīpavaṃsa as a traditional authority in support of a certain statement of his, from which it is easy to infer that the chronicle in its present form was extant in the 4th century A.D., if not earlier. It goes without saying that the tradition of both the kings and theas of Ceylon as well as of their Indian contemporaries grew up and accumulated gradually. The stanzas quoted by Buddhaghosa may be traced *verbatim* in the Dīpavaṃsa (p. 36).

Though a metrical composition, the verses of this earlier chronicle interspersed in places with certain prose passages some of which may be traced in such authoritative canonical texts as the Vinaya Cullavagga.²¹ In the opening verses of the Dīpavaṃsa we are told that the chronicle embodied in it was handed down by tradition from man to man (vamsaṃ pavakkhāmi paramparā-gataṃ). So we need not be astonished to find certain verses oc-

²¹ *Dīpavaṃsa*, p. 33

“tena kho pana samayena vassasatamhi nibbute bhagavati
Vesālikā Vajjiputtakā Vesāliyaṃ dasa vatthūni dīpenti:
kappati siṅgiloṇakappo, kappati dvaṅgulakappo,
kappati gāmantarakappo, kappati āvāsakappo, kappati
anumatikappo, kappati āciṇṇakappo, kappati amathita.
kappo, kappati jalogim, kappati adasakaṃ
nisīdanam, kappati jātarūparajatan ti.”

Cf. *Vinaya Cullavagga* ch. xii, p. 294.

curing in the Vinaya Parivārapāṭha and furnishing the traditional materials for the Dīpavaṃsa. The verses incorporated in the Parivārapāṭha may be just one of the isolated earlier specimens, there being many others that are probably now lost. Thus what we find in the Dīpavaṃsa is the first fruit of a methodical attempt at the composition of a systematic chronicle narrative on the basis of certain traditions, prevalent in both prose and verse. We need not dilate further on this subject as we have dealt with it in detail in the section on the Pāli chronicles.

Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa

The very name of the Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa may sound strange to the ears of those who are taught to think that the Pāli Mahāvaṃsa is the first work of its kind. To get rid of this predilection the reader may do well to acquaint himself with the verses forming the prologue of the great chronicle. In these opening verses, the author says:

“Mahāvaṃsam pavakkhāmi nānānūnādhikārikam.
Porāṇehi kato p’eso ativittārito kvaci,
atīva kvaci saṃkhitto, anekapunaruttako.
Vajjitam tehi dosehi sukhaggahaṇadhāraṇam”
(*Mahāvaṃsa*, Chapter I)

Dr. Geiger translates “I will recite the mahāvaṃsa, of varied contents and lacking nothing. That (Mahāvaṃsa) which was compiled by the ancient (sages) was here too long drawn out and there too closely knit; and contained many repetitions. Attend ye now to this (Mahāvaṃsa) that is free from such faults.” (Geiger’s translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 1.) Thus the author of the Pāli Mahāvaṃsa himself alludes to an earlier chronicle and claim that the chronicle composed by him was nothing but a thoroughly revised version of the earlier compilation. Here the question arises whether of the earlier compilations the author of the pāli Mahāvaṃsa intended to mean the Dīpavaṃsa or some other work, especially only bearing the title of Mahāvaṃsa intended to mean the Dīpavaṃsa or some other work, especially only bearing the title of Mahāvaṃsa. There are two arguments that may be placed in favour of the Dīpavaṃsa : (1) that the faults — “here too long drawn out and

there too closely knit ; and contained many repetitions"— are well applicable to the *Dīpavaṃsa* ; and (2) that the narrative of the *Pāli Mahāvaṃsa*, precisely like that of the *Dīpavaṃsa* is closed with an account of the reign of King Mahāsena of Ceylon. Undoubtedly the *Dīpavaṃsa* is the earlier chronicle on which the *Mahāvaṃsa* narrative was mainly based. But there are many points of difference, which are in some cases material. Fortunately Dr. Geiger in his instructive dissertation on the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* has convincingly proved the existence of an earlier great chronicle in Sinhalese. He has been able to ascertain that the earlier form of the great chronicle was a part of a commentary written in old Sinhalese prose mingled with Pāli verses. The commentary could be found in different monasteries of Ceylon and it is just the other earlier work that served as a basis of the *Pāli Mahāvaṃsa* ascribed to Thera Mahānāma (Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa* tr., intro., p. x)

The schools of reciters: their views and interpretations

Among the important citizens of the ideal Dhammanagara the Milinda Pañha mentions some six schools of reciters of the Buddhist holy texts, namely, (1) *Jātakabhāṇakā*, the reciters of the *Jātakas*, (2) *Dīghabhāṇakā*, the reciters of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, (3) *Majjhimbhāṇakā*, the reciters of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, (4) *Samyuttabhāṇakā*, the reciters of the *Samyutta Nikāya*, (5) *Aṅguttarabhāṇakā*, the reciters of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, and (6) the *Khuddakabhāṇakā*, the reciters of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. To this list may be added *Dhammapadabhāṇakā*, the reciters of the *Dhammapada*, mentioned in Buddhaghosa's *Atthasālinī* (p 18). *Bhāṇaka* or a reciter of the Buddhist holy texts is met with in a large number of Buddhist votive inscriptions at Bharaut and Sāñci as a distinctive epithet of the monks. Buddhaghosa in the introduction to his *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* records a remarkable tradition accounting for the origin of the different schools of the *bhāṇakās*. The same tradition is met with in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* with a slight variation. According to this tradition, it so happened that during the session of the first Buddhist Council as soon as the *Vinaya* was recited and the *Vinaya* texts were compiled, the preservation of the *Vinaya* traditions and texts by regular recitations was entrusted to the care of the venerable Upāli while in

the course of rehearsal of the Dhammapada, the Dīghāgama or the Dīgha Nikāya came to be compiled, the preservation of this text was entrusted to the care of the venerable Ānanda ; in a similar way the preservation of the Majjhimāgama on the Majjhima Nikāya was entrusted to the care of the disciples of Sariputta ; that of Saṃyuttāgama or the Saṃyutta Nikāya was entrusted to the care of the venerable Kassapa that of the Ekuttarāgama was entrusted to the care of the venerable Anuruddha. Thus one is to conceive the rise of the five schools of bhāṇakās, to wit, Vinayabhāṇakā, Dīghabhāṇakā, Majjhimbhāṇakā, Saṃyuttabhāṇakā and Aṅguttarabhāṇakā (Barua and Sinha, *Bharut Inscriptions*, p. 9; *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, I, pp. 13-15).

With the progress of time, anyhow by the time of Buddha-ghosa the schools of reciters appear to have developed into some distinct schools of opinion and interpretation. No other reasonable inference may be drawn from Buddhaghosa's citations of their authorities.²² The individual teachers of Ceylon²³ Whose views have been quoted and discussed here and there by Buddhaghosa in his various commentaries may be supposed to have belonged to this or that school of reciters²⁴ and we need not consider their case separately here.

²² *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, I, p. 15. "Tato param Jātakam Mahāniddeṣo Cūla-niddeṣo Paṭi-sambhidā-maggo Sutta-nipāto Dhammapadam Udānam Itivuttakam Vimāna-peta-vatthu Thera-theri-gāthā ti imam tantim saṅgāyitvā Khudda-gantho nāma ayan ti ca vatvā, Abhidhammapitakasmim yeva saṅgaham āropayimsūti Dīgha-bhāṇakā vadanti, Majjhima-bhāṇakā pana Cariyā-piṭaka-Apadāna-Buddhavaṃsesu saddhim sabbam pi tam Khuddakaganthan sutanta-piṭake pariyaṇnan ti vadanti."

Atthasālini, p. 18: "Dhammapadabhāṇakā pana Anekajātisamsaram sandhāvissam anibbisam gahakarakam gavesanto. Dukkha jāti punappunam. Gahakaraka diṭṭho 'si puna geham na kāhasi, Sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā gahakūṭam visaṅkhitam, visaṅkhāragatam cittam tanhānam khayam ajjhagā ti Idam paṭhamabuddhavacanam nāmā tivadanti".

See for other references *Atthasālini*, pp. 151, 399, 420 noticed for the first time by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her *Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, p. xxx.

²³ We mean such teachers as Tipitaka Cūlanāga therā in the *Atthasālini*, pp. 229, 230, 266, 267, 284 and the Tipitaka Mahādhammarakkhija therā in the *ibid.*, pp. 267, 278, 286, 287.

²⁴ Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 313. Saṃyuttabhāṇaka-Cūla-Sivathera.

CHAPTER V

Pāli commentaries

Before proceeding to deal with the Pāli commentaries it would be interesting to record here biographical sketches of three of the most celebrated Buddhist scholiasts.

Buddhadatta

Buddhadatta, a contemporary of Buddhaghosa, was a celebrity of the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon and was an inhabitant of the Kāverī region in the kingdom of the Chōlas. He was born in Uragapura (modern Uraiyūr)¹ and flourished during the reign of King Accutavikkanta of the Kalamba (Kadamba) dynasty. His works which were all written in the famous monastery erected by Kaṇhadāsa (Kiṣṇadāsa) or Veṇhudāsa (Viṣṇudāsa), evidently a new Vaiṣṇava reformer of the Deccan,² on the banks of the river Kāverī are so far as known to comprise the following:

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| (1) Uttaravinicchaya | } | Known as Buddhadatta's
Manuals. |
| (2) Vinayavinicchaya | | |
| (3) Abhidhammāvatāra | | |
| (4) Rūpārūpavibhāga | | |
- and (5) Madhuratthavilāsini, a commentary on the Buddhavaṃsa.

¹ Barua, *Religion of Aśoka*; Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd Ed. p. 42.

² *Skandapurāna*, Brah nakhaṇḍa.

He was a patriotic poet of considerable reputation. It is stated in the Vinayavinicchaya that when Buddhadatta was going to India from Ceylon, he was met by Buddhaghosa who was then proceeding to Ceylon at the request of the Buddhist monks of India with the object of translating the Sinhalese commentaries into Pāli. Hearing of the mission of Buddhaghosa of whose deep learning he was fully convinced and delighted thereat Buddhadatta spoke thus, "When you finish the commentaries, please send them up to me so that I may summarise your labours". Buddhaghosa said that he would gladly comply with this request and the Pāli commentaries were accordingly placed in the hands of Buddhadatta who summed up the commentaries on the Abhidhamma in the Abhidhammāvatāra and those on the Vinaya in the Vinayavinicchaya (*vide* Buddhadatta's *Manuals or Summaries of Abhidhamma*, edited by A.P. Buddhadatta, for the P.T.S. in 1915, p. xix). Buddhadatta was no doubt a great scholar. From the Vinayavinicchaya commentary we know that he was highly esteemed by the eminent commentators, Sāriputta Saṅgharāja, Buddhaghosa, and other great scholars of the period for his scholarly attainments (cf. *Mādisāpi kavī honti Buddhadatte divaṅgate*).

Buddhadatta opens his scheme with a four-fold division of the compendium, e.g., mind, mental properties, material quality, and Nibbāna ; while Buddhaghosa expounds his psychology in terms of the five Khandhas. In this respect Buddhadatta's representation is perhaps better than that of Buddhaghosa.³

There is no reason to disbelieve the statement that the two teachers met each other. It is clear that they drew materials from the same source. This fact well explains why the Visuddhimagga and the Abhidhammāvatāra have so many points in common. Buddhadatta has rendered invaluable service to the study of the Abhidhamma tradition which has survived in Theravada Buddhism to the present day. The legendary account is that Buddhadatta put in a condensed shape that which Buddhaghosa handed

³ Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, Second Ed., p. 174.

on in Pāli from the Sinhalese commentaries. But the psychology and philosophy are presented through the prism of a second vigorous intellect, under fresh aspects, in a style often less discursive and more graphic than that of the great commentator, and with a strikingly rich vocabulary."

As we have already pointed out that when on sea Buddhadatta met Buddhaghosa and learnt that the latter was going to Ceylon to render the Sinhalese commentaries into Pāli, he requested Buddhaghosa to send him the commentaries when finished so that he might summarise his labours. Buddhaghosa complied with his request. Buddhadatta then summed up the commentaries on the Abhidhamma in the Abhidhammāvātāra and then on the Vinaya in the Vinayavinicchaya. Mrs. Rhys Davids says, "It is probably right to conclude that they both were but handing on an analytical formula which had evolved between their own time and that of the final closing of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka (*Buddhist Psychology*, Second Ed., p. 179)✓

Like Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta employed the simile of the purlblind and the lame to explain the relation between Nāma and Rūpa (*Abhidhammāvātāra*, P.T.S., p. 115). Buddhadatta's division of the term into Samūha and Asamūha is another interesting point (*ibid.*, p. 83). It will be remembered that such a division of terms as this was far in advance of the older classification embodied in the Puggalapaññatti commentary (*P.T.S.*, p. 173).

Supposing that Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty was a contemporary King of Ceylon and that Buddhaghosa was a contemporary of Thera Buddhadatta it follows that King Accutavikkanta of the Kaḷamba dynasty was a contemporary of Kumāragupta I.

According to Rev. A.P. Buddhadatta, Buddhadatta was either older than Buddhaghosa or of the same age with him. "Ayaṃpana Buddhadattācariyo Buddhaghosācariyena samāna vassiko vāthokaṃ vuddhataro vā ti sallakkhema" (Viññāpanaṃ, pp. xiii-xiv, *Buddhadatta's Manuals*, 1915). This statement is however doubtful. In the Buddhaghosuppatti (p. 50) we find

Buddhadatta addressing Buddhaghosa by the epithet 'Avusa' which is applied to one who is younger in age. The passage runs thus "Āvuso Buddhaghosa, aham tayā pubbe Laṅkādiṇe Bhagavato sāsaṇaṃ kātum āgatomhī ti vātvā, ahaṃ appayuko...". This shows that according to the tradition recorded in the *Buddhaghosuppatti*, Buddhaghosa was younger than Buddhadatta.

The different accounts of the comparative age of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa are hardly reconcilable. The account given in the introduction of the *Abhidhammāvatāra* clearly shows that Buddhadatta lived to write abridgments of some of Buddhaghosa's works. This goes against the legend contained in the *Buddhaghosuppatti* that Buddhadatta left Ceylon earlier than Buddhaghosa without translating the Sinhalese *Aṭṭhakathā* apprehending that he was not to live long.

Buddhaghosa

In the history of Pāli literature, the name of Buddhaghosa stands out pre-eminent as one of the greatest commentators and exegetists. He is one of those Indian celebrities who have left for us no other records of their career than their teachings and works to be appraised for what they are worth. So far as his life history is concerned we have nothing except his commentaries and a few legends and traditions, and it is not an easy matter to separate the few grains of biographical detail from the mass of extraneous matter gathered in them. Besides the meagre references that Buddhaghosa himself has made to the details of his life in his great commentaries, the earliest connected account of his life is that contained in the second part of Chapter XXXVII of the great Ceylonese chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*. This section, however, is considered to be later than the remaining portions of the *Chronicle*, having been added by Dhammakitti, a Ceylonese *Sramaṇa* of the middle of the 13th century A.D. This compilation though made after the lapse of more than eight hundred years is not altogether unworthy of credence, and is very probably derived from older materials.

Buddhaghosa, according to this account, was a brahmin youth born in the neighbourhood of the terrace of the great Bo tree in Magadha. After he had accomplished himself in the "Vijjā" and the "Sippa" and achieved the knowledge of the three "Vedas", he established himself in the character of a disputant, in a certain Vihāra. There he was once met by a Buddhist therā who convinced the brahmin youth of the superiority of the Buddha's doctrine and converted him to the Buddhist faith. As he was as profound in his 'ghosa' or eloquence as the Buddha, they conferred on him the appellation of Buddhaghosa or the voice of the Buddha. He had already composed an original work called 'Nānodayaṃ' and written the chapter called "Atthasālini" on the dhammasaṅgani. He went to Ceylon to study the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā in order to undertake the compilation of a "Paritta-aṭṭhakathā" or a general commentary on the Piṭakattaya. He visited the island in the reign of King Mahānāma, and there at the Mahāpadhāna Hall in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura, he listened to the Aṭṭhakathā and the Theravāda, became thoroughly convinced of the true meaning of the doctrine of the Lord of Dhamma, and then sought the permission of the priesthood to translate the Aṭṭhakathā. In order to convince them of his qualifications he composed the commentary called "Visuddhi-maggam" out of only two gāthās which the priests had given him as a test. Most successfully he came out of the test to the rejoicings of the priesthood ; and taking up his residence in the secluded Ganthākāra Vihāra at Anurādhapura, he translated, according to the grammatical rules of the Magadhas, the whole of the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā (into Pāli). Thereafter, the object of his mission being fulfilled, he returned to Jambudvīpa to worship the Bo-tree at Uruvelā in Magadha.

The most important service that Dhammakitti (the author of the supplementary supplementary chapter of the Mahāvamsa from which the above account is compiled) renders to our knowledge of the great sage is that he fixes definitely the time when Buddhaghosa lived. The King Mahānāma as the Ceylonese chronicle shows, reigned in the first half of the 5th century A.D.;

and as Buddhaghosa visited Ceylon and worked there during this period we can be certain about the age he lived in. This date is also substantiated by internal evidence derived from the commentaries of Buddhaghosa himself. He shows his acquaintance with the Milinda Pañha as also to other post-canonical Buddhist works, such as the Peṭakopadesa and Anāgatavaṃsa besides some ancient Aṭṭhakathās, and other works which are no longer extant.⁴ It is to be observed that in none of these cases there is the least reason for thinking that any of the works quoted from or referred to by Buddhaghosa was of a later date than that allotted to him by Dhammakitti. The Burmese tradition as recorded by Bishop Bihandet also points to the beginning of the 5th century A.D. as the time when the great commentator is said to have visited the shores of Suvanṇabhūmi.⁵

Dhammakitti's account of Buddhaghosa's proficiency in the Vedas and other branches of brahmanical learning is also substantially correct. It is confirmed by internal evidence from the great exegete's own commentaries; they reveal that he was acquainted with the four Vedas as also with the details of Vedic sacrifices. But the Vedic texts were not the only brahmanical works known to Buddhaghosa. He reveals his knowledge of "Itihāsa", of the brahmanical sūtras as also of the different systems of Hindu Philosophy.

Besides these comparatively authentic accounts of the life of the great commentator, there is a mass of legendary accounts of his life. Such legends are found in the Buddhaghosuppatti, also known as the Mahābuddhaghosassa Nidānavatthu by the priest Mahāmaṅgala who lived in Ceylon evidently after the time when the Mahāvamsa account was written. Other late works of the Southern school such as the Gandhavaṃsa, the Sāsanavaṃsa, and the Saddhammasaṅgaha furnish some additional details. But the accounts of all these works are of the nature of legends in which fact and fiction are often hopelessly blended together.

⁴ For details, see my *Buddhaghosa*, pp. 9-10.

⁵ *Buddhaghosa's Parables* by Capt. T. Rogers, p. xvi, f.n. i.

In their kernel, however, they agree in more important points with Dhammakitti's account in the Mahāvamsa. Of further points we learn that Buddhaghosa's father was one Kesī, a brahmin preceptor who used to instruct the king of the realm in the Vedas; Kesī was, however, later on converted by his son. The Buddhaghosuppatti refers to Buddhaghosa's deep knowledge of Sanskrit displayed before the Ceylonese monks as also to his quick wisdom.

Some are of opinion that after having completed his work in Ceylon, Buddhaghosa came to Burma to propagate the Buddhist faith. The Burmese ascribe the new era in their religion to the time when he visited their country from Ceylon. He is said to have brought over from that island to Burma, a copy of Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar which he translated into Burmese. He is also credited with having written a commentary on it. A volume of Parables in Burmese language is also attributed to him. The Burmese code of Manu, too is said to have been introduced into Burma from Ceylon by the same Buddhist scholar. But the code itself is silent on this point. The Chronicles of Ceylon to which we the information about Buddhaghosa, and which must have been well-informed on the subject, give no account of his journey to Burma. All serious scholars doubt this tradition.⁶

Buddhaghosa was not only a metaphysician. His scholarship was wide and deep and of an encyclopaedic character. His works reveal his knowledge of Astronomy, Grammar, Geography, of the Indian sects and tribes and kings and nobles of Buddhist India, of the fauna and flora of the country, of ancient manners and customs of the land, and of the history of Ceylon.

The quality and bulk of the work produced in a single life time show that Buddhaghosa must have been toiling steadily and indefatigably, year in and year out, working out the mission with which he was entrusted by his teacher, immured in a cell of the great monastery at Anurādhapura. Such a life is necessarily

⁶ Hackmann's *Buddhism as a Religion*, p. 68

devoid of events, and we cannot expect to find in it the variety and fulness of the life-story of a great political figure. Born in Northern India, brought up in brahmanic traditions, versed in Sanskrit lore and an adherent of the system of Patañjali, it is really surprising to know how he acquired such a thorough mastery over the Pāli language and literature and over Buddhist religion and philosophy. His was a useful career, and as long as Buddhism remains a living faith among mankind, Buddhaghosa will not cease to be remembered with reverence and gratitude by Buddhist peoples and schools.⁷

Dhammapāla

An inhabitant of South India, Dhammapāla dwelt at Padara-tūttha in the realm of the Damiḷas. He was also a celebrity of the Mahāvihāra. He seems to have based his commentaries on the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathās which were not preserved in the main land. T.W. Rhys Davids is of the opinion that Dhammapāla and Buddhaghosa seem to have been educated at the same University. In support of this view he refers to the published works of the two writers, a careful study of which shows that they hold very similar views, they appeal to the same authorities, they have the same method of exegesis, they have reached the same stage in philological and etymological science and they have the same lack of any knowledge of the simplest rules of the higher criticism. The conclusion follows that as far as we can as present judge, they must have been trained in the same school (Hastings *Ency. of R. and E.*, Vol. IV, 701)

It seems probable that Dhammapāla was born at Kāñcīpura, the capital of the Tamil country. Hiuen Tsang who visited Kāñcīpura in the 7th century A.D. was told by the brethren there that Dhammapāla had been born here at Kāñcīpura.

The Gandhavaṃsa (p. 60) enumerates the following works ascribed to Dhammapāla : (1) Nettīpakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā, (2)

⁷ For a fuller and more detailed treatment read my book, *The Life and work of Buddhaghosa*, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1923.

Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā, (3) Udāna-aṭṭhakathā, (4) Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā, (5) Thera and Therī-gāthā-aṭṭhakathā, (6) Vimalavilāsini or the Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā, (7) Vimalavilāsini, or the Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā, (8) Paramatthamañjūsā, (9) Līnatthapakāsini on the four aṭṭhakathās of the four nikāyas, (10) Līnatthapakāsini on the Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā, (11) Nettittha-kathāyatikā, (12) Paramattha-dīpanī, and (13) Līnatthavaṇṇanā.

From his works it appears that Dhammapāla was well read and well informed. His explanation of terms is very clear. His commentaries throw considerable light on the social, religious, moral, and philosophical ideas of time like the commentaries of Buddhaghosa. In his commentaries Dhammapāla follows a regular scheme. First comes an introduction to the whole collection of poems, giving the traditional account of how it came to be put together. Then each poem is taken separately. After explaining how, when, and by whom it was composed each clause in the poem is quoted and explained philologically and exegetically.

Mrs. Rhys Davids in her introduction to the translation of the Therīgāthā (*PSS. of the Sisters*, p. xvi) says. "In the 5th or 6th century A.D. either before or just after Buddhaghosa had flourished, and written his great commentaries on the prose works of the Vinaya and Sutta Piṭakas, Dhammapāla of Kāñcipura, now Conjeeveram, wrote down in Pāli the unwritten expository material constituting the then extant three Aṭṭhakathās on the Psalms and incorporated it into his commentary on three other books of the Canon, naming the whole 'Paramatthadīpanī or Elucidation of the Ultimate Meaning'. He not only gives the ākhyāna in each Psalm but adds a paraphrase in the Pāli of his day, of the more archaic idiom in which the gāthas were compiled." She further points out that the presentation of verses, solemn or otherwise, in a framework of prose narrative is essentially the historical Buddhist way of imparting canonical poetry. Dhammapāla's chronicles are, for the most part, unduplicated in any other extant work; but not seldom they run on all fours, not only with parallel chronicles in Buddhaghosa's commentaries, but also with a prose frame-

work of poems in Sutta Nipāta or Saṃyutta Nikāya, not to mention the Jātaka (PSS. of the Brethren, p. xxv).

Origin and growth of the commentaries

According to Indian tradition, a commentary means reading new meanings back into old texts according to one's own education and outlook. It explains the words and judgments of others as accurately and faithfully as possible; and this remark applies to all commentaries, Sanskrit as well as Pāli. The commentary or bhāṣya, as it is called in Sanskrit, implies, as suggested by the great Sanskrit poet Māgha in his famous kāvya, 'Sisupālabadha', an amplification of a condensed utterance or expression which is rich in meaning and significance:

“Saṃkhiptasyāpyatosyaiva vākyasyārthagariyasaḥ
Suvistaratarāvācobhāṣyabhūtā bhavantu me” (ii. 24);

but at the same time an element of originality also implied by its definition as given by Bhara in his lexicography. “Those who are versed the bhāṣyas call that a bhāṣya wherein the meaning of a condensed saying (sūtra) is presented in words that follow the text and where, moreover, the own words of the commentator himself are given.”

“Sūtrārtho varṇyate yatra padaiḥ sūtrānsāribhiḥ
Svapaḍāni ca varṇyante bhāṣyam bhāṣyavidoviduḥ
Iti Liṅgādisaṃgrahaṭīkāyām Bharataḥ” (*Śabdakalpadruma*)

The need for an accurate interpretation of the Buddha's words which formed the guiding principle of life and action of the members of the Saṅgha, was felt from the very first, even during the life time of the Master. There was at that time the advantage of referring a disputed question for solution to the Master himself, and therein we can trace the first stage in the origin of the Buddhistic comments. The Buddhist and Jaina texts tell us that the itinerant teachers of the time wandered about in the country, engaging themselves whenever they stopped in serious discussions on matters relating to religion, philosophy, ethics, morals, and polity. Discussions about the interpretation

of the abstruse utterances of the great teachers were frequent and the *raison d'être* of the development of the Buddhist literature, particularly of the commentaries, is to be traced in these discussions. There are numerous interesting passages in the Tripiṭaka, telling us how from time to time contemporary events suggested manifold topics of discussion among the bhikkhus, or how their peace was disturbed by grave doubts calling for explanations either from the Buddha himself or from his disciples. Whenever an interested sophist spoke vehemently in many ways in dispraise of the Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Order (*Dīgha*, I); whenever another such sophist misinterpreted the Buddha's opinion (*Majjhima*, Vol. III, pp. 207-8), whenever a furious discussion broke out in any contemporary brotherhood (*Majjhima*, Vol. II, Sāmagāma Sutta), or whenever a bhikkhu behaved improperly, the bhikkhus generally assembled under the pavilion to discuss the subject, or were exhorted by the Buddha or by his disciples to safeguard their interests by presenting a strong defence of their case. The *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* Nikāyas contain many illuminating expositions of the Buddha, e.g., Mahākammavibhaṅga, the Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga, (*Majjhima*, Vol. III, pp. 207-222), etc. Then we have from Thera Sāriputta, the chief disciple of the Buddha, a body of expositions of the four Aryan truths, the Saccavibhaṅga. We have also to consider other renowned and profoundly learned disciples of the Buddha, among whom were some women, who in their own way helped forward the process of development of the commentaries. mahākaccāyana wrote some exegetical works like Kaccāyana gandho, Mahāniruttigandho, etc. We have similar contributions from Mahākoṭṭhita, Moggallāna, Ānanda, Dhammānā, and Khemā, but it is needless to multiply instances.

There is another class of ancient Buddhist literature, the porāṇas, of which our knowledge is at present based only upon some extracts in the aṭṭhakathās. We are told in the Gandhavaṃsa that those who are Porāṇācariyā are also Aṭṭhakathācariyā, or teachers who wrote the aṭṭhakathās, and were evidently the earliest contributors to the commentary literature. A number

of quotations made by Buddhaghosa may be found in his works concerning the views of the porāṇas. It shall be noted here that the porāṇas do not represent a consistent school of philosophical thought. Each teacher must have been responsible for himself alone, and it is hopeless to discover any organic connection among the numerous short and long passages attributed to the porāṇas in Buddhaghosa's writings (*vide my The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, Chap. III. There is a paper on the origin of the Buddhist arthakathās with introduction by R.C. Childers, J.R.A.S., 1871, pp. 289-302 which should be consulted).

Works of three great Pāli commentators

The works of Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla are the most important Pāli commentaries. They are rich in materials for reconstructing a secular and religious history of ancient India. They also throw a flood of light on the philosophical, psychological, and metaphysical aspects of the period with which they deal. A large variety of information is available from these commentaries and hence their importance is very great. Thanks to the indefatigable labours of the Pāli Text Society, London, for printing and publishing a major portion of the Pāli commentaries and making them accessible to the reading public. Besides, there are some other Pāli commentaries, such as the Saddhammapajjotikā or a commentary on the Niddesa written by Upasena ; Saddhammapakāsinī, a commentary on the Paṭisambhidāmagga written by Mahānāma Thera of Anurādhapura, and the Visuddhajanavilāsinī or a commentary on the Apadāna written by an unknown author.

A. WORKS OF BUDDHADATTA

Abhidhammāvatāra and Rūpārtṭpavibhāga

The Abhidhammāvatāra was written by Buddhadatta; and it has been in continuous use amongst the students of the Buddhist scriptures. Buddhadatta was held as a personage of exceptionally high scholarly attainments by Buddhaghosa and others.

It is interesting to note the incidents which led to the writing of this work. Buddhadatta was going from Ceylon to India when he was met by Buddhaghosa who was then proceeding to Ceylon for the purpose of rendering the Sinhalese commentaries into Pāli. Knowing the mission of Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta was highly pleased and spoke thus, "When you finish the commentaries, please send them up to me that I may summarise your labours". Buddhaghosa consented to comply with his request and the Pāli commentaries were accordingly placed in the hands of Buddhadatta who summed up the commentaries on the Abhidhamma in the Abhidhammāvatāra and that on the Vinaya in the Vinayavinicchaya.⁸ He was the author of the Rūpārūpavibhāga and of the commentary on the Buddhavaṃsa. The Abhidhammāvatāra is written partly in prose and partly in verse. It discusses the following points :

Citta, nibbāna, cetasika (that which relates to the mind), ārammaṇa (object ideation), vipāka citta (consequence of mindfulness), rūpa (form), paññatti (designation), etc.

The Rūpārūpavibhāga deals with rūpa, arūpa, citta, cetasika, etc. It is written in prose. Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta has edited Buddhadatta's Manuals or summaries of Abhidhamma (*Abhidhammāvatāra* and *Rūpārūpavibhāga*) for the first time for the P.T.S., London.

Vinayavinicchaya and Uttaravinicchaya

The Vinayavinicchaya and Uttaravinicchaya containing the summaries of the Vinaya Piṭaka have been edited by the Rev. A.P. Buddhadatta of Ceylon, and published by the pāli Text Society of London. These two treatises on the Vinaya seem to have been composed, after the Samantapāsādikā, in an abridged form, in verses. The Vinayavinicchaya contains thirty-one chapters whereas the Uttaravinicchaya contains twenty-three chapters. The author of these treatises was a distinguished thera named Buddhadatta who was a native of Uragapur (or modern

⁸ Vide Buddhadatta's *Manuals*, p. xix.

Uraiyur) on the banks of the Kāverī in the Chola Kingdom of South India. The Vinayavinicchaya was composed while he was residing in a monastery built by Pindidāsa in the neighbourhood of Bhūtaṅgala, a prosperous town on the banks of the Kāverī, during the reign of King Acyutavikrama of the Kalamba clan. According to the editor of these treatises Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa were contemporaries ; but the former was senior to the latter. Buddhadatta came to Ceylon earlier, studied the Sinhalese commentaries and summarised them in Pāli.

There are two Pāli commentaries of these two treatises. The commentary on the Vinayavinicchaya is known as the Vinaya-sāratthadīpanī and that on the Uttarayinacchaya as the uttaralīnatthapakāsinī supposed to have been written by Vacissara Mahāsāmi. There is also a Sinhalese commentary on the Vinayavinicchaya written by King Parākramavāhu II but this work is now extinct.

The Vinayavinicchaya opens with the Pārājīkathā in verses and is followed by the Saṅghādisesakathā, Aniyatakathā, Nissaggiya-Pācittiyakathā, Paṭidesaniyakathā, and the Sekhiyakathā. Thus the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga is closed. Then this treatise deals with the Bhikkhunivibhaṅga under the following heads : Pārājīkathā, Saṅghādisesakathā, Nissaggiya-Pācittiyakathā and Paṭidesaniyakathā. Then khandhakathā, kammakathā, pakiṇṇakathā, and kammaṭṭhānakathā are narrated in verses. The treatise consists of 3183 verses which are written in simple language and marked by good diction.

The Uttaravinicchayakathā consists of 969 verses. Under the Mahāvibhaṅga it treats of the Pārājīkathā, Paṭidesaniyakathā and Sekhiyakathā. Under the Bhikkhunivibhaṅga it deals with Pārājīkathā Saṅghādisesakathā, Nissaggiyakathā, Pācittiyakathā, Catuvipattikathā, Adhikaraṇappaccayakathā, Khandhaka-pucchā, Āpattisamuṭṭhānakathā, Ekuttaranaya, Cedamocakagāthā, Sādhāraṇāsādhāraṇakathā, Lakkhaṇakathā, and Sabbasaṅkalanānaya.

The Madhuratthavilāsinī is a commentary on the Buddha-vaṃsa. The author was Buddhadatta Thera. Spence Hardy men-

tions a commentary on the Buddhavaṃsa by Buddhaghosa. This is probably the Aṭṭhakathā called the Madhuratthavilāsīnī whose authorship is assigned by Grimblot not to Buddhaghosa but to a Buddhist monk living at the mouth of the Kāverī in South India.⁹ There is a valuable edition of this commentary by Yogirala Paññananda Thera revised by Mahāgoḍa Siri Nanissara Thera, Colombo, 1922.

B. WORKS OF BUDDHAGHOSA

Visuddhimagga

The Visuddhimagga¹⁰ was written by Buddhaghosa at the request of the Thera Sanghapāla, it is generally believed, in Ceylon in the beginning of the 5th century A.D., when King Mahānāman was on the throne at Anurādhapura. Buddhaghosa, on reaching the Mahāvihāra (Anurādhapura) entered the Mahāpadhāna Hall, according to the account of the Mahāvaṃsa, the great Ceylonese Chronicle, and listened to the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā and the Theravāda, from the beginning to the end, and became thoroughly convinced that they conveyed the true meaning of the doctrines of the Lord of Dhamma. Thereupon paying reverential respect to the priesthood, he thus petitioned: "I am desirous of translating the Aṭṭhakathā ; give me access to all your books". The Ceylonese priesthood for the purpose of testing his qualification, gave only two gāthās saying, "Hence prove thy qualification ; having satisfied ourselves on this point, we will then let thee have all our books". From these (taking these gāthās for his text), and consulting the Piṭakattaya, together with the Aṭṭhakathā and condensing them into an abridged form, he composed the commentary called the "Visuddhimaggam.

⁹ *Indian Antiquary*, April, 1890, Vol. XIX, p. 119.

¹⁰ The *Visuddhimaggaganthi*, a Burmese Pāli work, explains the difficult passages of the *Visuddhimagga* (Bode, *Pāli Literature of Burma*, p. 19. f.n.).

The Mahāvamsa account of the circumstances that led to the composition of the "Visuddhimagga" agrees substantially with what Buddhaghosa has written about himself in the Nidanakathā or story of the origin of the works at their respective beginnings. Thus in the Nidānakathā to his Visuddhimagga, Buddhaghosa at the very beginning quotes the following gāthā of Buddha's own saying :

"Sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sapanno,
Cittaṃ paññaṃ ca bhāvayam,
Ātāpī nipako bhikkhu,
So imam vijaṭaye jaṭanti"

(After having been established in precepts, a wise person should think of samādhi and paññā, an active and wise bhikkhu disentangles this lock.)

Next he proceeds to record the circumstances under which he wrote his compendium of Buddhism (i.e., the Visuddhimagga). "The real meaning of Sīla, etc., is described by means of this stanza uttered by the great sage. Having acquired ordination in the order of the Jina and the benefit of the Sīla, etc., which is tranquil and which is the straight path to purity, the yogic who are desirous of obtaining purity, not knowing purity as it is, do not get purity though they exert. I shall speak of the Visuddhimagga according to the instruction of the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra, which is pleasing to them, and which is the correct interpretation : Let all the holy men who are desirous of obtaining purity listen to what I say, attentively" (*Visuddhimagga*, P.T.S., Vol. I, p. 2).

At the end of the work again, Buddhaghosa returns to that very gāthā which he has adopted as his text for writing the Visuddhimagga, and after referring to his promise quoted above, thus delivers himself : "The interpretation of the meanings of the Sīla, etc., has been told in the atṭhakathās on the five nikāyas. All of them being taken into consideration, the interpretation gradually becomes manifest, being free from all faults due to confusion ; and it is for this reason that the Visuddhimagga should be liked by the Yogis who are desirous of obtaining purity and who have pure wisdom."

Thus, according to Buddhaghosa, the whole of his Visuddhimagga was written as a commentary on that one gāthā uttered by the Master. Evidently it was this gāthā which the writer of the Mahāvamsa account had in his mind when he wrote that the Visuddhimagga was written as a comment on and expansion of the two gāthās which were set by the Sinhalese Saṅgha residing at the Mahāvihāra to test Buddhaghosa's learning and efficiency. The Visuddhimagga is in fact an abridged edition of the three piṭakas, the Vinaya, the Sutta, and the Abhidhamma, whose main arguments and conclusions are here condensed into a single treatise. In the gāthā itself, of which the Visuddhimagga is a commentary, there is however no mention either of the work "Visuddhi" or "Magga"; but there is mention of sīla, samādhi, and paññā. Strict observance of the sīlas leads to the purification or visuddhi of the kāya or body, while the practice of samādhi leads to the purity of soul and the thinking of paññā to perfect Wisdom. A wise man alone is capable of disentangling the net of cravings and desires and is fit to attain Nirvāṇa. The disentangling of the lock, as it is called, is the final goal, it is called "visuddhi"; and sīla, samādhi, and paññā are the ways or "magga" to attain to it. As the ways or "magga" to attain to Purity or "visuddhi" have been explained in the book, it is called "Visuddhimagga" or "Path of Purity".

The vocabulary of the text is astonishingly rich as compared with the archaic simplicity of the piṭakas. The quotations in the Visuddhimagga from the piṭakas, the Sinhalese commentaries, the porāṇas, etc., are numerous; in other words it is an abridged compilation of the three piṭakas together with quotations from aṭṭhakathās. The work deals with kusala, akusala, avyākata-dhammas, āyatana, dhātu, saṭipatṭhānas, kammās, nakāvi and many other topics of Buddhist philosophy, and may be said to contain, in fact the whole of the Buddhist philosophy in a nutshell. Sīla (conduct, precept), samādhi (concentration) and paññā (wisdom) are the three essential matters which are dealt with in this work. In the chapter on sīla are explained cetanāsīla, cetasika sīla and saṁvarasīla. The advantage of sīla is also mentioned therein. There are in it Pātimokkhasaṁvarasīla and

Indriyasaṃvarasīla. Pātimokkha (monastic rule) is saṃvara (restraint) which purports to speak of restraint in form, sound, smell, contact, etc. It is interesting to read the section dealing with various kinds of precepts as well as the section on Dhutaṅgas.

The subject of concentration is next discussed—its nature, its advantages and disadvantages. Meditation comes in next for explanation—the four stages of meditation: meditation on fire, wind, water, delight, demerits, etc. The section on meditation on demerits is important containing the discussion of a variety of topics, viz. : Buddhānussati (recollection of the Buddha), Dhammānussati (recollection of dhamma), Saṅghānussati (recollection of saṅgha), cāgānussati (recollection of self-sacrifice), devatānussati (recollection of gods), purity on account of recollection, maranasati, kāyagatāsati, upasamānussati, mettābhāvanā, karuṇābhāvanā, upekkhābhāvanā, ākāsānañcāyatana-kammaṭṭhāna, akiñcaññāyatanakammaṭṭhānaṃ, nevasaññāna-saññāyatanakammaṭṭhānaṃ, and āhārepaṭikūlasaññābhāvanā. Ten iddhis or miraculous powers next come in for systematic treatment. There is one section on abhiññā (supernatural knowledge) in which is discussed the nature and definition of wisdom, its characteristics, and the advantage of contemplating on it. Rūpa, vedanā, saññā, and saṃkhāra come one after the other for elucidation; points worth considering in this connection are those on āyatana (abode), indriya (senses), sacca (truth), dukkha (suffering), paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination) and nāmarūpa (name and form).

Maggāmagga Ñānadassanavisuddhi is this: this is the right path and this is not the right path, the knowledge which has been well acquired is what is called maggāmaggañānadassanavisuddhi. Further may be noted the discussions of the nine important forms, viz. : delight, knowledge, faith, thorough grasp happiness, emancipation, knowledge of all the four paths, right realisation of the truth and lastly removal of all sins.

✓ The Visuddhimagga is really an encyclopaedia of Buddhism, a good abstract of Buddhist doctrines and metaphysics and a vast treasure house of Buddhist lore. It has earned for its author

an everlasting fame. The Sumaṅgalavilāsini records the contents of the Visuddhimagga in a nutshell. The contents may be stated as follows: nature of the sīlakathā, dhātudhamma, kamma-ṭṭhanam together with all the cariyāvidhāni, jhānāni, the dhātu, the āyatanāni, indriyāni, cattāriariyasaccāni, paccaṅkārā. the pure and comprehensive naya, maggā and vipassanabhāvanā.

Buddhaghosa is strong in his attacks on Pakativāda, i.e., the Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems which believe in the dual principles of Puruṣa and prakṛti. He showed an extravagant zeal for differentiating the Buddhist conception of avijjā from the Prakṛtivādin's conception of Prakṛti as the root cause of things (*Visuddhimagga*, Vol. II, p. 525). The Visuddhimagga points out that the relation between phassa and its object is the relation between eye and form, ear and sound, mind and object of thought (p. 463). Vedanā is of five kinds, sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ, somanassaṃ, domanassaṃ and upekkhā (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 460). Saññā is only perception of external appearance of an object while viññāna means thorough knowledge of the thing (*Ibid.*, Vol. II p. 462). According to the Visuddhimagga (Chap. XIV) we have 51 Saṅkhāras (confections) beginning with phassa (contact) and ending in vicikicchā (doubt). Kamma, according to Buddhaghosa, means consciousness of good or bad, merit and demerit (*Visuddhimagga*, Vol. II, p. 614). Kamma is of four kinds : kamma which produces result in this life and in the next life, kamma which produces result from time to time and past kamma (*Ibid.*, p. 601). There is no kamma, he says, in vipāka and no vipāka in kamma. Each of them is void by itself, at the same time there is no vipāka without kamma. A kamma is thus void of its vipāka (consequence) which comes through kamma. Vipāka comes into origin on account of kamma (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 603). Consciousness is due to saṅkhāra which is produced by ignorance (*Ibid.*, p. 600). Saṅkhāras owed their existence in the past and will owe their existence in future to avijjā (*Ibid.*, 522 f.). The Visuddhimagga enumerates the twelve āyatanas as cakkhu, rūpa sota, saddā, ghāna, gandha, jhivā, rasa, kāya, phoṭṭabba, māna, and dhamma (*Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 481). The sense organs are due to

kamma and it is kamma which differentiates them (*Ibid.*, p. 444-445). In the section on rūpakkhandha, Buddhaghosa has divided rūpa into two, viz. : bhūtarūpa and apādārūpa. By bhūtarūpa four great elements are implied whereas by upādārūpa are implied twenty-four kinds (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 259 ; *Ibid.*, pp. 443-444).

The Visuddhimagga contains a description of the evil effects of the violation of sila (Vol. I, pp. 6-58). Buddhaghosa takes the word "Inda" in the sense of the Buddha (*Visuddhimagga*, p. 491). In his Visuddhimagga (Vol. II, Ch. XVI) he mentions twenty-two indriyas beginning from cakkhundriya or organ of the eye and ending with aññātavindriya. Upekkhā (indifference) according to him is of ten kinds beginning from chaḷaṅga (six senses) and ending with parisuddhi (purification) (*Visuddhimagga*, Vol. I, p. 160). The advantages of practising meditation are the five kinds of happy living (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 84 foll.). Nirvāṇa includes absence of passion, destruction of pride, killing of thirst, freedom from attachment and destruction of all sensual pleasures. These are the attributes of Nirvāṇa (*Visuddhimagga*, Vol. I, p. 293) which can be attained, it is suggested, through meditation, wisdom, precept, steadfastness, etc. (Vol. I, p. 3).

Buddhaghosa had a fair knowledge of Anatomy as is evident from his account of the thirty-two parts of the body recorded in his Visuddhimagga¹¹ (Vol. I, pp. 249-265).

Samantapāpāsādikā

The Samantapāpāsādikā¹² is a voluminous commentary on the five books of the Vinaya Piṭaka. It was written by Buddhaghosa

¹¹ There is a book called *Paramatthamanjūsā* which is a scholium on *Visuddhimagga*. Besides the P.T.S. edition of the *Visuddhimagga* there is an incomplete edition of this work in Bengali by Gopaldas Choudhury and Samaṇa Puṇṇānanda, 1923.

Read H. C. Warren' paper on *Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga* (9th International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1893).

¹² Read *Pāli Elements in Chinese Buddhism* a translation of Buddhaghosa's *Samantapāpāsādikā*, a commentary on the *Vinaya*, found in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* by J. Taka Kusu, B.A. ; J.R.A.S., 1897.

at the request of the Thera Buddhasiri. The principal contents of the book are as follows :

(1) The cause that led to the holding of the Buddhist council, (2) Selection of members for the Council, (3) The Council cannot be held without Ānanda, (4) Place of the Council, (5) What Ānanda did with Gandhakuṭi, (6) Eighteen Mahāvihāras, (7) Building of a nice pandal for the meeting, (8) Recital of the first and last words of the Buddha, (9) Classification of the Vinaya, Sutta, and the Abhidhamma, (10) How Vinaya was handed down to the third Council, (11) Life of Moggali Brāhmaṇa, (12) Account of Aśoka, (13) Preachers sent by Aśoka, (14) Discussions on Pītisukha and jhānas, (15) Importance of Vajjibhūmi and Vajjiputtaka, (16) Various kinds of pregnancy, (17) Account of Mahāvana at Vesālī, (18) Importance of Bharukaccha as a port, (19) Account of Kuṭāgārasālā at Mahāvana at Vaisālī, (20) Discussions on kammaṭṭhāna, sati, samādhi, paṭisambhidā, cita, viññāna, indriya and four pārājikadhammas, etc. Unlike other commentaries of this nature, Samantapāsādikā is free from any elaborate tangle of similes and metaphors, and is written in an easy language.¹⁹

The facts and contents of historical and geographical interest in this commentary may in short be stated as follows:

Once when they were much troubled on account of a famine at Verañjā, the bhikkhus wanted to repair to another place. The Buddha, therefore, crossed the Ganges at Prayag direct from Verañjā and reached Benares (Vol. I, 201).

King Ajātasattu ruled Magadha for 24 years (Vol. I, 72). He bore the cost of repairing at Rājagaha 18 Mahāvihāras which were deserted by the bhikkhus after the parinibbāna of the Buddha (Vol. I, 9).

¹⁹ Portions of this work have been edited by Drs. Takakusu and Nagai for the P.T.S., London. Siamese, Sinhalese, and Burmese editions are available respectively in Siam, Ceylon, and Burma. A portion of the Pāli *Samantapāsādikā* was rendered into Chinese by Saṅghabhadra in the 5th century A.D. (See Nariman's *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, p. 263.)

The Blessed One passed away in the eighth year of Ajātasattu's reign (Vol. I, p. 72).

The missionaries who were sent to various places to preach the dhamma of Aśoka were all natives of Magadha.

Udaya Bhadda was one of the kings of Magadha who reigned for 25 years. He was succeeded by Susunaga who ruled for 18 years. Kālāsoka had ten sons who ruled for 23 years. Then came the Nandas who ruled over the country for the same period. The Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Candgutta who ruled the kingdom for 24 years and he was succeeded by Bindusāra who sat on the Magadhan throne for 18 years. He was succeeded by Aśoka who also followed his father for some time in making donations to non-Buddhist ascetics and institutions. But being displeased with them he stopped further charities to them, and gave charities to the Buddhist bhikkhus alone (Vol. I, 44). Aśoka's income from the four gates of the city of Pātaliputta was 4,00,000 kahāpanas daily. In the sabhā (council) he used to get 1,00,000 kahāpanas daily (Vol. I, 52). Rājagaha was a good place having accommodation for a large number of bhikkhus (Vol. I, 8). Aśoka is said to have enjoyed undivided sovereignty over all Jambudīpa after slaying all his brothers except Tissa. He reigned without coronation for four years (Vol. I, 41).

Two other kings of Magadha are mentioned in the Samantapāsādikā, Anuruddha, and Muṇḍa (Vol. I, 72-73). Anuruddha succeeded his father Udāyi Bhadda and reigned for 18 years. Then came Nāga Dāsaka who reigned for 24 years. Nāga Dāsaka was banished by the citizens who anointed the minister named Susunāga as King (Vol. I, 72-73).

Bimbisāra is stated to have hundred sons (p. 41), and Aśoka is said to have built 84,000 vihāras in the whole of Jambudīpa (p. 115). Reference is made to Pātaliputta (p. 35) where the King Dhammāsoka would appear and rule the whole of Jambudīpa.

There were eighteen Mahāvihāras at Rājagaha (p. 9). On one occasion Mahākassapa asked Ānanda about dhamma (p. 15).

This commentary records the first and the last words of the Master (p. 17).

The different classifications of the Vinaya, Sutta, and Abhidhamma Piṭakas (p. 18) are detailed in this commentary. It contains also an interesting account of how Vinaya was handed down till the third council (p. 32).

Then we have accounts of the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa (p. 37), who once went to a mountain named Ahogaṅgā. In order to refute the doctrines of others, the thera composed the Kathāvattuppakaraṇa (p. 61). The commentary then gives an account of the missionaries sent to different countries by Moggaliputtatissathera (63-64).

The Samantapāsādikā refers to Kusinārā, a town of the Mallas, where between the two Sāla trees, on the full moon day of the month of Vesākha, the Blessed One passed away (p. 4).

There are references to Campā and Gaggarā (p. 121), and to many other places, e.g., Verañjā (once visited by famine), Śāvattī, Tambaraṇṇi. Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Uttarāpathaka visited by traders in horses (p. 175); Uttara-kuru, Kapilavattu inhabited by many good families (p. 241), Bhaddiya, a city (p. 280), etc. Further, we are referred to the river Ganges, Bārāṇasi (which was once reached by the Buddha after crossing the Ganges), Soreyya, Vesālī, and Mahāvana (p. 207). We are told of the kings of the Licchavigaṇa (p. 212). There is a reference to Uppalavaṇṇā, a beautiful daughter of a banker of Śāvattī (p. 272). The commentary speaks of the Gijjhakūṭa mountain at Rājagaha where once the Blessed One dwelt (p. 285) and where Dabba, a Mallian, was once seen with a bhikkhu named Mettiya (p. 598), of Isigili, a mountain, and Kāsi-Kosala countries (p. 286). Bimbisāra is mentioned here as the Lord of the Magadhas who had an army of troops (p. 297).

There was a golden cetiya (dagoba) built by Prince Uttara (*Samantapāsādikā*, Vol. III, p. 544). A banker named Ghosita built a monastery which was named after him (*Ibid.*, p. 574). Veḷuvana was a garden surrounded by lapis lazuli and it was beautiful and of blue colour having a vault with a wall 18 cubits in circumfer-

ence (*Ibid.*, p. 575). During the reign of King Bhātiya there arose a dispute regarding the doctrine between the theras of Mahavihāra and Abhayagiri (*Ibid.*, 582). Kīṭāgiri is described as a janapada (*Ibid.*, 613). Sāvattī is described as a city containing 57 hundred thousand families and Rājagaha is mentioned as a city inhabited by 18 koṭis of human beings (*Ibid.*, p. 614). There is a reference to the Gotamaka Cetiya in Vesālī visited by the Buddha (*Ibid.*, p. 636). There is a reference to the Mahā-ṭṭhakathā and Kurundaṭṭhakathā (p. 299).

Kaṅkhavitarāṇī

The Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī is a masterly commentary on the Pātimokkha, a book of the Vinaya Piṭaka¹⁴; and was written by Buddhaghosa in his own initiative some time between 410 and 432 A.D. A manuscript of an ancient Sinhalese glossary on this work is preserved in the Government Oriental Library, Colombo. The work is remarkable for the restraint and mature judgment that characterise Buddhaghosa's style. While commenting on the precepts of the Pātimokkha, he has incidentally brought in much new information throwing light on the later development of the monastic life of the Buddhists.

Commentaries on the Sutta Piṭaka :

(1) Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, the commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya

The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī¹⁵ is a famous commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya, written by the celebrated Buddhist exegete Buddhaghosa at the request of the Saṅghathera Dāṭha. It is rich in historical information and folklore, and abounds in narratives which throw a flood of light on the social, political, philosophical, and religious history of India at the time of the Buddha. A vivid picture of sports and pastimes as well as valuable geographical and other data of ancient days are carefully pro-

¹⁴ We have Sinhalese and Burmese editions of this work.

¹⁵ Read *Paṭhamasārattamaṅjūsā* which is a scholium on the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*.

vided in it.¹⁶ The book gives us a glimpse of the great learning of Buddhaghosa who flourished in the 5th century A.D. Its language is a bit less confused than that of his other commentaries.

In the introductory verses of his *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, Buddhaghosa makes the following reference to the history of the composition of his commentaries. Thus he observes : "Through the influence of serene mind and merit which are due to the salutation of the Three Refuges and which put an end to obstacles, in order to explain the meaning of the *Dīgha Nikāya* containing long suttas, which is a good āgama, described by the Buddhas and minor Buddhas, which brings faith, the *Aṭṭhakathās* have been sung and afterwards resung from the beginning by five hundred theras, and are brought to the island of *Laṅkā* by the wise Mahinda and put in the language of the island of *Laṅkā* for the welfare of its inhabitants. Discarding the Sinhalese language and rendering the *Aṭṭhalathas* into a good language which is like *Tanti* and which is free from faults and not rejecting the explanations of the theras who are the dwellers of the *Mahāvihāra*, who are the lamps of the group of theras and who are good interpreters, I shall explain the meanings, avoiding repetitions, for the delight of the good men and for the long existence of Dhamma."

Here also Buddhaghosa refers to his *Visuddhimagga* (S.V., pt. I, p. 2) thus : "I shall not again discuss what has been well told in the *Visuddhimagga*. Standing in the midst of the four āgamas, the *Visuddhimagga* will explain the meaning which has been told there, this being done, you will understand the meaning of the *Dīgha Nikāya* taking it along with this *Aṭṭhakathā*" (i.e., *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*).

There are according to Buddhaghosa four kinds of suttas: (1) *Attajjhāsayo*, i.e., sutta delivered by the Buddha of his own accord; (2) *Parajjhāsayo*, i.e., sutta delivered to suit the intention of others; (3) *Pucchāvasiko*, i.e., sutta delivered in answer

¹⁶ The whole work has been printed and published in Burma, two of the sermons in two parts have been published in Ceylon and there is also an excellent Sinhalese edition in three parts.

to the question of the Supremely Enlightened one; (4) *Aṭṭhuppatiko*, i.e., sutta delivered in course of delivering other suttas.

The examples of each class are given below: (1) e.g. *Mahāsatiपाṭṭhāna*, *Ākaṅkheyya Suttaṃ* *Vatthasuttaṃ*, etc., (2) e.g., *Cūlarāhulavāda*, *Mahārāhulavāda*, *Dhammacakkapavattana*, etc., (3) e.g. *Mārasaṃyutta*, *Devatāsaṃyutta*, *Sakkapañhasuttaṃ*, *Sāmaññaphalasuttaṃ*, etc., (4) e.g., *Dhammadāyāda*, *Cullasiha-nāda*, *Aggikkhandūpama*, *Brahmajālasutta* (*Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, pp. 50-51).

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* furnishes us with some information regarding a bhikkhu's daily life. In the day time a bhikkhu should free his mind from all obstacles by walking up and down and sitting. In the first watch of the night he should lie down and in the last watch he should walk up and down and sit. Early in the morning he should go and cleanse the space surrounding the *cetiya* and the Bodhi-tree. He should give water to the root of the Bo-tree, and keep water for drinking and washing. He should then perform all his duties towards his teacher. After finishing ablution, he should enter his own dwelling place, take his rest on the ground and think of *kammaṭṭhāna*. At the time of going for alms, he should sit up from meditation, and after taking his alms-bowl and garment he should first of all go to the Bodhi-tree and after saluting it he should go to the *Cetiya*. After he has saluted the *Cetiya*, he should enter the village for alms and after having finished begging for alms, he should give religious instruction to many persons so desirous of hearing it. Then he should return to the *vihāra* (*S.V.*, pt. I, pp. 186-187).

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* gives the following reasons for calling Buddha the *Tathāgata*¹⁷ :

1. He has come in the same way.
2. He has gone in the same way.

¹⁷ Read two interesting papers on the *Tathāgata*, one by R. Chalmers, *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, pp. 311 foll. ; another by Dr. Walleser in the *Journal of the Taisho University*, 1930.

3. He is endowed with the sign of Tathā (truth).
4. He is supremely enlightened in Tathadhamma (truth).
5. He has seen Tathā (truth).
6. He preaches Tathā (truth).
7. He does Tathā (truthfully).
8. He overcomes all.

These reasons are explained in detail as follows :

1. As previous Buddhas, e.g., Vipassin, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konāgamana, Kassapa, came, as the previous Buddhas obtained Buddhahood by fulfilling ten Pāramitās (perfections),¹⁸ by sacrificing body, eyes, wealth, kingdom, son and wife, by practising the following kinds of cariyas: Lokatthacariya, i.e., exertion for knowledge ; Buddhatthacariya, exertion for Buddhahood, and by practising four sammappadhānas (four kinds of right exertion), four iddhipadas (four miracles), five indriyas (five senses), five balas (five potentialities), seven bojjhaṅgas (seven supreme knowledges), and the Noble Eightfold Path (āriya atthaṅgika maggo).

2. The Buddha Gautama walked seven steps towards the north just after his birth as Vipassi, Kassapa, and other Buddhas did. He looked all round by sitting under a white umbrella and made the following declaration :

“I am the first in the world, I am the chief in the world, I am the most prominent in the world. This is my last birth, there is no future birth to me.”

The Buddha Gautama destroyed desire for sensual pleasures by renunciation, destroyed hatred by non-hatred, torpor by steadfastness, doubt by the analysis of Dhamma, ignorance by knowledge, etc., like the former Buddhas, e.g., Vipassi, Kassapa, and others.

3. The Buddha fully realised the true characteristics “Tathālakkaṇam” of four elements, sky, consciousness, forms,

¹⁸ The ten perfections are the following :

dāna (charity), sila (precepts), nekkhamma (renunciation), adīṭṭhāna (determination), sacca (truth), mettā (compassion) upekkhā (indifference), khanti (forbearance), viriya (energy), and paññā (wisdom).

sensation, perception, confections, discursive thought, decisive thought, joy, happiness, and emancipation.

4. The Buddha realised four sublime truths known as tathādhamma, suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering, and the path leading to the cessation of suffering. He also realised dependent origination (paṭiccasamuppāda).

5. The Buddha saw all the forms which include four elements which are produced by the combination of four elements in the human world as well as in the world of gods. He heard, knew, touched, tasted, and thought of all that were in existence in the human world as well as in the world of gods.

6. From the time of his enlightenment by conquering Māra till the time of his parinibbāna, what he preached, was complete and perfect in meaning and exposition and to the point, and leading to the destruction of passion, hatred and delusion, and was true.

7. His bodily action was in agreement with his action and speech and *vice versa*. He did what he said and vice versa.

8. He overcame everything commencing from the highest Brahmaloaka to the Avīci hell and endless lokadhātus (worldly elements) all around by sīla (precepts), samādhi (concentration), paññā (wisdom), and vimutti (emancipation). There was no equal to him and he was the unsurpassed king of kings, god of gods, chief of all Sakkas, and chief of all Brahmās (S.V., pt. I, pp. 59-68).

The Buddha had to perform fivefold duties : (1) Duties before meal, (2) Duties after meal, (3) Duties in the first watch, (4) middle watch, and the (5) last watch of night.

1. Duties before meal included the following: Ablution early in the morning, and sitting alone till the time of begging ; at the time of begging alms he used to robe himself ; tying his waist with belt and taking his alms-bowl he used to go for alms sometimes alone, sometimes surrounded by the bhikkhusaṅgha in villages or towns, sometimes in natural posture, and sometimes by showing miracles, e.g. wind cleaning the street which he was to traverse.

After collecting alms and partaking of them he used to preach to the *dāyakas* (alms-givers) according to their intelligence.

After hearing religious instruction, some of the *dāyakas* used to take refuge in the three gems, some used to establish themselves in the five precepts, some used to attain fruition of the first, second, and third stages of sanctification and some after renouncing the world used to attain Arahātship. After preaching the dhamma he used to return waiting for the arrival of the bhikkhus from begging tour. After they had all returned he used to enter *Gaṇḍhakūṭi* (perfumed chamber).

2. Duties after meal : His attendant used to prepare seat for him in the *Gaṇḍhakūṭi* and he after sitting on it, used to wash his feet. Standing on the step of the staircase of a *Gaṇḍhakūṭi*, he used to instruct the bhikkhus to perform their duties diligently. He spoke thus. "The appearance of the Buddha is rare, it is difficult to be born as human being, good opportunity is also difficult to be obtained, ordination as bhikkhus is also difficult to be had, and the hearing of the Saddhamma (true law) is also difficult to be obtained". Some of the bhikkhus used to seek his instructions in *kammaṭṭhānas* (objects of meditation). The Blessed One used to give instructions in the *Kammaṭṭhānas* suitable to their nature. The bhikkhus used to return to their dwelling-place or to the forest after saluting the Buddha. Some used to return to the *Cātummahārājika* Heaven or to the *Paranimmitavasavattī* Heaven.¹⁹ After giving instructions, the Blessed One used to enter the *Gaṇḍhakūṭi* and lie down on the right side. He used to see the world with his eye of wisdom after refreshing himself. He then used to give instructions to the people who assembled in the preaching hall with scented flowers, etc., and then the people after listening to the religious instructions, used to return after saluting the Buddha.

3. In the first watch of the night if he desired to bathe himself, he used to get up from his seat and enter the bath-room

¹⁹ See my book *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, pp. 7, 15 etc.

and bathed himself with water supplied by the attendant who made ready the seat for him in the Gandhakūṭi. The Blessed One used to put on red coloured under-garment tying his waist with belt. Then he used to put on the upper garment keeping one shoulder open, and then he used to sit on his seat alone in a mood of meditation. The bhikkhus used to come from all sides to worship him. Some bhikkhus used to ask him questions, some used to ask his instructions on kammaṭṭhāna, and some used to request him to give religious instructions. The Buddha used to satisfy the bhikkhus by fulfilling their desires. Thus he used to spend the first watch of the night.

4. Duties in the middle watch : After the bhikkhus had left him, the devatās used to come from 10,000 lokadhātus (world cycles), and the Blessed One used to spend the middle watch in answering the questions of the devas.

5. Duties in the last watch of the night : The last watch of the night was divided into three parts. He used to spend the first part by walking up and down, the second part by lying down on the right hand side in the Gandhakūṭi, and the last part by seeing with his eyes the person who acquired competency in knowing dhamma on account of the acquisition of merit by serving the previous Buddhas (*S. V.*, pt. I, pp. 45-48).

The Buddha performed double miracles²⁰ at the gate of the city of Sāvattihī in the seventh year after his enlightenment at the foot of Gaṇḍambaka tree, e.g., fire was burning on the upper part of the body and water flowing down from the lower part, fire coming out of one of the pores of the skin of the body and water of six colours coming out of another pore of the skin of the body, six kind of rays coming out of the body of the Buddha and illuminating all the ten thousand Cakkavālas (world cycles).

Buddhaghosa describes the Buddha's fulfilment of ten perfections (pāramitās) during four asaṅkha kalpas and 1,00,000 kalpas. He renounced the world at the age of twenty-nine, took

²⁰ The so-called yamaka-pāṭihāriya.

ordination on the bank of the Anoma river. For six years he exerted simultaneously. On the Vaisākha full-moon day he took honeyed rice-gruel offered by Sujātā at Uruvelā and in the evening he entered the Bodhi terrace by the south gate and thrice went round the Aśvattha tree. Going to the north-east side of the tree he spread a seat of grass and seated on it crosslegged facing the east and keeping the Bo-tree at the back, he first of all meditated upon mettā (friendliness, love).

At dusk he defeated Māra and in the first watch of the night he acquired the knowledge of previous birth, in the middle watch he acquired celestial insight and in early morning he acquired the knowledge of dependent origination and attained the fourth stage of meditation on inhalation and exhalation. Depending on the fourth stage of meditation, he increased insight and successively acquired all the qualities of the Buddha (S.V., pt. I, pp. 57-58).

The Buddha used to take two kinds of journey tarita (quick) and atarita (slow). In order to convert a fit person who was at a distance, he used to travel long distance within a short time as we find in the case of the Buddha going to receive Mahākassapa who was at a distance of three gāvutas in a moment. The Buddha also took tarita journey for Ālavaka, Aṅgulimāla, Pukkusādi, Mahākappina, Dhaniya, and Tissasāmaṇera, a pupil of Sāriputta.

The Buddha daily used to take a short journey in order to do good to the people by preaching to them and accepting their offerings, etc. This was known as atarita journey. The atarita journey was divided into three maṇḍalas, e.g., mahāmaṇḍala, majjhimaṇḍala, and antomaṇḍala. The mahāmaṇḍala was extended over an area of 900 yojanas, Majjhimaṇḍala 600 yojanas, and antomaṇḍala 300 yojanas. He had to start on the day following the Mahāpavāraṇā (i.e., last day of the lent) ; if he had to undertake the mahāmaṇḍala journey he had to start at the beginning of Agrahāyaṇa and in case of antomaṇḍala journey, he could start at any time suitable to him (S.V., pt. I, pp. 239-242).

Among the Buddha's contemporaries were Jīvaka Komārabhacca, Tissasāmaṇera, Pokkharasāti, and Ambaṭṭha. It will not perhaps be out of place to record here a few interesting facts about them.

Jīvaka Komārabhaṇḍa was reared up by Abhayakumāra, one of the sons of Bimbisāra, so he was called Komāra-bhaṇḍa. Once Bimbisāra and Abhayakumāra saw from the roof of the palace Jīvaka lying down on the floor at the gate of the palace surrounded by vultures, crows, etc. The king asked, "What is that?" He was told that it was a baby. The king asked if it were alive. The reply was in the affirmative. Hence he was called Jīvaka (S.V., pt. I, p. 133).

Once Jīvaka caused the Buddha to take some purgative. When the Buddha became all right in health, Jīvaka offered the Buddha a pair of valuable clothes. The Buddha accepted his offering and gave him suitable instructions with the result that he was established in the fruition of the first stage of sanctification. He offered his mango-garden to the Buddha for his residence with his pupils, as Jīvaka thought that it would be difficult for him to go to the Veḷuvana where the Buddha used to live for attending on him and which was far from his house. In the mango-garden, Jīvaka prepared rooms for spending day and night for the Buddha and his bhikkhus. Wells, etc., were sunk for them. The garden was surrounded by a wall and a Gandhakūṭi (perfumed house) was built for the Buddha in the Mango-garden (S.V., pt. I, p. 133).

Tissasāmaṇera : Once Sāriputta wanted to go to his pupil. The Buddha expressed his willingness to go with him and ordered Ānanda to inform 20,000 bhikkhus who were possessed of supernatural powers that the Blessed One would go to see Tissa. The Buddha with Sāriputta, Ānanda, and 20,000 khīṇāsava-bhikkhus (the monks who were free from sins) traversed the path of 2,000 yojanas through sky and got down at the gate of the village where Tissa was and they robbed themselves. The villagers received them all and offered them rice gruel. After the Buddha had finished his meal, Tissa returned from alms-beg-

ging and offered food to the Buddha, which he (Tissa) had received on his begging tour. The Buddha visited Tissa's dwelling place.

Pokkharasādi : His body was like the white lotus or like the silver gate of Devanagara. His head was very beautiful and popular. At the time of Kassapa Buddha, he was well-versed in the three Vedas and in consequence of his offering charity to the Buddha, he was reborn in the Devaloka. As he did not like to enter the womb of a human being, he was reborn in a lotus in a big lake near the Himavanta. An ascetic who lived near the lake reared him up. He made the child learn the three Vedas and the child became very much learned, and was regarded as the foremost brahmin in the Jambudīpa. He showed his skill in arts to the king of Kosala. The king being pleased with him gave him the city of Ukkatṭha as Brahmottara property (i.e., the property offered to the brahmin) (S.V., pt. I, pp. 244-245).

Ambatṭha : He was the chief disciple of Pokkharasādi or Pokkharasāti. He was sent to the Buddha to see whether the Buddha deserved the praises offered to him. He attempted in various ways to defeat the Buddha but in vain. He also expressed his opinion that no samanadhamma could be practised by living in such a vihāra. He came back to his teacher after being defeated (S.V., pt. I, p. 253).

The Sumaṅgalavilāsini supplies us with some new interesting geographical informations, some of them being more or less fanciful in their origin.

Aṅga : On account of the beauty of their body, some princes were known as Aṅgas. The place was named Aṅga because those princes used to dwell there (S.V., pt. I, p. 279).

Not far from the city of Aṅga, there was the tank of Gaggarā, so called because it was dug by a queen named Gaggarā. On its bank all round, there was a great forest of Campaka trees decorated with flowers of five colours, blue, etc. This account of Campā has, however, hardly any geographical value. Buddha-ghosa also gives us his own interpretation of the term Aṅga. According to him, it is so called because of the beauty of the

princes of the country. The explanation seems to the rather fanciful (S.V., pt. I, p. 279).

Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Deccan : Buddhaghosa defines Dakkhiṇāpatha or the Deccan as the tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges (S.V. pt. I, p. 265). Many ascetics used to live there and one of the forefathers of Ambaṭṭha went there and learnt ambaṭṭhavijjā, a science through the influence of which the weapon once raised could be brought down. He came to Okkāka and showed his skill and secured a post under him (S.V., pt. I, p. 265).

Ghositārāma : In the past there was a kingdom named Addila. In this kingdom a poor man named Kotūhaḷaka while going to another place at the time of famine, being unable to carry his son, threw him on the way. The mother out of affection went back and brought the child and returned to the village of gopālas (cowherds) who gave them milk-rice to eat. Kotūhaḷaka could not digest the milk and died at night of cholera and was reborn in the womb of a bitch. The young dog was the favourite of the head of the cowherds, who used to worship a paccekabuddha. The cowherd used to give a handful of cooked rice to the young dog which followed the gopālas to the hermitage of the paccekabuddha. The young dog used to inform the paccekabuddha by barking that rice was ready and used to drive away wild beasts on the way by barking. As the young dog served the paccekabuddha he was reborn after death in heaven and was named Ghosadevaputta who, fallen from heaven, was reborn in a family at Kosambī. The banker of Kosambī being childless brought him up and when a legitimate child was born to the banker, he attempted to kill Ghosa seven times but on account of the accumulation of merit Ghosaka could not be killed. He was saved by the instrumentality of a banker's daughter whom he eventually married. After the death of the banker who attempted to kill him, he succeeded him and was known as Ghosakaseṭṭhi. At Kosambī there were two other bankers named Kukkuṭa and Pāvāriya. At this time five hundred ascetics came to Kosambī and the three bankers, Ghosaka, Kukkuṭa, and

Pāvāriya built hermitages in their respective gardens for the ascetics and supported them. Once the ascetics while coming from the Himalayan region through a forest became very much hungry and thirsty, and sat under a big banyan tree thinking that there must have been a powerful devatā residing in the tree who would surely help them. The presiding deity of the tree helped the ascetics with water to quench their thirst. The deity when asked as to how he (deity) acquired such splendour, replied that he was a servant in the house of a banker Anāthapiṇḍika who supported the Buddha at Jetavana. On a sabbath day the servant went out to walk in the morning and returned in the evening. He enquired of the other servants of the house and learning that they had accepted uposatha, he went to Anāthapiṇḍika and took precepts. But he could not observe the precepts fully and in consequence of the merit accumulated due to the observance of half the uposatha at night, he became the deity of this tree endowed with great splendour. They went to Kōsambī and informed the seṭṭhis of this matter. The ascetics went to the Buddha and acquired ordination and Arahatship. The seṭṭhis afterwards went to the Buddha and invited the Buddha to Kōsambī. After returning to Kōsambī, they built three hermitages and one of them was known as Ghositarāma (*S.V.*, pt. I, pp. 31-319).

Kosala : The Porāṇas say that prince Mahāpanāda did not laugh even after seeing or hearing objects that are likely to rouse laughter. The father of the prince promised that he would decorate with various kinds of ornaments the person who would be able to make his son laugh. Many, including even the cultivators, gave up their ploughs and came to make the son laugh. They tried in various ways but in vain. At last, Sakka the chief of the gods sent a theatrical party to show him a celestial drama to make the prince laugh. The prince laughed and men returned to their respective abodes. While they were returning home they were asked on the way, "Kacci bho kusalaṃ, kaeci bho kusalaṃ" (are you all right?). From this word kusalaṃ, the country came to be known as Kosala (*S.V.*, pt. I, p. 239).

Rājagaha : A name of the town in which Mandhāta and Mahāgovinda took their abode. At the time of the Buddha it was a town, at other times it was empty (*S.V.*, pt. I, p. 132).

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* serves as a glossary of important terms, a few of which may be enumerated here.

Adinnādānā : It strictly means accepting that which is not given. It also means stealing the property of others, the thing which can be used by others according to their wish and by using which they are not liable to be punished, if that thing be taken with the intention of stealing it, then he is guilty of theft ; if the thing stolen be of greater value, then the offence will be greater and if it is of less value the offence will be less. If the thing stolen belongs to a person of greater quality, the offence will be greater and if it belongs to a person of less quality, the offence will be less.

One is guilty of theft if the following conditions are there :

1. the thing stolen must belong to others ;
2. the thief must be conscious at the time of stealing, that the thing which he is stealing belongs to others ;
3. he must have the intention to steal ;
4. he must make effort to steal and that effort must bring about the theft of the thing belonging to others (*S.V.*, Vol. I, p. 71)

Musāvāda : It means application of word or bodily deed to bring about dissension. Consciousness due to the application of word or bodily deed with the intention of bringing about dissension is called speaking falsehood.

Musā in another sense means:

- (1) the thing not happened before,
- (2) untrue thing.

Vāda means making known thing which is untrue to be true and a thing unhappened before to have happened.

Musāvāda is nothing but consciousness of the person who is willing to make known a thing which is untrue to be true and an unhappened thing to have happened.

Buddhaghosa cites some examples in this connection :

If a witness gives false evidence, he becomes liable to greater fault ; if a bhikkhu makes exaggeration humorously he will be liable to less fault ; and if a bhikkhu says that he has seen a thing not seen by him, that he has heard of a thing unheard by him, he will surely be liable to greater fault.

One is guilty of falsehood if the following conditions are there :

1. His subject or object must be false.
2. He must have the intention of creating disunion or dissension.
3. He must make the effort created by that intention.
4. His act of creating disunion must be known to the parties concerned. Buddhaghosa is of opinion that if a person instigates others to commit falsehood, and instigates others to do the offence by letters or by writing on walls, etc., and if he himself commits the offence, in all these cases, the nature of offence must be the same (*ibid.*, p. 72).

Pharusāvācā : According to Buddhaghosa, Pharusāvācā really means intention to wound the feelings of others. It means harsh words (*S.V.* pt. I, p. 75). According to him a thoughtless speech should be pleasing to the ear, producing love, appealing to the heart and agreeable to many (*S.V.*, pt. I, pp. 75-76).

Pisuṇāvācā : The person to whom the word is spoken takes a favourable view of the speaker but unfavourable view of the person about whom it is spoken. It is nothing but consciousness of the person who speaks to make himself closely acquainted with the person to whom the word is spoken and the person about whom it is spoken.

One is guilty of *pisuṇāvācā* if the following conditions be fulfilled :

1. He must have the intention of creating dissension and making himself friendly.
2. He must have the effort to carry out his intention.
3. The act of creating disunion must be known to the parties concerned.

4. The persons before whom the dissension is created must be in existence (*S.V.*, pt. I, p. 74).

There are references to the following sports and pastimes in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* :

Aṭṭhapadaṃ : Dice.

Ākāsaṃ : A kind of pastime which is played after imagining a kind of dice-board in the sky.

Caṇḍālaṃ : Sporting with an iron ball.

Ghaṭikaṃ : A sport in which large sticks are beaten by short ones.

Vamsaṃ : Sporting with a bamboo which is turned in various ways.

Parihārapathaṃ : A kind of sport which is played on the ground on which many paths having fences are prepared to puzzle the player (*S.V.*, pt. I, pp. 84-85).

References to various kinds of seats are found in this work:

Āsandiṃ : A big seat.

Goṇakaṃ : A carpet with long hairs.

Koseyyaṃ : A silk seat bedecked with gems.

Kuttakaṃ : A kind of woollen seat in which sixteen dancing girls can dance together.

Pallaṅkaṃ : A seat having feet with figure of deer, etc.

Paṭalikā : Thick woollen seat with various designs of flowers.

Paṭikā : Woollen seat.

Vikatikā : A seat having the figure of lion or tiger.

Dhopenaṃ : It is a ceremony among the southern Indian people who wash the bones of their dead relatives after digging them out and after having besmeared them with scents and collecting all the bones in one place. On a certain auspicious day they eat up various kinds of food and drink collected for the occasion while crying for their departed relatives (*S.V.*, pt. I, pp. 84-87).

A person is called *Puthujjano* because various kinds of sins are committed by him. His view is that the body which is soul is not gone. He is so called because he is merged in various kinds of ogha (floods) and because he is burnt by various kinds of

heat. As he is attached to five kinds of sensual pleasures and as he is covered by five hindrances and as he does innumerable low deeds, so he is called puthujjano. As he is separated by Ariyas from the sila (precepts), sutta (learning), etc., he is called puthujjano (*Ibid.*, p. 59).

Rājā : He is so called because he pleases (rañjeti) his subjects.

Sīlas : Porāṇas say that sila (precept) is the ornament of a Yogī and sila is the object of decoration of a Yogī. The Yogīs being adorned with silas have acquired perfection in matters of decoration. One should observe silas just as a kiki bird protects her egg. One should observe silas properly just as one eyed man protects his only eye (*S.V.*, pt. i, pp. 55-56). Buddhaghosa says that all good deeds are based on silas just as all the trees and vegetables grow on the earth (*S.V.*, pt. I, p. 56).

Cullasīla : Pāṇātipāta means slaughter of life. Pāṇa ordinarily means living beings but in reality it is vitality. The thought of killing vitality is what is called Pāṇātipāta. To kill a lower animal which is devoid of good qualities and a small being, brings small amount of sin and to kill a big creature full of sins brings large amount of sin because a good amount of effort is needed to kill a big animal whereas to kill a small animal, little effort is required. To kill with great effort a creature having good qualities brings about much sin, whereas to kill with the same effort a creature having no quality or having quality not of great amount brings about less sin. If the body and the quality possessed by it be of equal standard, there will be a difference in the acquisition of sin according to greatness or smallness of kilesas (sins).

One will be guilty of life-slaughter if the following conditions be fulfilled:

1. there must be a living being ;
2. the killer must be conscious at the time of killing that he is going to kill a living being ;
3. he must have the intention to kill ;
4. then he must make the effort to kill ;
5. the effect of that effort must lie in the death of the being living.

The six kinds of efforts are :

Sāhatthika (killing by own hand), āṇattika (order to kill), nissaggika (throwing with the intention that living being should die), vijjāmaya (killing by magic), iddhimaya (killing by miracle), thāvāra (killing by instruction written on immovable pillars), etc. (*Ibid.*, pt. I, p. 70).

The Sumaṅgalavilāsini contains some more interesting historical materials. It speaks of the origin of the Sākyas which is traced back to King Okkāka (i.e., Ikṣvāku). King Okkāka had five queens. By the chief queen, he had four sons and five daughters. After the death of the chief queen, the king married another young lady who extorted from him the promise to place her son upon the throne. The king thereupon requested his sons to leave the kingdom. The princes accordingly left the kingdom accompanied by their sisters and going to a forest near the Himalayas, began to search for a site for building up a city. In course of their search, they met the sage Kapila who said that they should build a town in the place where he (the sage) lived. The prince built the town and named it Kapilavatthu (Kapilavastu). In course of time the four brothers married the four sisters, excepting the eldest one and they came to be known as the Sākyas (pt. I, pp. 258-260). The only grain of fact hidden in this fanciful story of the origin of the Sākyas seems to be that there was a tradition which traced their descent from King Okkāka or Ikṣvāku. Buddhaghōsa in his great commentaries, though a very reliable guide as regards exposition and exegesis and the unravelling of metaphysical tangles, becomes quite the reverse when any point of history or tradition comes up. here he accepts the wildest theories and takes as gospel truth even the most improbable stories. Sister-marriage was not in vogue in ancient India even in the earliest times of which we have any record, as the story of Yama and Yamī in the Rigveda amply demonstrates. it was a revolting idea to the Indians from the time of the Rigveda downwards. Yet we see that Buddhaghosa in the case of the Licchavis and again here in that of the Sākyas, tries to explain the origin by sister-marriage. Perhaps Buddhaghosa

was actuated by the idea of purity of birth by a union between brothers and sisters as in the case of the Pharaohs of Egypt. The great Ceylonese chronicle, the Mahāvamsa, also traces the origin of the Sākya to the same King Okkaka and goes further back to Mahāsammata of the same dynasty.

When the Buddha was at Kosambī, he delivered the Jāliya Sutta at the Ghositārāma before a large gathering of people including a number of seṭṭhis among whom there were Kukkuṭa, Pāvāriya, and Ghosaka who built three monasteries for the Buddha. Ghosaka built the Ghositārāma, Kukkuṭ built the Kukkuṭārāma, and Pāvāriya built Pāvārikaambavana (*S.V.*, pt. I, pp. 317-319).

On one occasion the whole of Rājagaha was illumined and decorated and was full of festivities and enjoyments. Ajātasattu with his ministers went to the terrace and saw the festivities going on in the city. The moon-lit night was really very pleasing ; and the thought arose within him of approaching a Samaṇa or Brāhmana who could bring solace to his tortured mind (*Ibid.*, pt. I, pp. 140-141). Hearing of the great virtues of the Buddha from Jīvaka, the greatest physician of the day, Ajātasattu came to the ambavana where the Enlightened One was staying much afraid though he was of the Master for his (Ajātasattu's) many mischievous deeds against the latter (*Ibid.*, pt. I, 151-152). Ajātasattu asked the Blessed One whether he could show him the effect of leading the life of a Samaṇa. The Buddha did so by delivering to the repentant king a discourse on various virtues of the life of a samaṇa or ascetic as narrated in the Sāmaṇṇaphala Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya (*Ibid.*, I, pp. 158 foll.). Buddhaghosa says that according to Gosāla things happen exactly as they are to happen (*Ibid.*, pp. 160-165).

In the Sumaṅgalavilāsini Buddhaghosa has conjured up a myth in order to explain the conduct of the parricidal prince Ajātasattu. He avers that Ajātasattu was even before his birth an enemy of King Bimbisāra. The circumstances that preceded Ajātasattu's birth and augured the impending evil, as recorded in the Sumaṅgalavilāsini, are appealing. When the would-be

parricide was in his mother's womb, the queen, it is said, felt a craving for sipping blood from the right arm of the king. She, however, dared not speak out her inhuman desire. Worried by this, she looked pale and emaciated. The king asked her the cause of her getting weak. At last she spoke out and the king then sent for his surgeon who drew blood out of his right arm for the queen. The blood was diluted with water and the queen was asked to drink up the horrible potion. The soothsayers, however, warned that the child would be an enemy to the king and would kill him in consequence of the queen's drinking the king's blood. The queen, horrified at the prospect, tried to effect miscarriage but she was prevented by the king who urged that a sinful act would be abhorred by the people of Jambudīpa, and that voluntary abortion was against all national tradition of India. The queen, it is said, thought of destroying the child at the time of delivery. But the attendants took away the child as soon as it came out of the mother's womb. When the child had grown up, he was presented before the queen whose maternal affection towards the lad got the upper hand and she could no longer think of killing him. In due course the king made him his viceregent (pt. I, p. 134). Ajātasattu took advantage of this and kept his father confined in a room which was very hot and full of smoke. None else was allowed to enter into that room except Ajātasattu's mother who used to take some food for the unfortunate king, but she was afterwards prevented from doing that even. In spite of the prohibitive injunction, she used to bring food for Bimbisāra concealing it in several parts of her body ; but she was one day found out and was ordered not to enter the room with any kind of food. Thenceforth she used to enter the king's apartment with her body besmeared with a mixture of honey, butter, ghee, and oil. Bimbisāra got some sustenance by licking her body. This too was detected by the over-vigilant Ajātasattu and she was forbidden to enter into the room and asked to see the king from outside. The queen now reminded Bimbisāra that it was she who had requested him to kill Ajātasattu while in the womb. She further told him that it was the last occa-

sion on which she had been permitted to meet him and she begged his pardon and took leave (S.V., pt. I, pp. 135-136). Bimbisāra was now prevented from taking any food but he was still alive and the commentator informs us that the inhuman practices of Ajātasattu increased in their barbarity. Bimbisāra, it is said, was meditating on the fruition of the path and was walking up and down and his appearance became very bright. Ajātasattu was informed of this and he ordered that his walking up and down must be stopped and ordered his barber to go and cut the feet of his father and to put salt and oil thereupon and then to heat them on the fire of Khadira charcoal. The barber went to Bimbisāra who thought that his son had come to realise his folly and become kind to him. The barber when asked by the king about his mission, intimated to him the order of King Ajātasattu. The barber carried out the ghastly operations required by the royal order. Bimbisāra breathed his last with the words, "Buddha and Dhamma". After death Bimbisāra was reborn in the Cātummahārājika heaven as an attendant of Vessavana named Javanavasabha (*Ibid.*, I, p. 137).

On the day Bimbisāra died, a son was born to Ajātasattu. Both the reports, one conveying the news of the death of his father, and the other, that of the birth of his child were received by his ministers at the same time. The ministers first of all handed over the letter conveying the news of the birth of his child to King Ajātasattu. On receipt of the letter the king's mind was filled with filial affection and at that moment all the virtues of his father rose up before his mind's eye and he realised that similar filial affection arose in his father's mind when the latter received the news of his (Ajātasattu's) birth. Ajātasattu at once ordered the release of his father but it was too late. On hearing of his father's death, he cried and went to his mother and asked her if his father had any affection for him. The mother replied, "When a boil appeared on your finger, you were crying and none could pacify you and you were taken to your father when he was administering justice at the royal court. Your father out of affection put your finger with the boil into his mouth and the boil

was burst open. Out of filial affection he swallowed up the blood and pus instead of throwing them away." Ajātasattu heard this and shed hot tears. The dead body of his father was burnt. Shortly afterwards Devadatta went to Ajātasattu and urged him to order his men to go and kill the Buddha too. Devadatta sent Ajātasattu's men to kill the Master and himself took several steps to bring about his death. He himself went to the top of the Gijjhakūṭa mountain and hurled at the Buddha a big stone, then he set the mad elephant Nālagiri against the Enlightened One but all his attempts were baffled. All his gain and fame were lost, and he became very miserable (*Ibid.*, pt. I, pp. 138-139).

A conversation once took place between Brahmadatta and Suppiya, a paribbājaka. Suppiya said that the Buddha was a proponent of nonaction, annihilation, and self-mortification. He further said that the Buddha was of low birth and he did not possess any super-human knowledge. Brahmadatta, on the other hand, was of opinion that he should not follow his teacher in performing evil deed. He said that if his teacher worked with fire, it did not behove him to do so ; if his teacher played with a black snake, it was not intended that he should also do like that. He further said, "All beings enjoy the fruits of their karma. Karma is their own, father is not responsible for his son's deeds and son is not responsible for his fathers's deeds. So also mother, brother, sister, pupil, and others are not responsible for one another's action. Three jewels (Triratana) namely, the Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha are abused by me. To rebuke an ariya (elect) is a great sin." Brahmadatta spoke highly of the Master, thus : "The Buddha is the Blessed One, an arahat (saint), supremely wise, etc." He also spoke highly of the Dhamma and the Saṅgha. Thus Suppiya and his pupil Brahmadatta were holding contrary views. In the evening all of them arrived in the garden of the king named Ambalaṭṭhika. In that garden the king had a beautiful garden-house. The Buddha took his residence at that house for one night. Suppiya also took shelter in the garden. At night bhikkhus were seated surrounding the Buddha calmly and without the least noise. In the first watch of the

night the bhikkhus sat in the maṇḍalamāla (sitting-hall) of the house. The Buddha went to the spot and asked them about the topic of their discussion. The bhikkhus told him that they were discussing the contrary views of Suppiya and Brahmadata and the endless virtues of the Buddha. The Buddha then solved their topics of discussion by the long discourse known as the Brahma-jāla Suttanta (*S.V.*, pt. I, pp. 26-44).

The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī furnishes us with an account which embodies the tradition regarding the recital of the Dīgha Nikāya in the First Council.

One week after the parinibbāṇa of the Buddha at the sālavana of the Mallas near Kusīnārā, on the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha, a monk named Subhadda who took ordination in old age spoke thus, "Friend, you need not lament, you need not grieve. We are free from the Mahāsamaṇa who used to trouble us by asking us to perform this or that act." Hearing thus Mahākassapa thought that in order to save the monks from such people and to save the saddhamma from destruction, it was necessary to hold a council. He addressed the assembly of monks to rehearse the Dhamma and Vinaya. On the 21st day after the Buddha's parinibbāṇa, five hundred theras who were all Arahats and possessed of analytical knowledge were selected.

The people worshipped the dead body of the Buddha with incense, garland, etc., for a week. It was placed on a funeral pyre but there was no fire for a week and in the third week since his death, his bones, etc., were worshipped in the Mote-hall and the relics were divided on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Jaiṣṭha. At the time of the distribution of relics many bhikkhus were assembled among whom five hundred were selected. The five hundred bhikkhus were given time for 40 days to remove all their hindrances in order to enable them to take part in the proposed rehearsal. Mahākassapa with the five hundred bhikkhus went to Rājagaha. Other Mahātheras with their own retinue went to different places. At this time a Mahāthera named Purāṇa with 700 bhikkhus consoled the people of

Kusīnārā. Ānanda with five hundred bhikkhus returned to Jetavana at Sāvattī. The people at Sāvattī seeing Ānanda coming there thought that the Buddha would be in their midst ; but being disappointed in this and learning the news of the Master's parinibbāna they began to cry. Ānanda worshipped the Gandhakūṭī where the Buddha used to dwell, opened its door and cleanse it. While cleansing the Gandhakūṭī, he cried saying, "The Blessed One, this is the time of your taking bath, preaching, instructing the bhikkhus, this is the time of your lying down, sleeping, washing your mouth, and face". He went to Subha's house for alms where he preached Subhasuttam of the Dīgha Nikāya. After leaving the bhikkhus at Jetavana, he went to Rājagaha to take part in the proposed rehearsal. Other bhikkhus who were selected to take part in the rehearsal also came to Rājagaha. All the selected bhikkhus observed uposatha on the full-moon day of the month of Āṣāḍha and spent the rainy season. The bhikkhus approached Ajātasattu and requested him to repair eighteen mahāvihāras of Rājagaha. The king had them repaired. He also built a beautiful and well-decorated pandal near the Vebhāra mountain at the foot of the Sattapaṇṇi cave, for them. This pandal was like that built by Vissakammā in heaven. Five hundred seats were prepared in this pandal for five hundred bhikkhus. The seat of the President was on the south facing the north. In the middle there was a dhammāsana in which Ānanda and Upāli took their seats and preached Dhamma and Vinaya. Then Dhamma and Vinaya were repeated simultaneously by the five hundred bhikkhus. The question arose as to the competency of Ānanda to take part. He was not an Arahat. Hearing this Ānanda became ashamed and after exertion he acquired saintship at night. All the theras were present while Ānanda's seat was vacant. Some said that Ānanda came to the spot after coming through the sky and some were of opinion that he came through the earth. Mahākassapa declared the attainment of Arahatship by Ānanda by shouting "Sādhu, Sādhu". Mahākassapa asked whether Dhamma was to be rehearsed first or the Vinaya. The opinion of the assembly was

that Vinaya should be rehearsed first as the existence of the Buddhasāsana depended on Vinaya. The question arose as to who would answer the questions of Vinaya. It was decided that upāli would be the first person to answer such questions. Mahākassapa taking the consent of the assembly asked him where the first pārājikā rule was enacted. The reply was that at Vaiśālī it was enacted concerning Sudiṇṇa Kalandakaputto on the subject of methunadhamma (sexual intercourse). All the questions were put to Upāli who answered them and all the bhikkhus repeated and remembered them. The question arose whether Ānanda was competent to answer the questions of Vinaya. In the opinion of the assembly Ānanda was competent, but upāli was selected because the Buddha gave him the first place among the Vinayadhara bhikkhus. Ānanda was selected by the assembly to answer the questions on Dhamma. The Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka was taken up-first for rehearsal. The Brahmajālasutta was first rehearsed by Ananda and the assembly recited it in chorus. All the suttas of the five Nikāyas were then rehearsed one after another (S.V., pt. I, pp. 2-25).

The Sumaṅgalavilāsini further records some interesting information. Ujuṅṇā is the name of a town. Kaṇṇakathala is the name of a beautiful spot. Migadāya is so called because it was given for the freedom of deer (S.V., pt. II, p. 349). The Blessed One who was dwelling in a great monastery at Gijjhakūṭa, listening to the conversation held between the paribbājaka Nigrodha and the disciple Sandhāna, went through the sky and came to them and answered the questions put to by Nigrodha (*Ibid.*, p. 362). The kingdom of Gandhāra built by the sage Gandhāra is a trading centre (p. 389). Sālavatika is the name of a village. It is called Sālavatika because it is surrounded on all sides by the sāla trees appearing like a fence (p. 395). Manasākāṭa is the name of a village (p. 399). Ambavana is a thicket of mangoe-trees. It is a beautiful spot having sands scattered on the ground like silver leaves and on the top having thick branches and leaves of the mangoe-trees. Here the Exalted One lived finding delight in solitude (p. 399). In the interior of Jetavana there are

four big houses, e.g., Karerikuṭi, Kosambakuṭi, Gandhakuṭi, and Salalaghara. Salalaghara was built by King Pasenadi and the rest by Anāthapiṇḍika (p. 407). There is a reference to trees, e.g., sāla, sirīsa, udumbara or fig tree, banyan, and as ottha (p. 416). Jambudīpa is great and it is 10,000 yojanas in extent. There is also Majjhimadesa and in the east there is Kajaṅgala country (p. 429). There is a reference to seven gems, e.g., cakka (wheel), hatthi (elephant), assa (horse), mani (jewel), itthī (woman), gahapati or householder, paināyaka or leader (p. 444). Cātummahārājika heaven contains 90,00,000 gods who obtain celestial happiness (p. 472). The Ābhassara gods are those whose bodies shed lustre (p. 510) and whose lease of life is 8 kalpas (p. 511). Gijjhakūṭa is so called because it has a pinnacle like a vulture and vultures dwell in it (p. 516). Sārāndada cetiya has been described here as a vihāra (p. 521). Sunīdha and Vassakāra were endowed with great riches (p. 540). Nādika has been described as a village of relatives. Near the lake Nādika, there are two villages belonging to the sons of Cullapīti Mahāpīti (p. 543). Māra engages creatures to do mischief to others and kill them (p. 555). There are lakes, e.g., Kharassarā, Khaṇḍassarā, Kākassarā, Bhaggassarā, etc. (p. 560). There is a reference to weavers in Benares who produce soft and beautiful garments (p. 563). Buddhaghosa understands sūkara-maddava by the flesh of a grown-up hog neither too young nor too old. It is soft and glossy (p. 568). Buddhaghosa refers to four kinds of bed, e.g., the bed of one who is merged in sensual pleasures, the bed of the departed spirit, the bed of a lion, and the bed of the Tathāgata (p. 574). There is a mention of the three piṭakas, five nikāyas, nine āṅgas, and 84,000 dhammakhandhas (p. 591). Buddhaghosa interprets "aṭṭha Malla-pāmokkhā" in the sense that the eight Mallarājās were middle-aged and were endowed with strength (p. 596). Makuṭabandhana is a cetiya of the Mallas and is a sālā (covered hall) which gives satisfaction and blessings to the Malla chief (p. 596). Rājagaha is 25 yojanas in extent from Kusīnārā (p. 609). Jambudīpa is 10,000 yojanas in extent Aparagoyāna is 7,000 yojanas in extent, and uttarakuru is 8,000 yojanas in extent (p. 623). Jotipāla is so called on account

of his lustre and rearing others up (p. 660). The Sākiyas and the Koliyas cultivated lands well because they confined the river Rohiṇī by a bund. This river flows between the territories of the Sākyas and the Koliyas (p. 672).

(2) Papañcasūdanī. The commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya

The Papañcasūdanī is an extensive commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya written by Buddhaghosa at the request of a thera named Buddhamitta in the style more or less of the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī. In the commentary on the first ten suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya, Buddhaghosa²¹ discusses the following topics: the four suttanikkhepas, balabojjhaṅga, Dhammacakka, the origin of all the dhammas, Nibbāṇa, earth, Tathagata, Abhisambuddha, destruction of sin, false belief, saddhā, faith, four puggalas, obstacles in the path leading to Nibbāṇa, contact, old age, death, suffering, right recollection, mindfulness, pleasing sensation, and lastly emancipation.²²

The Papañcasūdanī furnishes us with some interesting historical and geographical details. There was a janapada named Kuru and the kings of that province used to be called Kurus (p. 225), of whose origin a fanciful story is told in the commentary. King Mahāmandhātā was a cakravartī-rājā, a title which he had acquired for his having had a cakraratana with the help of which he could go to any place he liked. He conquered Pubbavideha, Aparagoyāna, Uttarakuru besides the devalokas. While returning from Uttarakuru, a large number of the inhabitants of that country followed Mahāmandhātā to Jambudīpa and the place in Jambudīpa where they settled became known as Kururaṭṭham including provinces, villages, towns, etc. It is in this sense that the word Kurusu (i.e., among the Kurus) occurs in the Pāli-Buddhist Literature (pp. 225-226).

²¹ This commentary by Buddhaghosa has been edited for the P.T.S., London, by J.H. Woods and D. Kosambi.

²² There is a printed Burmese edition of this work published by the P. G. Mundine Pitaka Press, Rangoon (J.R.A.S., 1894); and also an excellent Siamese edition of this commentary printed and published in three volumes.

There is also another fanciful explanation of the origin of the name of Sāvathī. Sāvathī was a place where one could get, it is asserted, whatever he wanted ; hence it is called Sāvathī (Sabbathī). In answer to a question by some merchants as to what the place contained, it was told "sabbam atthi" (there is everything). Hence it is called Sāvathī (vol. I, p. 59). The commentary refers incidentally to Gaṅgā and Yamunā (p. 12), to Sāvathī, Jetavana, and Giribbaja which is so called because it stands like a cow-pen surrounded by a mountain (p. 151). It also refers to four more rivers of India besides Gaṅgā and Yamunā, e.g., Bāhukā, Sundarikā, Sarassatī, and Bāhumatī (p. 178), and to a mountain named Cittala. It relates the activities of Gautama Buddha among the Kurus (p. 225), at the Bodhi tree, and at Lumbinīvana (p. 13). It is pointed out that the abode of Tāvātimsa gods is beautiful ; that the four great kings were the employees of Sakka, king of gods ; that Vejayanta palace is one thousand yojanas in extent and that the Sudhamma or the mote-hall of the gods is 500 yojanas in length and the chariot of the Vejayanta heaven is 150 yojanas in extent (p. 225). In this book we find that there are two kinds of Buddha's instructions ; Sammutidesanā and Paramatthadesanā. The Paramatthadesanā includes anicca (impermanent), dukkhaṃ (suffering), anatta (impermanent), khandha (constituents), dhātu (elements), āyatana (sphere), and satipaṭṭhāna (right recollection) (p. 137). A most important information is found in this book of *Damīlabhāsā* and *Andhabhāsā*, i.e., the languages of the Tamils and the Andhras who may now roughly be said to be represented by the Telegus (p. 138). Tree worship was in practice ; there were trees, it is said, which were worthy of worship in villages and countries (p. 119). Cultivation and cow-keeping are the main occupations of a householder and they are for his good (p. 111). Five kinds of medicines are mentioned, e.g., sappi (clarified butter, ghee), navanīta (butter), tela (oil), madhu (honey), and phāṇita (molasses) (p. 90). In this text, Māra is called Pajāpati because he lords over a large assembly (p. 33). There are four kinds of paṭhavī (earth) : earth with signs, earth with load, earth with

sense object, and earth with selection (p. 25).

The Papañcasūdanī (Vol. II) further narrates that the Himavanta (Himalayas) is 3,000 yojanas in width (p. 6). Vesālī is so called because it expanded itself (p. 19). Rājagaha is 60,000 yojanas in distance from Kapilavatthu (p. 152). Nādikā has been referred to as a lake (p. 235). Ghositārāma is so called because the ārāma or monastery was built by the banker, named Ghosita (p. 390). Jambudīpa is mentioned here as a forest and Pubba-Videha, an island (p. 423).

(3) Sāratthapakāsinī. The commentary on the Saṃyutta Nikāya

The Sāratthapakāsinī is a commentary on the Saṃyutta Nikāya written by Buddhaghosa at the request of a thera named Jotipāla.

It has been published in two volumes by the P.T.S. under the able editorship of F.L. Woodward. The following are the manuscripts and printed editions available :

1. Palm-leaf manuscript in Sinhalese character at the Adyar Oriental Library, Madras.
2. Incomplete Sinhalese printed edition by Vajirasara and Nāninda Theras, Colombo, 1900-1911.
3. Simon Hewavitarne Bequest edition of 1924, Vol. I, revised and edited by W.P. Mahāthera.
4. A beautifully written palm-leaf manuscript in Sinhalese character.

In this commentary the word 'guru' is always used in this world (loko) as referring to the Buddha. The Blessed One is described as the possessor of ten potentialities (dasa baladharo) (Vol. I, p. 12). The commentator speaks of a land where the cows graze near the Ganges and the Yamunā (*Ibid.*, p. 13). Aṅga and Magadha are described as having plenty of food (p. 15). There is a reference to the four Buddhas (cattāro Buddhā) : sabbaññu Buddha (all knowing), pacceko Buddha (individual), catusacco Buddha (master of four truths), and suta Buddha (Buddha who has heard) (*Ibid.*, p. 25).

Saddhamma is explained in this commentary as the term which includes the five sīlas, ten sīlas, and four objects of recollection or mindfulness (p. 55). The Mahāvana is described here as a big natural forest extending up to the Himalayas (p. 67). Pañcaveda is meant here as the five Vedas including the Itihāsa (p. 81). By vimuttacitta the commentator means a mind which is free from the Kammaṭṭhānas (p. 104). Nāthaputta is explained here as Nāthassaputta or the son of Nātha (p. 130). Mallikā is mentioned as the daughter of a poor garland-maker (p. 140). According to the commentator, Kisagotamī was kisa or lean because she had not got much flesh (p. 190). Loka refers to the khandhaloka (the world of constituents), dhātu loka (the world of elements), āyatana loka (the world of abode), sampattibhavaloka (the world of prosperity), and vipattibhavaloka (the world of adversity) (p. 201).

There is a reference to the Mandākinīpukkharāṇī which is 50 yojanas in extent (p. 281) and to the Kailāsa mountain inhabited by a celestial being named Nāgadanta (p. 282). Gayā is mentioned here as a village (p. 302). Sīha-nāda is explained as great uproar (Vol. II, 46). Gaṅgā and Yamunā are mentioned as two great rivers (p. 54). Dakkhināgiri is a janapada on the southern side of the hill encircling Rājagaha (p. 176). There is a reference to cow-killer who kills cows and severs the flesh from the bone (p. 218).

(4) **Manorathapūraṇī. The commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya:**

The Manorathapūraṇī²³ is a commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya written by Buddhaghosa at the request of a therā named Bhaddanta.²⁴

²³ There is a *ṭīkā* on the *Manorathapūraṇī* written by a pupil of Sumedha Thera who flourished in the reign of Parākramabāhu. This work is also known as the *Cātutthasārathamanjūsā*.

²⁴ Dr. Max Wallesar has edited the first volume of this work for the P.T.S., London. The complete work has been printed and published in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam.

The Manorathapūraṇī deals with the following topics : sloth and stupor, haughtiness, desire for sensual pleasures, friendliness, mental emancipation, suffering, right realisation, functions of the mind, bojjhaṅga (supreme knowledge), thirty-two signs of a great man, puggala (human types), Tathāgata, realisation of the four paṭisambhidās or analytical knowledge, accounts of Aññaḥkoṇḍañña, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, Mahākassapa, Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, Piṇḍolabhāradvāja, Puṇṇa-Mantāniputta, Mahākaccāna, Cullamahā-Panthaka, Subhūti, Revata, Kaṅkhāreyata, Soṇa Koḷivisa, Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa, Sīvali, Vakkali, Rāhulā-Raṭṭhapāla, Kuṇḍadhāna, Vaṅgīsa, Upasena, Dabba, Pilindavaccha, Bāhiya-Dārucīriya, Kumāra Kassapa, Mahākoṭṭhita, Ānanda, uruvela Kassapa, Kāḷudāyī, Bakkula, Sobhita, Upāli, Nanda, Nandaka, Mahākappina, Sāgata, Rādha, Mogharāja, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, Khemā, Uppalavaṇṇā, Paṭācārā, Dhammadinnā, Nandā, Sonā, Sakulā, Bhaddā-Kuṇḍalakesā, Bhaddā-Kāpilāni, Bhaddā-Kaccānā, Kisāgotamī, Sigālakamātā, Tapassa-Bhallikā, Sudatta Gahapati, Citta Gahapati, Hatthaka, Mahānāma Sakka, Uggā Gahapati, Sūra, Jivaka Komārabhacca, Nakulapitā Gahapati, Sujātā Senānidhītā, Visākhā Migāramātā, Khujjuttarā-Sānāvātī, Uttarā Nandamātā, Suppavāsā Koliyadhītā, Suppiyā, Kātiyāni, Nakutamātā Gahapatānī, Kāliupāsikā.²⁵

This commentary contains an interesting account of the theras and therīs. As to the account of the therīs contained in this commentary, the readers are referred to my work, *Women in Buddhist Literature*, Chap. VIII. An account of some of the prominent theras is given below.

Anuruddha was the foremost among those who had the divine eye. At the time of the Buddha's visit to Kapilavatthu, the Sakiyan princes, Anuruddha, brother of Mahānāma, Bhaddiya, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila, and Devadatta followed by the barber Upāli renounced the worldly life with the intention of becoming monks. They asked admission into the congregation and

²⁵ Vide *Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation*, published in the J.R.A.S., 1893 ; it is an English translation of some portions of the *Manorathapūraṇī*.

the Master ordained them (Manorathapūraṇī, P.T.S., Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 183-192).

Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja was also one of the eminent of the bhikkhus. He was born in a brahmin family at Rājagaha. He was versed in the three Vedas. He was called Piṇḍola, for wherever he went he asked for food. He once heard the Master preaching the Norm at Rajagaha. Full of faith he asked for admission into the Order. The Blessed One ordained him, as he soon attained arahatship (*Ibid.*, pp. 196-199).

Puṇṇa-Mantaniputta was the son of a brāhmaṇī named Mantānī. He was born in a brahmin family at Donavatthunagara which was not far off the city of Kapilavatthu. He was the nephew of the thera Aññaakoṇḍañña, one of the five bhikkhus who were converted by the Master at Isipatana where he first set rolling the wheel of Law. It was through Aññaakoṇḍañña that Puṇṇa was inspired with faith in the Buddha. He received ordination and in due course attained arahatship. He had five hundred disciples who also attained arahatship under his guidance. He was also declared by the Lord as one of the foremost of the bhikkhus (*Ibid.*, pp. 199-204).

Mahākaccāna was the foremost among those who could fully explain the brief utterances of the Tathāgata. he was born as the son of a chaplain at Ujjenī. At the request of the King Caṇḍapajjota, Mahākaccāna went to the place where the Buddha was in order to bring the Blessed One to Ujjenī. Mahākaccāna heard the Master preaching the Norm. At the end of the discourse he won arahatship. He informed the Buddha of king's desire. The Blessed One did not grant his request, but bade him go back to Ujjenī and assured him that the king would be glad to see him alone. The king was highly pleased with Mahākaccāna for his attainments (*Ibid.*, pp. 204-209).

Revata was the foremost among those who were dwellers in a forest. He was the younger brother of Sāriputta. He received ordination from the bhikkhus and performed the duties of a monk in the forest. He attained arahatship in time (*Ibid.*, pp. 223-230).

Soṇa-Koḷivīsa was the foremost among those who put forth great efforts (āraddhaviriyaṇi). He was born in a Setṭhikula. He was brought up in great luxury. Once he heard the Master preaching the doctrine. He took permission from his parents and received ordination. He perceived that the highest end could not be attained in luxury. So he put forth great efforts and suffered every sort of mortifications. But he could not attain arahatship. He desired to return to the worldly life and perform meritorious acts. The Lord came to know the thera's thought, and exhorted him. The thera in due course won arahatship (*Ibid.*, pp. 231-237).

Rāhula-Raṭṭhapāla. Rāhula was the foremost of the Sāmaṇeras, and Raṭṭhapāla of the youths who left the world in search of 'amata'. Rāhula was the son of the Buddha and Raṭṭhapāla was born in a setṭhi family of the kingdom of Kuru. At the time of the Buddha's visit to Kapilavatthu Rāhula received ordination from the Buddha. In course of time he attained arahatship.

Once the Lord visited the Thullakoṭṭhita-nigama (in the Kururaṭṭha) —the place of Raṭṭhapāla's birth. Raṭṭhapāla took permission from his parents and received ordination from the Master and went with the Buddha to Sāvattihī. He attained arahatship. In order to see his parents he once went to Thullakoṭṭhita-nigama and admonished them. Then he came back to the place where the Buddha was (*Ibid.*, pp. 251-260).

Vaṅgīsa was born in a brāhmaṇa family at Sāvattihī. He was versed in the three Vedas. He learnt the 'chavasīsa mantam' by which he could tell the place of birth of deceased persons. He travelled into different places and gained his living by this sippa. He once met Buddha and had conversation with him. The result was that Vaṅgīsa received ordination. He soon attained arahatship. Whenever he visited the Buddha he visited him with a hymn of praise. Accordingly he was reckoned as the foremost of the Paṭibhānavantānaṃ or those possessed of intelligence or ready wit (*Ibid.*, pp. 266-270).

Kumāra Kassapa was born at Rājagaha. His mother, when

she was pregnant, received ordination and became a Sāmaṇerī. As the rearing up a child was not consistent with the life of a Sāmaṇerī, the child was reared up by Pasenadi, King of Kosāla. When he grew up he received ordination, eventually won arahatship, and shone among the preachers. Accordingly he was reckoned as the foremost of the 'cittakathikānaṃ' or a wise speaker, an orator or a preacher (*Ibid.*, pp. 283-285).

Mahākoṭṭhita was the foremost among those who possessed analytical knowledge. He was born in a brahmin family at Savatthī. He learned the three Vedas. He once heard the Master preaching the Norm. Full of faith he received ordination and attained arahatship through analytical knowledge (*Ibid.*, pp. 285-286).

Ānanda was the foremost among those who were vastly learned in the doctrine. He with Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, Bhagu, Kimbila, and Devadatta followed by Upāli received ordination from the Master. He was the personal attendant of the Buddha, and attained arahatship just before the work of the First Buddhist Council began (*Ibid.*, pp. 286-296).

Uruvela Kassapa was the foremost of those who had great followings. He with his two brothers became ascetics of the Jāṭila sect. All the three had a good number of followers. The Lord first converted the eldest brother, Uruvela Kassapa, by showing him his supernatural powers. The next two brothers naturally followed suit (*Ibid.*, pp. 297-300).

Upāli was the foremost of those who knew the Vinaya rules. He was a barber. The Sakiyan princes Anuruddha, Ānanda, and others with their attendant Upāli, the barber, visited the Blessed One with the intention of becoming monks. They asked for admission into the Order, and in order to curb their pride, they requested that the barber should be first ordained. Their request was granted (*Ibid.*, pp. 311-312).

**Commentaries on the Khuddaka Nikāya.
The Khuddakapāṭha Commentary**

Buddhaghosa wrote commentaries on three books of the Khuddaka Nikāya, e.g., (1) Khuddakapāṭha, (2) Dhammapada, and (3) Sutta Nipāta.

Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā is known as the Paramatthajotikā.²⁶

Like other commentaries of Buddhaghosa, the Paramatthajotikā, too, contains a good deal of interesting information. To start with, there is a very interesting but mythical origin of the Licchavis which is summarised as follows :

“There was an embryo in the womb of the chief queen of Benares. Being aware of it, she informed the king who performed the rites and ceremonies for the protection of it. With the embryo thus perfectly protected, the queen entered the delivery chamber when it was fully mature. With Ladies of great religious merit, the delivery took place at the dawn of day. A lump of flesh of the colour of lac and of bandhu and jīvaka flowers came out of her womb. Then the other queens thought that to tell the king that the chief queen was delivered of a mere lump of flesh while a son, resplendent like gold, was expected, would bring the displeasure of the king upon them all ; therefore, they, out of fear of exciting displeasure of the king, put that lump of flesh into a casket, and after shutting it up, put the royal seal upon it, and placed it on the flowing waters of the Ganges. As soon as it was abandoned, a god wishing to provide for its safety, wrote with a piece of good cinnabar on a slip of gold the words, ‘the child of the chief queen of the King of Benares’ and tied it to the casket. Then he placed it on the flowing current of the Ganges at a place where there was no danger from aquatic mon-

²⁶ There is a valuable edition of the *Commentary on the Khuddakapāṭha* by Welipitiya Dewananda Thera and revised by Mahāgoḍa Siri Nānissara Thera, Colombo, 1922.

It includes the commentaries on *Jātaka*, *Sutta*, *Nipāta*, *Dhammapada*, and *Khuddakapāṭha*.

sters. At that time an ascetic was travelling along the shore of the Ganges close by a settlement of cowherds. When he came down to the Ganges in the morning and saw a vessel coming on, he caught hold of it, thinking that it contained rags (paṃsukula), but seeing the tablet with the words written thereon and also the seal and mark of the King or Benares, he opened it and saw that piece of flesh. Seeing it, he thus thought within himself: 'It may be an embryo and there is nothing stinking or putrid in it', and taking it to his hermitage, he placed it on a pure place. Then after half a month had passed, the lump broke up into two pieces of flesh ; the ascetic nursed them with still greater care. After the lapse of another half month, each of the pieces of flesh developed fine pimples for the head and the two arms and legs. After half a month from that time, one of the pieces of flesh became a son resplendent like gold, and the other became a girl. The ascetic was filled with paternal affection for the babies, and milk came out of his thumb. From that time forward, he obtained milk from rice ; the rice he ate himself and gave the babies the milk to drink. Whatever got into the stomach of these two infants looked as if put into a vessel of precious transparent stone (maṇi), so that they seem to have had no skin (nicchavi) ; others said, 'The two (the skin and the thing in the stomach) are attached to each other (līnā-chavi) as if they were sewn up together, so that these infants owing to their being nicchavi, i.e., having no skin, or on account of their being līnā-chavi, i.e., attached skin or same skin, came to be designated as Licchavis. The ascetic having to nurse these two children had to enter the village in the early morning for alms and to return when the day was far advanced. The cowherds coming to know this conduct of his, told him, 'Reverend Sir, it is a great trouble for an ascetic to nurse and bring up children ; kindly make over the children to us, we shall nurse them, do you please attend to your own business' The ascetic assented gladly to their proposal. On the next day, the cowherds levelled the road, scattered flowers, unfurled banners, and came to the hermitage with music. The ascetic handed over the two children with these words: 'The chil-

dren are possessed of great virtue and goodness, bring them up with great care and when they are grown up, marry them to each other ; please the king and getting a piece of land, measure out a city, and install the prince there'. 'All right, sir', promised they, and taking away the children, they brought them up. The children, when grown up, used to beat with fists and kicks the children of the cowherds whenever there was a quarrel in the midst of their sports. They cried and when asked by their parents, 'Why do you cry ?' They said, 'These nurslings of the hermit, without father and mother, beat us very hard' Then the parents of these other children would say, 'These children harrass the others and trouble them, they are not to be kept, they must be abandoned' (*vijjītabbā*). Thenceforward that country measuring three hundred *yojanas* is called *Vajji*. Then the cowherds securing the good will and permission of the king, obtained that country, and measuring out a town there, they anointed the boy, King. After giving marriage of the boy, who was then sixteen years of age, with the girl the king made it a rule : 'No bride is to be brought in from the outside, nor is any girl from here to be given away to any one'. The first time they had two children —a boy and a girl—, and thus a couple of children was born to them for sixteen times. Then as these children were growing up, one couple after another, and there was no room in the city for their gardens, pleasure groves, residential houses and attendants, three walls were thrown up round the city at a distance of a quarter of a *yojana* from each other ; as the city was thus again and again made larger and still larger (*visālikatā*), it came to be called *Vesālī*. This is the history of *Vesālī*" (*Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddakapāṭha*, P.T.S., pp. 158-160).

In the *Khuddakapāṭha* Commentary we read that at *Sāvathī*, there was a householder who was rich and wealthy. He had faith in the Buddha. One day he fed the Buddha along with the *Bhikkhusaṅgha*. Once King *Pasenadi* being in need of money sent for the householder who replied that he was concealing the treasures and he would see the king with them afterwards (pp. 216-217).

While the Buddha was at Sāvathī, many bhikkhus of different places went to him to learn kammatṭhāna (objects of meditation). Buddha taught them kammatṭhāna suitable to their nature. Five hundred bhikkhus learnt kammatṭhāna from him and went to a forest by the side of the Himalayas to practise it. The tree deities of the place became frightened at seeing them there and tried to drive them out in various ways. The bhikkhus being troubled by them went to the Buddha to whom they related the story of their trouble. The Buddha said that they cherished no friendly feelings (mettā) towards the deities and that was the cause of trouble. Accordingly the Buddha taught them mettāsuttam and asked them to practise it. Afterwards the deities became their friends (pp. 231 foll).

The Khuddakapāṭha Commentary²⁷ furnishes us with many new and important materials concerning religious and political history of ancient India. It has references to the hermitage of Anāthapiṇḍika at Jetavana (p. 23), Kapilavatthu (p. 23), 18 great monasteries in Rājagaha (p. 94), Sattapaṇṇi cave (p. 95), Vesālī (p. 161), Magadha, Gayāsīsa (p. 204), Gaṅgā (p. 163), Bimbisāra (p. 163), Licchavi (p. 163), Upālī (p. 97), Mahākassapa (p. 91), Ānanda (p. 92), Mahāgovinda (p. 128), Visākhā, Dhammadinnā (p. 204), Mallikā (p. 129), etc.

In this commentary, the explanations are disproportionate to the short readings of the text. Its style is heavy and laboured, and its disquisitions are in many places redundant. It seems, therefore, highly doubtful if this work can really claim to have been written by Buddhaghosa.

Dhammapada atthakathā

The Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā²⁸ is a voluminous work which

²⁷ The *Khuddakapāṭha Commentary* has been edited for the P.T.S. by Helmer Smith from a collation by Mabel Hunt.

²⁸ Prof. H.C. Norman has edited the complete volume for the P.T.S.; Mr. E.W. Burlingame has translated it into English under the title of *Buddhist Legends* in three parts (Harvard Oriental Series edited by Lanman, Vols. 28, 29, and 30); C. Duroiselle has translated it into English in the periodical *Buddhism*, Vol. II, Rangoon, 1905-1908.

explains the stanzas of the Dhammapada and contains a mass of illustrative tales of the nature of the Jātakas. It derives a considerable number of its stories from the four nikāyas, the Vinaya, the Udāna, the works of Buddhaghosa, and the Jātaka Book. But it is more intimately related to the Jātaka Book, for over fifty stories of the Dhammapada Commentary are either derivatives of Jātaka stories or close parallels. In addition many other Jātaka stories are referred to and many Jātaka stanzas are quoted. So it is certain that the Jātaka Book is earlier than the Dhammapada Commentary.

The Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā is a commentary on the stanzas of the Dhammapada which is an anthology of 423 sayings of the Buddha in verses. An analysis of each story in the Dhammapada Commentary shows that each story consists of eight subdivisions : (1) Citation of the stanza (gāthā) to which the story relates, (2) mention of the person or persons with reference to whom the story was told, (3) story proper, or, more strictly, story of the present (Paccuppanna-vatthu), closing with the utterance of the (4) stanza or stanzas, (5) word-for-word commentary or gloss on the stanza, (6) brief statement of the spiritual benefits which accrued to the hearer or hearers, (7) story of the past, or, more accurately, story of previous existences (atīta-vatthu), and (8) identification of the personages of the story of the past with those of the story of the present. Sometimes the story of the past precedes the story of the present, and not infrequently more than one story of the past is given (*Buddhist Legends*, pt. I, pp. 28-29).

Mr. Burlingame in his Introduction to stories of Dhammapada Commentary (*Buddhist Legends*, pt. I, p. 26), has rightly said that the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā (as a matter of fact all other Pāli aṭṭhakathās) is in name and form a commentary. But in point of fact it has become nothing more or less than a huge collection of legends and folktales. The exegesis of the text has become a matter of secondary importance altogether and is relegated to the background.

The Jātaka Book consists of 550 stories relating to previous

births of the Buddha. Our present edition (Fausböll's edition) is not an edition of the text but of the commentary.

Each Jātaka consists of the following subdivisions : a verse together with a commentary without which the verse will be unintelligible, a framework of story stating when and where and on what occasion the story is supposed to have been spoken by the Buddha ; and finally the conclusion in which the characters of the story are identified with the Buddha and his contemporaries in a previous birth.

We have pointed out the characteristics of a Jātaka story and also of a Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā story and it is not unreasonable to say that in general character and structure of parts, the Jātaka Book and the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā do not differ.

Doubts have been raised whether the work can really be attributed to Buddhaghosa. The colophon, however, definitely ascribes the authorship to the celebrated commentator, and there is hardly any reason to doubt its authority. The scheme of the commentary is systematic and can easily be followed. Each story has been amplified by a good story, and at the end of each story interpretations of words have been given. The language is easily intelligible. The work as a whole is full of materials which, however, should be properly and carefully read and utilised for the study of social, religious, political and economic conditions of India in the 5th century A.D. Besides, there are in this work humorous tales, animal stories; e.g., the story of Pārileyyaka, legends of saints, e.g., Visākhā, Paṭācāra, etc. Some stories of the Dhammapada are derived from the Vinaya Piṭaka, e.g., Devadatta, Bodhirājakumāra, Channa, etc. ; some from Udāna, e.g., Mahākassapa, Sāmavati, Visākhā, Soṇa Kotikaṇṇa, Sundarī, Nanda Suppavāsā, etc. Some of the Jātaka stories correspond to some of the stories of the Dhammapada Commentary, e.g., Devadhamma, Kulāvaka, Telapatta, Sālittaka, Babbu, Godha, Cullapalobhana, Ananusociya, Kesava, Sāliya, Kusa, Ghata, etc. The Dhammapada Commentary, Therīgāthā Commentary, and the Aṅguttara Nikāya Commentary have some of the stories in common, e.g., Kuṇḍalakesī, Paṭācārā, Nandā, Khemā, Dhamma-

dinnā, etc. Mr. Burlingame is able to point out that from the Saṃyutta are derived seventeen stories, fifteen of them almost word for word (*Buddhist Legends*, pt. I, pp. 45-46). Milinda Pañha contains some of the stories mentioned in this work, e.g., Maṭṭhakuṇḍali, Sumana, Ekasāṭaka brāhmaṇa, Pesakāradhā, Sirimā, etc. (vide *Buddhist Legends*, pt. I, pp. 60-62). Parallels to the stories of this work are found in the Divyāvadāna and Tibetan Kandjur (*Ibid.*, pp. 63-64). Buddhaghosa says in the prologue of the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā that he translated the Sinhalese commentaries into Māgadhī (tanti) adding notes of his own at the request of the thera named Kumārakassapa (*Dhammapāda Commentary*, Vol. I, pp. 1 and 2). Buddhaghosa often mixes up fact and fable without exercising any discrimination whatsoever as we find in the story of King Parantapa of Kosambī (*Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, Vol. I, pt. II). The commentator also records the account of the elopement of Vāsavadattā with Udayana as we find it in Bhāṣa's Svapnavāsavadattā Udayana had another wife named Māgandiyā, the daughter of a brahmin, in the Kuru kingdom (*Udenavattu*, pp. 161 ff.) Anāthapiṇḍika built a vihāra known as the Jetavana Vihāra for the Buddha at the expense of 54 Koṭṭis of Kahāpaṇa (*Dhammapāda Commentary*, Vol. I, pp. 4-5). A girl of Anāthapiṇḍika's family went to the kingdom of Sātavāhana and there she offered alms to a bhikkhu. A great thera informed King Sātavāhana of it and eventually the girl was made the chief queen of the monarch (*Ibid.*, Burmese edition, p. 333). Buddhaghosa refers to flying through the air on the back of a garuḍa-bird made of wood and sufficient for the accommodation of three or four persons (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 134 ff.). In the Dhammapada Commentary, Buddhaghosa makes mention of a bird called Hatthilinga which is described as an animal possessing the strength of five elephants. It was in the habit of looking back on the track already trodden (Vol. I, pt. II). Buddhaghosa refers to the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon (*Dhammapāda Commentary*, Vol. IV, p. 74) where, presumably his commentaries were written. Prof. Hardy points out (J.R.A.S., 1998, pp. 741-794) that the story of the merchant Ghosaka as related

by Buddhaghosa in his *Manorathapūraṇī*, the commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, differs from the same story told in the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*. It should be borne in mind that Buddhaghosa was not the writer of an independent commentary on the canonical texts, but he was for the most part translating or compiling from various Sinhalese commentaries, sometimes from the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, sometimes from the *Mahā-paccari*, and sometimes from the *Kuruṇḍa-aṭṭhakathā*. Buddhaghosa cannot, therefore, be held responsible for variations in the narratives which might have been due to the differences in the authorship of the great old commentaries which were the embodiments of joint labours of a large number of Buddhist sages and scholars who had been working at the interpretation of the Master's sayings ever since they were uttered.

The *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* abounds in references to kings, e.g., *Bimbisāra*, *Ajātasattu*, *Pasenadi* ; to *Acelakas*, *Nigaṇṭhas*, *Ājivakas*, *Jaṭilas*, *Micchādīṭṭhikas* ; to lakes, e.g., *Anotattadah* ; to principal cities, e.g., *Takkasilā*, *Kapilavatthu*, *Kururaṭṭha*, *Kosambī*, *Kosala*, *Bārāṇasī*, *Soreyya*, *Magadha*, *Rājagaha*, *Sāvattihī*, *Vesālī* ; to mountains, e.g., the *Himalayas*, *Sineru*, *Gandhamādana*, *Gijjhakūṭa* ; to principal Buddhist women, e.g., *Mahāpajāpatī Gotami*, *Khemā*, *Yasodharā*, *Sumanādevī*, *Māyādevī*, *Mallikā*, *Paṭācārā*, *Sujātā*, *Rāhulamātā*, *Vāsuladattā*, *Visākhā*, *Suppavāsā*, *Dinnā*, *Kisāgotamī*, *Rūpanandā* ; to the heavens, e.g., *Tāvātimsa*, *Tusita* ; to forests and tanks, e.g., *Veḷuvana*, *Mahāvana*, *Jetavana*, *Maṅgalapokkharāṇī* ; to rivers, e.g., *Gaṅgā*, *Rohiṇī* (Vol. II, p. 99) ; to the famous physician *Jīvaka* ; to ancient Indian tribes, e.g., *Licchavis*, *Mallas* ; to distinguished persons, e.g., *Siddhattha*, *Sāriputta*, *Mahinda*, *Rāhula*, *Ānanda*, *Vessavana*, *Soṇa Kūṭikaṇṇa*, *Moggallāna*, and *Meṇḍaka*.

In the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* we read that there lived at *Kosambī* a householder's son, *Kosambivāsī Tissa Thera*, who took ordination from the Buddha. His supporter offered his son who was seven years old to *Tissa*. The boy was made a *sāmaṇera* by *Tissa* and as the hair of the *sāmaṇera* was being cut, he attained arahatship (Vol. II, pp. 182-185).

Buddhaghosa records an interesting legend which has some points of agreement with a story in the Skandapurāṇa (Ch 5, Brahmakhaṇḍa). It is recorded that there lived at Kosambī a king named Parantapa. One day he sat under the sun with his pregnant wife who was covered with a red blanket when a bird named Hatthniṅga having the strength of five elephants, took her away with its claws. The queen thought that before it could eat her, she would cry out and it would leave her. It was in the habit of looking back on the track. The queen also cried accordingly and the bird left her. At that time rain poured heavily and continued throughout the night. Early in the morning when the sun arose, a son was born to her. A hermit came to the spot where the son was born and saw the queen on the Nigrodha tree which was not far from his hermitage. When the queen introduced herself as a Kṣatriyāṇī, the hermit brought down the baby from the tree. The queen came to the hermitage of the sage who accompanied her with her infant son. The queen succeeded in tempting him to take her as his spouse and they lived as husband and wife. One day the hermit looked at the stars and saw the star of Parantapa disfigured. He informed her of the death of Parantapa of Kosambī. The queen cried and told him, "He is my husband and I am his queen. If my son had lived there, he would have become the king now." The hermit assured her that he would help her son to win the kingdom. Her son eventually became king and was known as Udayana. The new king married Sāmavati, a daughter of the treasurer of Kosambī. Buddhaghosa records moreover the account of the elopement of Vāsavadattā with Udayana as we find it in the Svapnavāsavadattā by Bhāṣa (Vol. I, pt. II).

The Dhammapada Commentary gives us details regarding the life of the Thera Mahākaccāyana. We are told that when he was dwelling at Avantī, the Buddha was residing at the palace of the renowned upāsikā at Sāvattihī, Visākhā Migaramātā ; nevertheless, though separated by such a long distance from the Master, yet whenever any sermon was delivered by the latter on Dhamma, Mahākaccāyana used to be present. Therefore a seat

was reserved for him by the bhikkhus (Vol. II, pp. 176-177). We also read in the same commentary that when Mahākaccāyana was living at the city of Kuraraghara in Avanti, an upāsaka named Soṇa Kūtikaṇṇo was pleased with him after listening to his religious sermon. The upāsaka requested him to give him ordination which was given (Vol. IV, p. 101). A nāga king named Erakapatta was taught by the Buddha at the foot of the Sattasirīsaka tree at Benares that it was very difficult to be born as a human being (Vol. III, p. 230). A trader of Benares used to trade by putting his goods on the back of an ass. Once he went to Taxila for trade and gave his ass rest there by taking down the goods from its back (Vol. I, p. 123). A trader of Benares was going to Sāvathī with five hundred carts full of red cloth, but he could not cross the river as it was full of water, so he had to stay there to sell his goods (Vol. III, p. 429). At Benares there was a rich banker named Mahāadhanaseṭṭhi. His parents taught him dancing and music. Another rich banker had a daughter who was trained in dancing and music and both of them were married. Mahāadhanaseṭṭhi began to drink wine and was addicted to gambling, with the result that he lost his own wealth as well as his wife's. Afterwards he began to beg for alms (Vol. III, pp. 129 foll.). A king of Benares learnt a mantra from a young brahmin by paying him 1,000 kahāpaṇas as teacher's fee. The king saved his life from the hands of the barber who was instigated by the senapati to kill him by that mantra (Vol. I, pp. 251 foll.). A brahmin of Taxila sent his son Susīma to learn Vedic mantra from a teacher who was his father's friend. The teacher taught him well (Vol. III, p. 445). A young man of Benares went to Taxila to learn archery from a distinguished teacher and he was well versed in the art, and the teacher being satisfied gave his daughter in marriage to him (Vol. IV, p. 66). We read that a king of Benares went out in disguise to enquire whether any of his subjects spoke ill of him. For 1,000 kahāpaṇas he learnt from a young brahmin of Benares a mantra which enabled him to read the evil thoughts of people (Vol. I, pp. 251 foll.). In spite of the good government, the country was not free from crime.

Cakkhupāla was a physician at Benares. He gave medicine to a woman who deceived him by telling a lie. He being angry with her gave her a medicine which made her blind (Vol. I, p. 20). Pasenadi, son of Mahākosala, was educated at Taxila and Mahāli, a Licchavi prince, and a Malla prince of Kusīnārā were his classmates (Vol. I, pp. 337-338). Kosala was not inhabited by the seṭṭhis previous to Pasenadi of Kosala who asked Meṇḍakaseṭṭhi and Dhanañjayaseṭṭhi to settle in the country and they did settle there (Vol. I, pp. 384 foll.). Pasenadi of Kosala was enamoured of a beautiful woman and tried to win her by killing her husband, but he gave up this idea when warned by the Buddha (Vol. II, pp. 1 foll.). Some thieves were caught and brought before the king of Kosala. He ordered them to be bound in ropes and chaips. They were thrown in prison. This information was given by the bhikkhus to the Buddha who was asked whether there was any stronger tie than this. Buddha replied, "attachment to wives, sons, and wealth is stronger than other ties" (Vol. IV, pp. 54-55). In Kosala a cowherd named Nanda was rich and wealthy. He used to go to Anāthapiṇḍika's house from time to time taking with him five kinds of preparations from cow's milk. He invited the Buddha who accepted the invitation. Nanda continued charities for a week. On the seventh day Buddha delivered a sermon on dāna, sila, etc., upon which Nanda obtained the first stage of sanctification (Vol. I, pp. 322-323). Mahāsuvanna, a banker of Sāvattī, had two sons, the first son became a bhikkhu under the Buddha and was known as Cakkhupāla (Vol. I, pp. 3 foll). Maṭṭhakuṇḍali was the son of a rich and stingy brahmin of Sāvattī. Only by saluting the Buddha he went to heaven (*Ibid.*, pp. 25 foll). Thullatissa was the Buddha's father's sister's son and lived at Sāvattī as a bhikkhu. He was pacified by the Buddha (*Ibid.*, pp. 37 foll.). Kāhyakkhinī was a Yakkhinī worshipped by the people of Sāvattī. She could foretell drought and excessive rainfall (*Ibid.*, pp. 45 foll). Sāvattī contributed a fair number of the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs who acquired fame and renown in the Buddhist congregation for the purity of their lives. Paṭācārā was the daughter of a rich banker of Sāvattī. She afterwards

became a bhikkhuṇī after great bereavements and came to be known as Paṭacārā (Vol. II, pp. 260 foll). Kisāgotamī was the daughter of a seṭṭhi of Sāvattī. After the death of her only child she went to the Buddha with the dead body and requested him to bring the dead to life. The Buddha delivered a sermon which led her to become a bhikkhuṇī (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 270 foll). Ahitthigandhakumāra fallen from the Brahmaloaka was reborn in a rich family of Sāvattī. He used to cry when touched by women. He was afterwards converted by the Buddha (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 281 foll). Vakkali born in a brahmin family of Sāvattī became a bhikkhu seeing the beauty of the Buddha's body (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 118). A servant of a brahmin of Sāvattī became a bhikkhu and subsequently attained arahatship (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 167). Nanda was the son of Mahāpajāpati Gotamī. He was made a bhikkhu by the Buddha at Sāvattī (*Ibid.*, pp. 15 foll).

The Dhammapada Commentary refers to the long continued jealousy of the heretics towards Buddhism. Moggallāna, one of the chief disciples of the Buddha, was struck by certain heretics with the help of some hired men (Vol. III, pp. 65 foll.). He used to dwell in Kullavālagāma in Magadha. At first he was very lazy, but being encouraged by the Buddha he exerted strenuously and fulfilled sāvaka-pāramī. It is to be noted that Sāriputta who was a Magadhan obtained pāramitā here (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 96). The same commentary also gives us legends about Bimbisāra, King of Magadha, who went to see the most beautiful palace of Jotiya in the mythic land of Uttarakuru. Ajātasatru was his son. Both of them took their meals at Jotiya's palace. Jotiya presented Bimbisāra with a valuable gem, the light of which was enough to illuminate the whole house (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. IV, pp. 209 foll.). A large number of heretics of the Saṃsāramocaka caste, who were opponents of Buddhism, employed some hired men to assault Moggallāna, one of the chief followers of the Buddha (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, pp. 65 foll). Two chief disciples of the Buddha went to Rājagaha and the inhabitants of Rājagaha showered charities upon them. A silk robe which was given in charity was given to Devadatta (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 77 foll). A daugh-

ter of a banker of Rājagaha obtained Sotāpatti (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 30). Sirimā was a beautiful prostitute of Rājagaha. She asked pardon of Uttara, daughter of Puṇṇakasetṭhi for her faults, in the presence of the Buddha. She afterwards became one of his lay devotees and spent a large sum for him and his disciples (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 104 foll). The mother of Kumārakassapa was the daughter of a banker of Rājagaha. When she grew up, she asked permission from her parents to receive ordination which was refused. She then went to her husband's place. She pleased her husband very much and got permission from him to receive ordination (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 144-145). A brahmin of Sāvattihī became an arahant of Gijjhakūṭa. He was very proud of seeing the beauty of the Buddha's body. The Buddha told, "No use seeing my body, see my Dhamma and you will see me" (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 117-118).

This work further relates that Kuṇḍalakesī, a beautiful daughter of a banker of Rājagaha, remained unmarried till the age of sixteen. It is there incidentally pointed out that at this age women long for men (Vol. II, p. 217). Magha, a householder of Magadha, married his maternal uncle's daughter named Sujātā (Vol. I, p. 265). Ananda was enamoured of the beauty of his father's sister's daughter named Uppalavaṇṇā and wanted to marry her (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 49). Vepacitti, King of the Asuras, refused to give his daughter in marriage to any of the Asura princes. So he said, "My daughter shall choose for herself such a husband as she sees fit". He then assembled the host of Asuras, made over a garland of flowers to his daughter and said to her, "Choose for yourself a husband and threw the wreath over his head (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. I, pp. 278-279). We are informed by this commentary that a rich man's daughter, when she attained marriageable age, was lodged by her parents in an apartment of royal splendour on the topmost floor of a seven-storied palace, with a female slave to guard her. No male servant was kept in that house (Vol. II, p. 217). Daughters of noble families did not ordinarily come out of their house, but they travelled in chariots and the like while others entered an ordinary carriage or

raised a parasol of a palmyra-leaf over their heads ; but if this was not available, they took the skirt of their undergarment and threw it over their shoulder (Vol. I, p. 391). From the instances cited above it is reasonable to hold that elopement and the preservation of chastity *inter alia* contributed largely to the observance of 'purdah' by the tender sex before or after marriage. But there are exceptions, Visākhā, for example, while going to her father-in-law's house just after her marriage entered the city of Sāvattthī not under the 'purdah' but standing up in a chariot uncovered showing herself to all the city (Vol. I, pp. 384 foll.). Daughters of respectable families, who did not ordinarily stir out, used to go on foot during a festival, with their own retinue, and bathe in the river (Vol. I, pp. 190-91 and 388). Instances of dowry being given by the bride's father are referred to in the Visākhāyavatthu of the Dhammapada Commentary (Vol. I). The Sāvattthian treasurer, Migāra, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter, Visākhā, well-known in the Buddhist literature, gave her as dowry five hundred carts filled with vessels of gold, five hundred filled with vessels of silver, five hundred filled with copper vessels, five hundred filled with garments made of various kinds of silk, five hundred filled with ghee, five hundred filled with plows, plowshares, and other farm implements. Sixty thousand powerful bulls and sixty thousand milch cows, and some powerful bull-calves were also given to her.

Princess Vajirā was the daughter of Pasenadi of Kosala. She was given in marriage to Ajātasattu of Magadha. Kāsigāma was given to her by her father for bath and perfume money (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, p. 266). The Sāvattthian treasurer, Migāra, gave his daughter, on her marriage, fifty crores of treasure to buy aromatic powders for the bath (*Ibid.*, I, p. 398). The custom of collecting presents (puṇṇākāram) on the occasion of a marriage ceremony is met with in the Dhammapada Commentary where we read that on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of Visākhā, daughter of Dhanañjaya setṭhi with the son of Migāra setṭhi, presents including a hundred each of all kinds of gifts were collected from hundred villages (Vol. I, pp. 384 foll.). Af-

ter marriage the girl was sent to her father in-law's house with the following directions²⁹ :

1. Do not carry outside the indoor fire.
2. Do not carry inside the outdoor fire.
3. Give only to him that gives.
4. Do not give him that does not give.
5. Give both to him that gives and him that does not give.
6. Sit happily.
7. Eat happily.
8. Sleep happily.
9. Tend the fire.
10. Honour the household divinity.

These ten admonitions were interpreted as follows :

1. If the mother-in-law or other female members of the household engage in a private conversation within the house, their conversation is not to be communicated to slaves, whether male or female, for such conversation is tattled about and causes quarrels.

2. The conversation of slaves and servants is not to be communicated to persons within the household ; as such conversation is talked about and causes quarrels.

3. This means that one should give only to those who return borrowed articles.

4. This means that one should not give to those who do not return borrowed articles.

5. This means that one should help poor kinsfolk and friends who look for succour, without considering their capability of repaying.

6. This means that a wife seeing her mother-in-law or her father-in-law should stand and not remain sitting.

²⁹ Antoaggi bahi na nīharitabbo, bahi aggi anto na pavesetabbo, dadantass' eva dātabbaṃ, adantassa na dātabbaṃ, dadantassāpi adantassāpi dātabbaṃ, sukhaṃ nisīditabbaṃ, sukhaṃ bhuñji tabbaṃ, sukhaṃ nipajjitabbaṃ, aggi paricaritabbo, antodevatā pi namassitabbā' ti idam dasavidhaṃ ovādaṃ (*Dh. Com.*, I, 397-398).

7. This means that a wife should not eat before her mother-in-law, father-in-law, and husband have taken their meals. She should serve them first, and when she is sure that they have had all they care for, then and not till then may she herself eat.

8. This means that a wife should not go to bed before her mother-in-law, father-in-law, and husband. She should first perform all the duties which she owes them and then she may herself lie down to sleep.

9. This means that a wife should regard her mother-in-law, her father-in-law, or her husband as a flame of fire or as a serpent king.

10. When a monk after keeping residence in a remote lodging comes to the door of a house, and the housewife sees him, she must give to such a monk whatever food there is in the house both hard and soft; and then she may eat (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. I, pp. 403-404). A Magadhan householder, named Magha, had four wives at a time, viz., Nandā, Cittā, Sudhammā, and Sujātā (*Ibid.*, I, p. 269). The first wife of a householder of Sāvattihī being barren brought another wife for her husband. When her co-wife became pregnant, she was jealous and effected abortion by administering medicine. Thrice did this woman commit this heinous crime with the result that her co-wife succumbed at last to the effect of the abortive medicine. But the cruel woman did not escape the penalty for doing this sinful deed. She was beaten to death by her husband who declared her to be the cause of the death of his pregnant wife and destroyer of his line (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. I, pp. 45 foll.)

Besides her household duties a slave woman had to husk paddy (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, p. 321) and to go to market (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 208).

Khujjuttarā, a maid-servant of Samāvati, queen of udena, King of Kosambī, had to buy flowers daily for eight kahāpaṇas for the queen. But she used to steal four kahāpaṇas daily. One day while she went to the garland-maker's house to buy flowers, she heard the sermon delivered by the Buddha. She obtained sotāpatti-phalaṃ. Since then she discontinued stealing and

bought flowers for eight kahāpaṇas. The queen questioned her how she had bought so many flowers for eight kahāpaṇas. The maid-servant could no longer conceal anything, as by this time her faith in the Buddha had become very strong. She confessed her guilt and said that after hearing the Buddha's sermon she had come to realise that stealing a thing is a sin. The queen asked her to repeat the Dhamma she had heard. Khujjuttarā did so in the presence of the queen and her five hundred female attendants. The queen did not reproach her for her stealing four kahāpaṇas daily, on the contrary, she praised her much for letting her hear the Buddha's Dhamma. Since then the maid-servant was regarded as a mother and teacher by the queen and her five hundred female attendants, who asked her to go to the Master daily to hear the Dhamma and repeat it to them. In course of time she mastered the Tripiṭaka (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. I, pp. 208 foll.).

Sirimā was the youngest sister of Jīvaka, the well-known physician. She was a courtesan of unique beauty. She lived at Rājagaha. Once she was appointed for a fortnight by the female lay disciple, Uttarā, wife of the treasurer's son, Sumana, and daughter of the treasurer, Puṇṇaka, for one thousand pieces of money per night (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, pp. 308-309) in order to minister to Uttarā's husband. One day she offended Uttarā, but desiring to be on good terms with her again, she begged pardon of her. Uttarā assured her that she would pardon her if the Exalted One would do the same. One day the Master and the congregation of monks came to Uttarā's house. When the Master had finished his meal, Sirimā begged his pardon. The Teacher pronounced thanksgiving and delivered discourse to which Sirimā listened attentively. Then she attained the first stage of sanctification. Since then she regularly gave alms to eight monks (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, pp. 104 foll.) On her death, Sirimā's dead body was not burnt. It was kept in a charnel-house (āmakasusānaṃ) and watched by a guard against its being devoured by crows and dogs. King Bimbisāra informed the Buddha of her death, and the Buddha requested the king

not to burn her dead body but to preserve it so that it could be seen by the bhikkhus daily for asubhabhāvanā. The bhikkhus saw it daily and realised that the most beautiful body becomes rotten, worm-eaten, and finally the bones remain without flesh. The citizens, too, were compelled to behold Sirimā's dead body, for there stood the royal proclamation, "All who refuse to do so shall be fined eight pieces of money". This was done with a view to impress on the citizens the idea of transitoriness of human beauty which is but skin-deep (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, pp. 106-109).

Dinnā was an upāḱikā of the Buddha. She was the queen of King Uggasena. A king promised to the deity of a nigrodha tree that he would worship the deity with blood of one hundred kings of Jambudīpa, if he got the throne after his father's death. He then defeated all the kings one by one and went to worship the deity, but the deity, seeing that many kings would be killed, took compassion for them and refused his worship on the ground that the queen of King Uggasena whom he defeated was not brought. The king had her brought and she preached a sermon on the avoidance of life-slaughter in their presence. The deity approved and the king refrained from life-slaughter and released the defeated and captured kings who praised Dinnā for her act. It was due to her that so many kings were saved (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. II, pp. 15 foll.)

Kisāgotamī came of a respectable family at Sāvattḥī. She was married to a rich banker's son who had 40 koṭis of wealth (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. II, pp 270-275). Bodhisatta was her maternal uncle's son. One day while the Bodhisatta was returning home after receiving the news of Rāhula's birth, he was seen by Kisāgotamī from her palace. Buddha's physical grace and charm gladdened the heart of Kisāgotamī and she uttered that the mother who had such a child and the father who had such a son and the wife who had such a husband were surely happy (nibbuta); but the Bodhisatta took the word nibbuta in the sense of nibbāṇaṁ. The Bodhisatta presented her with a pearl necklace for making him hear such an auspicious and sacred work

(*Dh. Com.*, Vol. I, p. 85). After the Bodhisatta had become the Buddha, Kisāgotamī once came through the sky to worship the Buddha ; but she saw that Sakka with his retinue was then seated before the Master. She, therefore, chose it not to descend and come near to the Buddha ; but did her worship from the sky and went away. Being questioned by Sakka who had seen Kisāgotamī performing her worship, the Buddha answered that she was his daughter. Kisāgotamī was the foremost among the bhikkhūṇīs who used very rough and simple robes (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. IV, pp. 156-157).

Once Pasenadi invited the Buddha to teach Dhamma to queens Mallikā and Vāsabhakhattiyā who were desirous of learning it. But as it was not possible for him to go everyday, the Buddha asked the king to engage Ānanda for the purpose. Mallikādevī in due course learnt it thoroughly well ; but Vasabhakhattiyā was inattentive and could hardly, therefore, learn it (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. I, 382). Mallikā once induced her husband, King Pasenadi, to go to the Buddha and receive instructions from him, and thus saved the life of many living beings who were brought before the king for sacrifice to save the king himself from the evil effect of hearing four horrible sounds at midnight, and she made the following arrangements on the occasion of Pasenadi's offering unique gift to the Buddha and the Buddhists :

1. She made a canopy with sāla wooden parts under which five hundred bhikkhus could sit within the parts and five hundred outside them.

2. Five hundred white umbrellas were raised by 500 elephants standing at the back of five hundred bhikkhus.

3. Golden boats were placed in the middle of the pandal and each khattiya daughter threw scents standing in the midst of two bhikkhus.

4. Each khattiya princess was found standing in the midst of two bhikkhus.

5. Golden boats were filled with scents and perfumes (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, pp. 183 foll.).

Mallikādevī had, however, to suffer after death, in the Avici

hell, because she had once deceived her husband by telling a lie about her misconduct (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, pp. 119 foll.).

The daughter of Queen Mallikā was also named Mallikā. She was the wife of General Bandhula, but was childless for a long time. Bandhula, therefore, once for all, sent her to her father's house, when on the way she went to the Jetavana to salute the Buddha and told the Master that her husband was sending her home as she was childless. The Buddha asked her to go back to her husband's house. Bandhula came eventually to know of this fact, and thought that the Buddha must have got the idea that she would be pregnant. The sign of pregnancy was soon visible in her and she desired to drink water and bathe in the well-guarded tank. Her husband made her bathe and drink water of the tank (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. I, pp. 349-351).

Uttarā and her husband were serving a setṭhi at Rājagaha. Once the setṭhi went to attend a famous ceremony and Uttarā with her husband stayed at home. One morning, the husband of Uttarā had gone to the fields to till the soil, and Uttarā was going with cooked food to feed her husband there. On the way she met Sāriputta who had just got up from nirodhasamāpatti and offered the food to him with the result that she became the richest lady at Rājagaha and her husband became a setṭhi named Mahādhanasetṭhi (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, pp. 302 foll.).

Puṇṇā was the maid-servant of a banker of Sāvattḥī. Once while engaged in husking paddy at night, she went outside the house to take rest. At this time Dabba, a Mallian, was in charge of making arrangements for the sleeping accommodation of the bhikkhus who were guests. Puṇṇā with some cakes went out to enquire of the cause of their movements with lights at night, and met the Buddha who had come out on that way for alms. She offered all the cakes to the Buddha without keeping anything for her, and the Buddha accepted all of them. Puṇṇā was thinking whether Buddha would partake of her food ; but the Buddha most unhesitatingly did partake of it in her house. The effect of this offer was that Puṇṇā obtained sotāpattiphalaṃ at the place where the offer was made (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, pp. 321 foll.).

Rohiṇī was Anuruddha's sister. She was suffering from white leprosy, and did not go to her brother as she feared she might contaminate him. Anuruddha sent for her and asked her to build a rest-house for bhikkhus to get rid of her sin. She did so, and kept the rest-house clean even when it was under construction. After she had done it with great devotion for a long time, she eventually became free from her disease. Shortly afterwards the Buddha went to Kapilavatthu and sent for Rohiṇī. When she came, he told her that she had been the queen of Benares in her former birth. The king of Benares was at that time enamoured of the beauty of a dancing girl. The queen knowing this was jealous of the girl and to punish her she put something in her cloth and poured in bathing water which produced terrible itching all over the body. On account of this sin, she had got this disease. She however obtained sotāpattiphalaṃ and the colour of her body was golden (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, pp. 295 foll.)

A cultivator's daughter was in charge of a paddy-field. She was once frying paddy in the field, when at that time Mahākassapa was engaged in meditation for a week in the Pippali cave. Rising up from meditation he went to the girl for alms ; and she with a delightful mind offered fried grains to him which he accepted. While the girl was returning from the presence of Mahākassapa to the spot where she was frying she was smitten by a poisonous snake and died instantly. After death she was reborn in the golden mansion of the Tāvātimsa heaven on account of this meritorious deed, and was named there as Lājadevadhītā who had come from heaven to get more merit by serving Mahākassapa. She used to cleanse his monastery and keep water ready for his use. But after two days, she was forbidden to serve him any more as she was found out to be a devī. She lamented much for not being able to serve the great arahat. The Buddha came to know of this and preached a sermon to her with the result that she obtained sotāpattiphalaṃ (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, pp. 6-9).

The mother of Kumārakassapa had become pregnant before she renounced the worldly life ; but she was herself una-

ware of it. After she was become a bhikkhūṇī it was known that she was pregnant. The master was referred to the Buddha who asked Upāli to enquire into the matter. Upāli referred to Pase-nadi, Anāthapiṇḍika and Visākhā. Visākhā was afterwards solely entrusted to decide the matter. Visākhā found out that she had become pregnant before her renouncing the world (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, pp. 144 foll.).

Rūpanandā was the Buddha's step-mother. She thought that her eldest brother had renounced the world and had become a Buddha. Her younger brother Nanda was a bhikkhu ; Rāhulakumāra had also obtained ordination ; her husband too had become a bhikkhu ; and her mother Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, a bhikkhūṇī. She, therefore, thought that as so many of her relatives had renounced the world, so she too must follow their path. She did not go before the Buddha as she was proud of her beauty while the Buddha used to preach impermanence and worthlessness of rūpa. The other bhikkhūṇīs and bhikkhus always used to praise Buddha in her presence and told her that all, in spite of their having different tastes, had become pleased on seeing the Buddha (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, p. 115). Nandā, wife of Nandasena, a householder of Sāvattī, had no faith in the Buddha. One day she thought of going to the Buddha with other bhikkhūṇīs, but she would not show herself to the Buddha. The Buddha came to know that with other bhikkhūṇīs Nandā too had come ; and he desired to lower down the pride of her beauty. By his miraculous power, the Buddha created a most beautiful girl by his side who at once engaged herself in fanning the Buddha. Nandā saw the beauty of the girl, and readily discovered that her own beauty was much inferior. The attendant girl was seen gradually but miraculously attaining youth, the state of mother of one child, and the old age and disease and death. Nandā saw this happening before her eyes and gave up the pride of her beauty and came to realise the impermanence of physical beauty. The Buddha knowing the state of her mind delivered the sermon (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. III, pp. 113 foll.).

Visākhā was the daughter of Dhanañjayaseṭṭhi, son of Meṇḍakaseṭṭhi, who lived in the city of Bhaddiya in the kingdom of Anga. The family of Meṇḍaka was greatly devoted to the Buddha. Dhanañjayaseṭṭhi at the request of Pasenadi, King of Kosala, went to his kingdom and settled at Sāketa. Visākhā was married to Puṇṇavaddhana, son of Migāraseṭṭhi, who was, however, a follower of the Nigaṇṭhas. After marriage, she lived with her father-in-law at Sāvattī. One day Migāraseṭṭhi invited five hundred naked ascetics (nigaṇṭhas) and when they came he asked his daughter-in-law to come and salute the arahats. She came hearing about the arahats and seeing them, she said, "Such shameless creatures can't be arahats. Why has my father-in-law called me?" Saying this she blamed her father-in-law and went to her residence. The naked ascetics seeing this, blamed the seṭṭhi and asked him to turn her out of the house as she was a follower of Samaṇa Gotama. But the seṭṭhi knowing that it was not possible to do so, apologised to them and sent them away. After this incident the seṭṭhi sitting on a valuable seat was drinking milk-porridge with honey from a golden pot and Visākhā stood there fanning him. At that time a Buddhist monk entered the house for alms and stood before him, but the seṭṭhi took no notice of him. Seeing that, Visākhā said to the thera "Go to another house, Sir, my father-in-law is eating a stale food". At this the banker grew angry. He then stopped eating and ordered his men to drive her out. Thereupon, Visākhā said that he should examine her shortcomings. The seṭṭhi welcomed the idea and summoned her relations and told them that his daughter-in-law had said to a Buddhist monk that he was eating stale food while he was drinking milk porridge with honey. Visākhā's relations enquired about the truth of the statement. Visākhā said that she did not say so. She only said that her father-in-law was enjoying the fruition of his merit in the previous birth. In this way Visākhā explained away everything that was considered by her father-in-law to bring blame upon her. While she was found not guilty by her relations, she prepared to leave the house of her father-in-law. Thereupon the banker apologised and entreated his daugh-

ter-in-law to remain in the house. She, however, consented to remain on one condition only, namely, that she could be allowed to entertain the bhikkhus in the house at her will. Next day she invited the Buddha to her house. The naked ascetics knowing that the Buddha had entered the house of Migāraseṭṭhi surrounded the house. Visākhā requested her father-in-law to come and serve the Buddha himself. The naked ascetics prevented him from going there. Thereupon Visākhā herself served the Buddha and his disciples and when their meal was finished, she again requested her father-in-law to come and listen to the sermon of the Buddha. The naked ascetics again said that it was extremely improper to go at that time, but when he went to listen to the Buddha's sermon, he saw that the naked ascetics had gone there earlier and placed the curtain and requested the seṭṭhi to sit outside it. The seṭṭhi sat outside the curtain, listened to the Buddha's sermon, obtained the fruition of the first stage of sanctification, went up to his daughter-in-law and said to her, "Henceforward you are my mother". From that time Visākhā came to be known as Migāramātā or Migāra's mother. Migāra was converted to Buddhism. Visākhā afterwards made a vihāra at Sāvattī at the cost of twenty-seven crores of coins (*Dh. Com.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 384 foll.).

Sutta Nipāta Commentary. The Sutta Nipāta commentary written by Buddhaghosa is a mine of various sorts of valuable information — geographical, historical, religious, and otherwise. Illuminating definitions of rāga, taṇhā, māna, dosa, moha, anusaya, and akusalamūla ; and interpretations of the words, e.g., sati, brahmaloka, uposatha, saṅkappa, pamāda, jhāna, dhamma, gambhirapañña, musāvāda, pañātipāta, upadhi, etc., occur briskly in it sometimes systematically, sometimes at random. To give one example, the very interesting word "Nibutta" is explained in connection with the account of Dhaniya, the cowherd. In connection with another account, namely, that of the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta, we are referred to three kinds of dramas. Besides mentioning mountains and mountain caves, e.g., Gandhamādana and Caṇḍagabbha, the commentator reveals his

knowledge of geography when he makes mention of Bārāṇasī, Magadha, Sāvattthī, Kapilavatthu, Kosala, Nerañjarā, etc., nor does he seem to be deficient in his knowledge of history, for he mentions Bimbisāra, Sundarīparibbājaka, and Kosalarāja Pasenadi. Bimbisāra, we are informed, was called Māgadha, because he was the lord of the Magadhas. He was the possessor of a big army, hence he was called *Seṇiya*. It adds, besides, that Bimbisāra was so called because his colour was like that of excellent gold (p. 448). Rājagaha was ruled by famous kings like Mandhāta and Mahāgovinda. In the time of the Buddha, it became a city, and in other times, it came to be vacant and then inhabited by the *yakkhas*.

Interesting side-lights are thrown by other accounts, a few of which may profitably be recounted here. A carpenter of Benares prepared mechanical wooden birds by which he conquered a tract of land in the Himavanta and became the ruler of that land. His capital was known as *Kaṭṭhavāhanagara*. He sent valuable presents to the king of Benares and made friendship with him. The king in return sent him the news of the advent of the Buddha Kassapa in Benares, but when they reached Benares the Buddha had obtained *mahāparinibbāna*. Afterwards, the *yuvarāja* with a *bhikkhu* and the *relies* of the Buddha went back to the *Kaṭṭhanagara*, and the *bhikkhu* was later on successful in converting the king and his subjects into Buddhism (Vol. II, pp. 575 foll.). A trader of Benares went to buy goods with 500 carts to a frontier country, and bought sandal wood (Vol. II, pp. 523 ff.).

There lived at Sāvattthī a *paribbājaka*, named *Pasura*, who was a great disputant. He planted a branch of a *Jambu* tree declaring that he who would be able to hold discussion with him, would uproot it. *Sāriputta* did uproot it. *Pasura* had a discussion with *Sāriputta* about sensual pleasures and eye-consciousness with the result that the *paribbājaka* was defeated. The *paribbājaka* went to the *Jetavana* in order to be ordained by *Sāriputta* and to learn *Vādasattam* (art of disputation). He met *Lāludāyi* at the *Jetavana vihāra*. Thinking that this *Lāludāyi* must

be greatly wise, he took ordination from him. He defeated Lāludāyī in disputation and made him a paribbājaka even while he was wearing the dress of a bhikkhu. Pasura again went to Sāvattthī to hold discussion with Gautama. He held discussion with Gautama but was defeated. The Buddha then gave him instruction and he was converted into Buddhism (Vol. II, pp. 538 foll.).

The Jātaka Commentary. As to the authorship of the Jātaka Commentary there is a great dispute which has not yet been settled. Some ascribe the authorship to Buddhaghosa.

Commentaries on the Abhidhamma Pitaka. **The Atthasālinī**

Buddhaghosa wrote a commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇī known as the Atthasālinī.³⁰ It simply gives the meaning of the terms that occur in the Dhammasaṅgaṇī. In some places word-for-word explanations have been given which are apparently tedious but are certainly useful to students of Buddhism.³¹

The Atthasālinī contains some historical and geographical information besides some explanations of certain technical terms of Buddhist psychology. It refers to some rivers, e.g., Aciravatī, Gaṅgā, Godāvārī, Nerañjarā, Mahī, Sarabhū, and Anomā. It also

³⁰ There is a scholium on the *Atthasālinī* called the *Paṭhamaparamatthapakāsini*. Read *Abhidhammakathā*, a Pāli prose work being a guide to metaphysics of Buddhism for beginners extracted from the *Atthasālinī*. The *Atthasālinī* has been edited by Prof. E. Muller for the Pāli Text Society. A translation of this work has been brought out by Mr. Pe Maung Tin, and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids. It is widely studied by students of Buddhism and by the Burmese monks; and is often quoted by authors of the *Abhidhamma* works.

³¹ Mr. Maung Tin speaks of the two Burmese translations of the *Atthasālinī*, namely, old *Nissaya* (MSS Bernard Free Library, Rangoon) by Ariyālaṅkāra of the earlier part of the 19th century, and the new *Nissaya* printed in Kemmendine, Rangoon, 1905, by Pyi Sadaw of the middle of the 19th century. On the whole the translation will be useful in reading the text. In the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon, there are original manuscripts of the *Atthasālinī*.

refers to some cities, islands, etc., e.g., Kāsīpura, Penambaṅgana, Kosala, Isipatana, Jambudīpa, Jetavana, Tambapaṇṇi, Aparagoyāna, Pāṭaliputta, Pubbavideha, Bandhumati, Bharukaccha, Rājagaha, Sāketa, Sāvathī, Sihalaḍḍīpa. There are references to some historical personages as well, e.g., Ajita, Aññakoḍaṇṇa, Abhayathera, Assagutta, Ānanda, Āḷāra Kālāma, Uttiya, Udāyi, Uddaka, Upaka, Kassapa, Channa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, Abhaya, Dāsaka, Dipaṅkara, Nāgasena, Buddhaghosa, Bhaddaji, Mallikā, Mahākassapa, Mahinda, Moggaliputta Tissa, Revata, Vipassī, Vissakammā, Sāriputta, Sujātā, Sumanā, Sonakā, Metteyya, Piṅgalabuddharakkhita, Cakkana Upāsaka. Buddhaghosa in the introductory verses laid down that after he had already dealt with some subjects in his previous composition, the Visuddhimagga, he had only to supplement it by way of writing a commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. But though the Atthasālinī aims to be an exposition of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, yet there is some anomaly in the contents and arrangements of the two books. There are some chapters of the text which the commentary omits and some chapters which it adds independently of the text itself. Unlike the Dhammasaṅgaṇi the chapters in the Atthasālinī are clearly marked so that the treatment is more scientific than that of the former. Buddhaghosa at the outset gives an introductory chapter. In this he deals with various questions, both literary and philosophical. His dissertation on literary subjects helps us to a great extent in fixing the chronology of the texts of the Sutta, Vinaya, and Abhidhamma. He says that the commentary on the Abhidhamma was sung in the First Council and was rehearsed in the succeeding Councils. Mahinda brought it to Ceylon and it was translated into Sinhalese. Buddhaghosa defines Abhidhamma as one which excels all other dhammas in qualities. The chief difference between Suttanta and Abhidhamma is that in the Suttanta the five aggregates are classified partially while in the Abhidhamma this classification has been done according to three methods, namely, the Suttanta classification, the Abhidhamma classification, and Catechism. he shows that Suttanta classification is incomplete and defec-

tive. He next deals with the Abhidhamma books themselves which are seven in number and records that the very nature of the Kathāvatthu makes its position untenable in the very classification itself, for it dates from the incidents of the Third Council. But Buddhaghosa relying on the traditional number seven in the Abhidhamma class and showing the internal defects of Mahādhammapadaya or Mahādhātukathā as the possible substitutes for the Kathāvatthu, holds that the Kathāvatthu falls within Abhidhamma class particularly because Tissa followed the contents and method of the Teacher who himself foresaw this book.

The author then gives a table of contents of each of the seven Abhidhamma books after which he gives a history of the first Abhidhamma thought and compilation as emanating from the Buddha himself. To Sāriputta he attributes the origin of the number and order of the books. Buddhaghosa quotes many poetical passages as an introductory explanation of the Sutta, Vinaya, and Abhidhamma Piṭakas.

He says that the Abhidhamma is intended for those only who think that there is "I", "This is mine", and who fail to understand that the ultimate self is merely a collection of things. The main purpose of the Abhidhamma is, according to hi, to lay a distinction between mind and matter and to train one in higher and metaphysical understanding.

The author then justifies the fact that the three piṭakas are the words of Buddha himself, for those bhikkhus who are well practised in Vinaya arrived at the three kinds of knowledge while those who are well versed in the Sutta arrive at the six kinds of super-knowledge and bhikkhus well cultivated in Abhidhamma arrive at the four analyses. He then explains why each of the nikāyas or groups is so called. The first one is Dīgha, because it contains 34 long suttas. The second one containing 152 suttas is called Majjhima, because they are of medium length. The Saṃyutta Nikāya contains seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-two suttas. The Aṅguttara contains nine thousand five hundred and fifty-seven suttas.

The Khuddaka is one which excludes the four nikāyas, the Vinaya, the Abhidhamma, and includes such books as Khuddakapāṭha, Dhammapada, etc. Then follows an enumeration of the nine Aṅgas, the eighty-four thousand units of texts. Buddhaghosa then says that the Abhidhamma is a piṭaka by piṭaka classification and holds it as a word of the Buddha. The Abhidhammikas claim to be the best expositors of the Dhamma. But the Abhidhamma is a field for the Buddha and not for others. The author quotes the Elder Tissabhuti who while seeking to trace the origin of the Abhidhamma at the place of the great enlightenment quoted Padesavihāra Sutta where the Buddha intuited all his qualities and possessions. He then recommends the introduction of the Abhidhamma to all its readers. The author then compares the introductory portions both of the Sutta and the Abhidhamma. He says that unlike the Sutta which has one, the Abhidhamma has two introductions, the one dealing with the life and equipment of the Buddha and the other with the events just before the Dhammacakkapavattana. The author then traces the history of Abhidhamma teaching in Ceylon. According to him, Abhidhamma, originated with faith and nurtured in the 550 Jātakas, was taught by the Buddha. It contained exactly Buddha's words and was handed down by the unbroken line of teachers till the Third Council beginning with Sāriputta and followed by the long line of disciples. An examination of the Atthasālinī shows that it was composed after the Samantapāsādikā to which it refers in pages 97 and 98 of the P.T.S. edition.

The Sammoha-vinodanī or the commentary on the Vibhaṅga (Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā) written by Buddhaghosa has been edited for the P.T.S. by A.P. Buddhadatta Thera in 1923. This commentary was published in Burma several times, but in Ceylon about half of the book has been printed. In many places we find that this commentary and the Visuddhimagga comment on the same subjects. This book consists of 18 sections dealing with the expositions of five khandhas (e.g., rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra, and viññānaṃ), āyatanas (spheres), dhātus (ele-

ments), sacca (truth), indriyas (senses), paccayākāra (causes interdependent), satipaṭṭhāna (right recollection), sammappa-dhāna (right concentration), iddhipādas (bases of miracles), seven bojjhaṅgas (supreme knowledge), magga (the Noble Eightfold Path), jhāna (stages of meditation), appamañña (four appamaññas consisting in an unlimited or perfect exercise of the qualities of friendliness, compassion, good will, and equanimity), sikkhāpadas (precepts), paṭisambhidā (analytical knowledge), nāna (true knowledge), khuddakavattu (minor points), and dhammahadaya (religious heart). It should be noted that in the section on the dhātus, 32 parts of the body have been discussed. In the section dealing with truth, the noble truths (ariyasaccam) are dealt with. In the section on the Paccayākāras we find a discussion of the topic of dependent origination. The Satipaṭṭhana Vibhaṅga should be read along with the Mahā-satipaṭṭhāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya and Satipaṭṭhāna Suttanta of the Majjhima Nikaya. The Sammohavinodanī contains short notes on avijjā (ignorance), kāya (body), jāti (birth), jarā (old age), taṇhā (desire), domanassa (despair), nibbāna, nāma-rūpa (name and form), bhava (existence), bodhi (enlightenment), macchariya (sloth), marana (death), māyā (illusion), etc.

There is a ṭīkā on the Sammohavinodanī known as the Sammohavinodanīlinattha.

The Dhātukathāpakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā is a commentary on the Dhātukathā written by Buddhaghosa. It has 14 sections containing interpretations of the five khandhas, twelve āyatanas (spheres), sixteen dhātus (elements), etc.

The Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā is a commentary on the Puggalapaññatti. This work has been edited for the P.T.S. by G. Landsberg and Mrs. Rhys Davids (J.P.T.S., 1913-1914). The available manuscripts are : (1) palm-leaf Sinhalese manuscript procured for the P.T.S. by Gooneratne, (2) paper Sinhalese manuscript, and (3) Pyi Gyi Mandyne Press edition, Rangoon, in Burmese character.

The Kathāvattu-aṭṭhakathā is a commentary on the Kathā-

vatthupakaraṇa written by Buddhaghosa. According to this commentary (Kathāvatthu Commentary), two truths, dukkhaṃ and dukkhasamudayaṃ, are mundane (belonging to the world of re-birth) and the other two truths (nirodha and nirodhagāminipaṭipadā) are supramundane (belonging to the paths). Of the indriyas, ten belong to the region of sense-desire, nine to the next two worlds, and three to the supramundane. Samaya-vimutta, according to the commentator, applies to sotāpanna, sakadāgāmī, and anāgāmī, and asamayavimutta applies to sukkhavipassaka-khīnāsavas. Kuppadhamma is applied to an ordinary person who has attained eight samāpathis. It is also applied to a stream-attainer and to an once-returner. It means a person who is unsteady or not firmly established in the path. It is so called because in his case the mental conditions which are antagonistic to samādhi and vipassanā have not been completely stopped nor well washed off, and it is for this reason that their attainment perishes and falls away. Akuppa-dhamma is applied to an anāgāmī who has attained eight samāpatti and to a khīnāsava. It means a person who does not go astray. He is steady or firmly established in the path. Hindrances of samādhi and vipassanā in such a person are completely destroyed. His attainment is not broken or destroyed by useless talks or by any other unsuitable act committed through negligence. The commentary further narrates that the term 'Gotrabhu' is applied to a person who has reached the family, circle, or designation of Ariyas by surpassing the family, circle, or designation of ordinary persons through the knowledge acquired by meditation on Nirvāṇa. According to the commentary, by meditation on 'formlessness' a person is freed from rūpakāya (form) and by going through the sublime Eightfold Path he is freed from nāmakāya, therefore he is called ubhato-bhāgavimutto.

A person at first goes through different stages of meditation, then he realises nibbānaṃ. There are six classes of kāyasakkhi commencing from sotāpattiphalatṭha to arahattamaggaṭṭha.

Diṭṭhapatto : He who thoroughly knows that this is suffer-

ing, this is the cause of suffering, this is the cessation of suffering, this is the path leading to the cessation of suffering, is one who has won vision.

Dhammānusārī : It applies to one who has reached the first stage of sanctification because he moves by saddhā of faith.

Sattakkhattumparamo applies to one who obtains arahantship at the seventh birth.

After the realisation of the fruition of sotāpatti one is not reborn in a low family. He is reborn amongst devas and men six times only.

The term Ekabījī is applicable to a streamattainer who is reborn once only.

Antarā-parinibbāyī applies to a person who obtains Nirvāṇa before reaching the middle of the term of life. Upahacca-parinibbāyī applies to a person who obtains parinibbāna after passing the middle of the term of life but does not reach the end. Asaṅkhāraparinibbāyī applies to a person who attains complete passing away of mental impurities. Sasaṅkhāra-parinibbāyī applies to a person who obtains the foregoing with instigation, with trouble, and with exertion.

Akaniṭṭhagāmī : According to this commentary, a person goes to the highest Brahmāloka passing through four intermediate Brahma worlds, namely, Avīhā, Atappā, Sudassā, and Sudassī.

Kalyāṇamitta means a good or spiritual friend. Hīnādhi-mutto means low inclination. Paṇītādhimutto means "*having good inclination*".

The commentary says that the seven learners and average men are restrained from sin through fear, but the Khīnasavas have completely uprooted their fear, therefore they are called Abhayūparato.

A person who has first obtained knowledge of previous births and deva-sight and then arahantship is called a tevijjo, i.e., possessed of three vijjās, namely, pubbenivāsañānaṃ (knowledge of previous births), dibbacakkhuñānaṃ (knowledge of deva-sight), and arahantaphalañānaṃ (knowledge of arahant-

ship). A person attaining arahantship first and then the other two is also called *tevijjo*.

Chalabhiñño : A person possessing six supernormal faculties or super-knowledges, namely, *iddhividhā* (various sorts of magical power), *dibbasota* (deva-ear), *paracetoñānaṃ* (power of knowing another's thought), *pubbenivāsañānaṃ* (power of remembering previous births), *dibbacakkhu* (devasight), and *āsavakkhayañānaṃ* (knowledge of destruction of sinful tendencies) is called *chalabhiñño*.

Pubbakārī : A person who does good to others before getting benefit from them.

Katañnakatavedī : It means that a person who after having known that he has got some benefit from others does benefit to them afterwards. *Kasambu* means dirty and also bad smelling water.

The word *samkittisu* means *samkittetvā katabhattesu*. In time of famine an *acelaka* (naked ascetic) collects uncooked rice by begging from house to house and declaring the object of his begging ; he then cooks rice to be distributed among the *acelakas*. A good *acelaka* does not accept any kind of food.

Anusotagāmi puggalo means *putthujjano* or ordinary person. According to this commentary, by a fifth person is to be understood the person who has exhausted the sinful tendencies.

The *Yamakapakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā* is a commentary on the *Yamaka* written by *Buddhaghosa*. Strictly speaking, it is a commentary on the *Mūla Yamaka*, *Khandha Yamaka*, *Āyatana Yamaka*, *Dhātu Yamaka*, *Sacca Yamaka*, *Samkhāra Yamaka*, *Anussaya Yamaka*, *Citta Yamaka*, *Dhamma Yamaka*, and *Indriya Yamaka*.

The *Mūla Yamaka* deals with the essence of the teaching of *Gotama*. In it is included the *kusalamūla*. *Mūla* here means the cause.

The *Khandha Yamaka* deals with an account of the *khaṇḍhas* (egggregates), e.g., *Rūpa*, *Viññāna*, *Vedanā*, *Saññā*, and *Samkhāra*.

The Ayatana Yamaka deals with āyatana or space, e.g., cakkhu, sota, kāya, rūpa, rasa, phoṭṭabba, etc.

The Dhātu Yamaka contains an account of various dhātus or elements.

The Sacca Yamaka treats of the four Aryan truths.

The section on Saṁkhāra Yamaka deals with kāyasamkhāra, vacisamkhāra, etc.

The Anussaya Yamaka is a section on attachment, e.g., kāma, rāga, etc.

The Citta Yamaka deals with mind and mental states.

The Dhamma and Indriya Yamakas deal with kūsala, akūsala, and avyākata dhammas and senses respectively, e.g., manindriya, jīvitindriya, domanas-sindriya.

The Paṭṭhānapakaraṇa-aṭṭhakatha, edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids for the P.T.S., London, is a commentary on the Paṭṭhāna written by Buddhaghosa as the request of a monk named Cullabuddhaghosa (*J.P.T.S.*, 1886).

C. WORKS OF DHAMMAPALA

The Vimānavatthu Commentary:

The Vimānavatthu Commentary is practically a collection of stories illustrating the Buddhist perspective of Heaven and Hell, or more correctly, the Buddhist idea of Heaven and Hell 'prevalent amongst the people of Northern India at the time of the Buddha and incorporated subsequently in the Buddhist Scriptures'.³² These stories help us to form an idea of the various grades of heaven, the pleasures of the Tāvātimsa heaven, the joys and comforts of the dwellers in the Buddhist vimānas, location of the various vimānas, and the form of the vimāna and its comforts which are but proportionate to meritorious deeds.

³² Ronaldshay : in his Foreword to the *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective* by Dr. B.C. Law.

Synopses of Stories³³

1. *Pīthavimāna* (pp. 5-6). A girl, a great believer in the Buddha once made the gift of a wooden stool to a therā whom she had offered food. In consequence of this meritorious deed, the girl was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven where she enjoyed joys and comforts of the heaven.

As a reward of her offering a seat to a bhikkhu a woman of Sāvattihī obtained in heaven a vimāna made of Veḷuriya (lapis lazulis).

For presenting a pīṭha or a seat to an arhat whom she had offered food, a mistress of a house was reborn in the golden mansion of the Tāvātimsa heaven.

2. *Kuñjaravimāna* (pp. 31 foll.). A daughter of a family of Rājagaha once entertained Sāriputta with a seat and various kinds of food and drink, and presented him with new clothes and a conch. In consequence of this meritorious deed, she was reborn in the golden mansion of the Tāvātimsa heaven.

3. *Nāvāvimāna* (pp. 40 foll.). A woman for offering drinking water to some thirsty bhikkhus was reborn by virtue of her meritorious deed in the Tāvātimsa heaven. Another woman, too, for offering cold drink and oil to rub his feet with to a therā, was reborn after death in the same heaven.

A slave girl of a brahmin of the village of Thūna in Kosala ran the risk of being beaten by her master and offered a pot of water to the Buddha to drink water from. The Buddha quenched his thirst as well as that of his entire Order and yet returned the pot full of water to the slave girl. The girl after death was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven where she was given other objects of heavenly enjoyment.

4. *Dīpavimāna* (pp. 50-51). For offering a light in the dusk before a preacher's seat, an upāsikā after death was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven in the Jotirasavimāna.

5. *Tiladakkhiṇavimāna* (p. 54). For presenting to the Bud-

³³ For detailed summaries of these stories see my *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, Sec. II, pp. 36-85.

dha a certain quantity of sesamum seeds in joined palms, a pregnant woman was reborn after death in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

6. *Patibbatāvimāna* (pp. 56-57). A beautiful and faithful wife, as a reward of her sweetness and sincerity, charity, and faithfulness, was reborn after death in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

7. *Suṇisavimāna* (p. 61). For offering some portion of the cakes which she had got for her own use to an arahant, the daughter-in-law of a Sāvattḥian family was reborn after death in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

8. *Uttarāvimāna* (pp. 62-74). By offering to Sāriputta the whole of the food prepared and meant for her husband, Uttarā, the loving wife of Puṇṇa, the servant of a banker of Rājagaha, performed a meritorious deed as a result of which her husband became the richest man in the whole city and was made the Nagaraseṭṭhi; and both the husband and wife attained the first stage of sanctification by their deeds of charity in the shape of gifts to the Buddha and the congregation.

Puṇṇa's daughter was also named Uttarā; at one time she invited the Buddha and his disciples, listened to the Buddha's religious discourse, and then attained the second stage of sanctification, while her husband and other relatives, who had thus an opportunity of listening to the discourses of the Master, attained the first stage. Uttarā on her death was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

9. *Sirimāvimāna* (pp. 75 foll.). For offering alms to eight bhikkhus daily, and spending sixteen kahāpaṇas on charity, Sirimā the courtesan was reborn after death as a celestial nymph.

10. *Kesakārivimāna* (pp. 86-89). A daughter of Kesakāri, a brahmin of Benares, listened to the precepts of the Buddhist faith from a lay disciple, and, while meditating on those of impurities, attained the first stage and was, after death reborn as an attendant of Sakka.

11. *Dāsāvimāna* (pp. 91-92). For serving four bhikkhus daily with hearty devotion and observing the true dhammas, a maid-servant was reborn after death as one of the beloved attendants of Sakka.

12. *Lakḥumāvīmāna* (pp. 97-98). For preparing seats and supplying water to the bhikkhus in the āsanasālā daily, a woman called Lakḥumā was established in the Sotāpatti and was, after death, reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

13. *Amadāyikāvīmāna* (pp. 100-101). For offering her food and the ācāma which had been given her by the inmates of a house behind which she had taken shelter, to Mahākassapa, a woman of Rājagaha was reborn among the Nimmānaratidevas.

14. *Caṇḍālvīmāna* (pp. 105-107). A caṇḍālī once at the exhortation of Mahāmoggallāna fell down at the feet of the Buddha and worshipped him. On account of this meritorious deed, she was, on her death, reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

15. *Bhadditthivīmāna* (pp. 109-110). Bhaddā, usually known as Bhadditthī, once offered good food and drink to four disciples of the Master with their followers, served them in every way listened to their discourses, embraced the faith, and received the five silas. She, after death, was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven and worshipped the Buddha when the Master went there.

16. *Soṇadinnāvīmāna* (p. 115). For serving bhikkhus, observing the precepts and the uposatha with perfect regularity, Soṇadinnā a devoted upāsikā of Nālandā, attained Sotāpatti and was reborn after death in the Tāvatiṃra heaven.

17. *Uposathavīmāna* (p. 115). For similar meritorious deeds, Uposatha, another devoted upāsikā of Sāketa, was reborn after death in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

18. *Bhikkhādāyikavīmāna* (pp. 118-119). *Bhikkhādāyikavīmāna* (pp. 118-119). On account of her inviting the Buddha to have his daily meal at her house and serving him in other ways, a woman of Uttaramadhurā in Sāvattḥī was, after death, reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

19. *Uḷāravīmāna* (pp. 120-121). For offering the cake of her mother-in-law's share to Mahāmoggallāna, a girl was reborn, after death, in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

20. *Ucchudāyikavīmāna* (p. 124). For similar reasons another girl also obtained the same good fortune.

21. *Pallaṅkavīmāna* (p. 128). A daughter of an upāsikā at Sāva-

tthī was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven for her having been virtuous free from anger, devoted, and an observer of the Sabbath.

22. *Latāvīmāna* (pp. 131-132). As a result of her gentle behaviour and practising charity and observing the Sabbath, Latā, a daughter of an upāsaka of Sāvatti, was reborn as a daughter of Vessavana Kuvera, and was appointed along with her four other sisters as a dancing girl by Sakka.

23. *Guttīlavīmāna* (pp. 137-148). On account of various kinds of charity, 32 nymphs had become liberated from earthly life and came to be born as heavenly nymphs possessing splendour greater than that of other gods. When Guttila, the musician, saw them in Indra's court, he, as remuneration for his songs, prayed that all the bright goddesses would recount to him the good deeds that had brought them to the heavenly regions.

24. *Daddaḥhavīmāna* (pp. 149 foll). The Daddaḥhavīmāna illustrates that offering food and drink to the Saṃgha brings forth more merit than that to individual bhikkhus.

25. *Pesavatīvīmāna* (pp. 156 foll). In consequence of the meritorious deed of offering her gold ornaments to be utilised for the erection of a stūpa, a girl was reborn in the devaloka, and from that devaloka she was reborn in the family of a householder in Magadha. In this birth of her, she showed her respect to the dead body of Sāriputta by worshipping it with scents, flowers, etc. And when she died with her mind full of respect for the Buddha, she was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven.

26. *Visālakkhīvīmāna* (p. 165). For offering worship to the relic of the Buddha, Mallikā, daughter of the king of Kusinārā, was reborn, after death, in the Tāvātimsa heaven.

27. *Visālakkhīvīmāna* (pp. 169-170). For daily sending garlands, perfumes, fruits, flowers, etc., to the stūpa over the relic of the Buddha, Sunandā, a daughter of the garland-maker of Rājagaha, was born after death as an attendant of Sakka, who, on one occasion, addressed her as Visālakkhi.

28. *Pāricchattakavimāna* (p. 173). For worshipping the Buddha with Asoka flowers and showing respect to him in various ways, a certain woman was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven.

29. *Mañjetthakavimāna* (pp. 176-177). As a result of her worshipping the Buddha with *sālā* flowers, a certain maid-servant was after death, reborn in the *Tāvatiṃsa* heaven.

30. *Pabhassaravimāna* (pp. 178-179). For welcoming Mahā-moggallāna to her house, offering him a seat, and worshipping him, a daughter of a certain upāsaka of Rajagaha was reborn, after death, in the *Tāvatiṃsa* heaven.

31. *Nāgavimena* (pp. 181-182). For offering a pair of clothes to the Buddha and listening to a religious discourse of the Master, an upāsikā of Benares was, after death, reborn in the *Tāvatiṃsa* heaven.

32. *Alomāvimāna* (p. 184). The good deed of offering some rotten cooked rice —not finding anything better without salt—to the Buddha, brought a poor woman named Alomā to the *Tāvatiṃsa* heaven after death.

33. *Kaṅjikadāyikavimāna* (pp. 185-186). For offering to the Buddha a medicated drink of rice-gruel that relieved the Master of his pain in the stomach, the wife of the Buddha's physician was reborn in the *Tāvatiṃsa* heaven after death.

34. *Vihāravimāna* (pp. 187-189). Visākhā the great upāsikā of Sāvattī once listened to a religious discourse of the Buddha and offered her mahālatā ornament to the Master for the construction of a vihāra, the merit whereof was given to her maid-servant. Visākhā was, on that account, reborn in the Nimmānarati heaven where he became chief queen to the King Sunimmita, and the maid-servant was reborn in the *Tāvatiṃsa* heaven.

35. *Caturitthivināna* (pp. 195-196). For making gifts to bhikkhus, four girls of the time of the Kassapa Buddha became celestial nymphs after death. At the time of Gautama Buddha they were in heaven.

36. *Ambavimāna* (p. 198). For building a hermitage for bhikkhus and the Master, an upāsikā of Sāvattī was, after death, reborn in the *Tāvatiṃsa* heaven.

37. *Pitavimāna* (p. 200). While on his way to worship a stūpa, an upāsikā was killed by a milch-cow. She was reborn in the *Tāvatiṃsa* heaven.

38. *Vandanavimāna* (p. 205). For making obeisance to a number of bhikkhus to whom she was filled with veneration and respect, a village oman was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

39. *Rajjumālavimāna* (pp. 206-209). For being instrumental in inviting the Buddha to her mistress's house, a servant girl was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven after death.

40. *Maṇḍukadevaṇṇavimāna* (pp. 217-218). A frog was trod upon by a cowherd while listening to a religious discourse of the Buddha. It was reborn, after death, in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

41. *Revativimāna* (pp. 220 foll.). Revatī, wife of a householder of Sāvattihī, practised charity only when her husband was at home, and stopped all works of charity after the death of her husband. In consequence of this she had to experience suffering in different hells while enjoying blessings of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

42. *Chattamānavakavimāna* (pp. 229-233). Knowing the impending death of Chatta, a son of a learned brāhmaṇa, the Buddha set out for him, and meeting him on the way converted him to the faith. For his devotion to the faith, Chatta, after death, was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

43. *Kakkaṭakarasadāyavimāna* (pp. 243-244). For offering to a bhikkhu rice and crab soup which relieved him of an acute pain in the ear, a farmer of Magadha was reborn after death in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

44. *Dvārapālakavimāna* (pp. 246-247). For daily receiving bhikkhus with care and devotion and listening to their exhortations, a gatekeeper was converted to the faith, and was, after death, reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

45. *Karaṇiyavimāna* (p. 248). For inviting the Buddha to his house and offering him food and drink, an upāsaka was reborn, after death, in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

46. *Sūcivimāna* (p. 250). For offering two needles to Sāriputta, a blacksmith was, after death, reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

47. *Dutiyasūcivimāna* (p. 251). For similar act of charity, a tailor acquired the same good fortune.

48. *Nāgavimāna* (pp. 252-254). For obtaining with difficulty eight flowers with which he worshipped the stūpa, an upāsaka was reborn as a devaputta in various vimānas, and came to the Tāvatiṃsa heaven at the time of the Buddha Gautama.

49. *Dutiyanāgavimāna* (pp. 254-255). An upāsaka of Rājagaha was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven on account of his charity and faithfulness and on account of his offering alms and drinks to the bhikkhus.

50. *Tatiyanāgavimāna* (pp. 255-257). For offering rice with sugarcane juice and sugarcane pieces to three bhikkhus and then entertaining respectfully an offence for which he was beaten to death by his master, the keeper of a sugarcane field at Rājagaha was reborn in the Mote-hall called Sudhamma of the gods.

51. *Cūlarathavimāna* (pp. 259-270). For receiving instruction in the faith from Mahākaccāyana building a vihāra, and inviting a therā to come there, and for performing other meritorious deeds, Sujāta, the banished son of the king of Asoka, was reborn after death in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

52. *Mahārathavimāna* (pp. 270-271). For having worshipped the Buddha Vipassi with a garland of gold, a devaputta named Gopāla was reborn at the time of Kassapa Buddha as the son of King Kiki of Benares. In this birth he made immense gifts and received the Dhamma from that Buddha, and was accordingly reborn, after death, in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. Later, at the time of Gautama Buddha he learnt the principles of the faith from Mahāmoggallāna and became established in the Sotāpatti.

53. *Agāriyavimāna* (p. 286). In consequence of their offering charity to bhikkhus, a rich couple of Rājagaha were reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, having a very large golden vimā a full of celestial comforts.

54. *Phaladāyakavimāna* (pp. 288-289). For offering to Mahāmoggallāna four mangoes which were distributed by the Buddha to his four prominent disciples and making over the merit of the gift to King Bimbisāra, a gardener, after death was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

55. *Upassayadāyakavimāna* (p. 291). For placing one room

at the disposal of a bhikkhu for one night and for entertaining him with food and drink, an upāsaka of Rājagaha with his wife was, after death, reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

56. *Bhikkhābhāyakaṇḍikā* (pp. 292-293). As a reward of his offering food to a bhikkhu, a house-holder was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

57. *Yavaṇḍāyakaṇḍikā* (P. 294). For offering food to a bhikkhu a boy, who was at that time himself very hungry, was born, after death, in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

58. *Kuṇḍalivimāna* (p. 295). For making arrangements for bhikkhus for their stay at night and offering plenty of food and drink an upāsaka, after death, was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

59. *Uttaravimāna* (pp. 297-298). For listening to the Pāyāsi Sutta delivered by Kumārakassapa Thera and embracing the Buddhist faith, as also for practising charity on a poor scale, King Pāyāsi was, after death, reborn in the Cātummahārājika devaloka. But his officer who spent all his wealth in charity was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

60. *Cittalatāvimāna* (p. 299). For serving other people, and for being faithful, obedient, and devoted to the three gems, a poor man of Sāvattī was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

61. *Maññhūṇavimāna* (p. 301). For sweeping the path which the bhikkhus used when going out for alms, and for making all other arrangements for making their journey comfortable as well as for observing the precepts and offering charity, an upāsaka was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

62. *Suvaṇṇavimāna* (p. 302). For offering to the Buddha an excellent gandhakūṭi provided with all necessary comforts, an upāsaka, after death, was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

63. *Ambavimāna* (pp. 305-306). For inviting Sāriputta to his garden and offering him water for bath and drinking, a gardener was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

64. *Gopālavimāna* (p. 308). A hungry cowherd of Rājagaha offered Mahāmoggallāna the sour gruel meant for him. He was, as a result, reborn after death in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

65. *Kaṇṭhakavimāna* (pp. 312-314). The famous house of Gautama, named Kaṇṭhaka, was, after death, reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven for its past services to Gautama, its master.

66. *Anekavaṇṇavimāna* (pp. 318-320). A bhikkhu who became a householder was in the habit of performing meritorious deeds, worshipping Caityas and listening to the discourses. He was, after death, born in the devaloka and was more powerful than Sakka. At the time of Gautama Buddha, he was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

67. *Serīsakavimāna* (pp. 331 foll.). In consequence of his failing to offer charities with a whole heart, King Pāyāsi could not reach the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, but was reborn in the lower heaven of Cātummahārājikas, in a vacant vimāna called Serisakavimāna.

68. *Sunikkhitavimāna* (pp. 352 foll.). An upāsaka who was very much devoted to the worship of the Kassapa-Sammāsambuddha and his caitya, was reborn, after death, in a golden mansion in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven.

It will be seen from the above account of the vimānas or celestial mansions that the form of the vimāna and the comforts and pleasures provided therein are proportionate not only to the meritorious deeds done on earth, but also to the particular nature of the deeds themselves, as also to the desire of the dweller of the vimāna. It appears, furthermore, that most of the departed spirits go to the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. Only in rare cases do we read of a spirit passing to the regions of the higher gods, the Nimmānaratis. It is only in very exceptional cases indeed that spirits go to the Brahmaloaka. Downward also we read only in one case of a king who went to the region of Cātummahārājikas for stinginess of making gifts.

Another thing that deserves notice is that the vimāna may not always be in the heavenly regions. This is specially the case with the spirits in the lower heavens who are not sufficiently purified or whose attachment to things on earth is still rather keen. The spirits could at will come down on earth in the vimānas, and in several cases they came to the Buddha in their vimānas to

listen to his discourse.³⁴ "The joys of heaven," Lord Ronaldshay rightly observes, in his Foreword to my book on *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, "are represented as being obtainable by means of what is suspiciously like a mercenary bargain, entered into in a spirit which far from being selfless is, on the contrary, frankly selfish". This is quite obviously foreign to the lofty thought and teaching of Buddha himself.

Petavatthu Commentary

The Paramatthadipani³⁵ is a commentary on the Petavatthu, a work devoted entirely to the petas or spirits of the deceased. It was written by Dhammapāla of Kāñchipuram³⁶ in Southern India and it contains details of stories compiled from Buddhist tradition handed down orally as well as recorded in the ancient aṭṭhakathās (or commentaries) preserved in Ceylon. Dhammapāla's aṭṭhakathā is a great storehouse of information about the individual petas or spirits, and these stories enable us to form an idea of the Buddhist conception of spirits and the spirit world.

A short synoptical account of the stories of the Petavatthu Commentary may be catalogued as follows :

1. *Khettūpamā Peta* (pp. 1-9). A seṭṭhiputta who deserved to be reborn in the devaloka for a deed of charity towards Mahā-moggallāna was, however, born on a much lower plané as a tree spirit, owing to his affection towards Sulasā, a beautiful maiden of his town. As a tree spirit, he stole away Sulasā and kept her with him on the tree for some time.

2. *Sūkaramukhapeta* (pp. 9 foll.). Having been unrestrained

³⁴ For fuller and more critical observations on these anecdotes see my *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, Chap. III, pp. 86-91.

³⁵ *Petavatthu Commentary* edited by Son Dhammārāma Tissa Nāyaka Thera and Mapulagamacaṇḍajoti Thera ; finally revised by Mahāgoḍa Siri Nānissara Thera Tripiṭaka Wāgiswarācārya and Pradhāna Nāyaka, Colombo. The *Petavatthu* with Sinhalese commentary by Jinavamsa Paññāsāra of Kosgoda, Colombo, 1893-1898, deserves mention.

³⁶ The commentary has been edited for the P.T.S. by Prof. E. Hardy.

in speech, a bhikkhu was reborn as a peta with the face like that of a swine or sūkara.

3. *Pūtimukhapeta* (pp. 12 foll.). A bhikkhu very much unrestrained in speech once created dissensions between two friends. As a punishment he was reborn as a peta under the name of pūtimukha, because his mouth used to give out a very bad smell on account of his having been wicked and unrestrained in speech.

4. *Piṭṭhadhitalikapeta* (pp. 16 foll.). In course of a discourse the Buddha approved of making offering to the departed spirits but added that sorrow, lamentation, and weeping were of no use to the petas, they only brought suffering to the living relatives.

5. *Tirokuddapeta* (pp. 19 foll.). Some people for their misdeeds were reborn as petas ; but as they did not obtain any offering from their relatives, they were again born as petas. Bimbisāra, who was their former relative, however, gave a dinner to the whole Saṅgha and made over to the petas the merit thereof; and the Buddha approved of it.

6. *Pañchaputtakhādakapeta* (pp. 31 foll.). For causing miscarriage to a pregnant woman, another woman was reborn as a petī of evil look and suffered untold miseries. She was, however, freed from her miserable condition only when her former husband transferred the merit of a pious deed of charity to the petī.

7. *Sattaputtakhādakapeta* (pp. 36-37). The story of the misdeed and its retribution is just like the previous one.

8. *Goṇapeta* (pp. 38-42). A son consoled his father who had become overpowered with grief at the death of his father by saying that he was weeping for one whose body was not even before him and could not even be seen or heard.

9. *Mahāpesakārapeta* (pp. 42-46). The wife of the headman of a village was very malicious towards the bhikkhus whom her husband used to provide with cloth. The husband was reborn as a tree-god while his wife came to live close by as a petī who suffered boundless miseries, anguish, and pain. She was however released from her poor lot when her former husband, the tree-god, transferred the merit of one of his deeds of charity to her.

10. *Khalātiyapeta* (pp. 46-53). As a result of both good and evil deeds, a woman in her next life found herself seated in a golden vimāna, but on account of her having stolen clothings of invited guests, she was naked. But when the merit of a pious act of a body of merchants was transferred to her, she became draped in finest garments. Subsequently she sent some presents to the Buddha and was as a result reborn in a golden palace in the Tāvātimsa heaven.

11. *Nāgapeta* (pp. 53-61). As a direct result of their unbelief and past misdeeds, husband and wife were reborn as a peta and petī respectively, and used to beat each other with iron clubs.

12. *Uragapeta* (pp. 61-66). Dhammapāla, a brahmin of Benares, taught the members of his family not to lament at the death of anybody, and all of them acted accordingly. For this wise attitude they were rewarded by Sakka who was no other than their own son reborn in heaven as Sakka.

13. *Maṭṭakuṇḍalipeta* (p. 92). The son of a miserly brahmin who was reborn as a god came down to console his father in the guise of a peta and asked him not to lament for one whose dead body was not even visible (cf. *Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. I, p. 28).

14. *Saṭṭhikūtasahassapeta* (pp. 282-286). In consequence of various serious misdeeds, four sons of setṭhis of Rājagaha suffered in hell for 60,000 years, and then became petas suffering in Lohakumbhi hell (cf. *Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. II, pp. 68-73).

15. *Bhogasamharapeta* (pp. 278-279). For cheating people, four women came to be reborn as petis and became overwhelmed with great pain.

16. *Akkharukkhapeta* (pp. 277-278). On account of his act of help and charity done to an upāsaka, a man came to be reborn as a god living on earth.

17. *Ambapeta* (pp. 273 foll.). An avaricious trader, after death, came to live as a peta ; and he was not relieved of his miserable plight until his daughter transferred the merit of her meritorious deeds to him.

18. *Pāḷaliputtapeta* (pp. 271 foll.). An upāsaka on account of his attachment to a particular woman was reborn as a Vimānapeta where he with the help of his miraculous power enjoyed for some time the company of his lover.

19. *Gaṇapeta* (pp. 269 foll.). A number of people of Sāvathī, who formed a Gaṇa and who were unbelievers, unfaithful, misers, and doers of evil deeds, were reborn after their death as petas and on one occasion they related in detail the story of their suffering to Moggallāna.

20. *Guthakhādakapeta* (pp. 266-269). A family bhikkhu was in the habit of speaking against other bhikkhus, and also induced a householder who had built for him a house to abuse them. Both of them on account of their misdeeds were reborn as petas.

21. *Sānuvāsipeta* (177-186). The son of the king of Benares once insulted a Pācēka Buddha, for which sin, he, after death, was reborn in the Avīci hell. He was, however, reborn in the time of Gautama and eventually became a famous monk. But his relatives who all misbehaved with him come to be born after death as petas.

22. *Kumārapeta* (pp. 261-263). Two princes of Kosala were, for committing adultery, reborn as petas. To relieve them of suffering, the Buddha asked the people to make offerings to the Saṃgha, and transfer the merit of the offerings to the petas.

23. *Dhātuvivaraṇapeta* (pp. 212-215). A wealthy householder, who was an unbeliever, and used to speak ill of the relies, was reborn as a peta.

24. *Ucchupeta* (pp. 257 foll.). A sugarcane farmer for his beating an upāsaka with sugarcane-sticks was reborn as a peta. He, however, got rid of his sufferings, when he made an offering of a huge bundle of canes to the Buddha and Saṃgha ; as a result of this offering, he was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven.

25. *Nandakapeta* (pp. 244-257). Nandikā, the commander-in-chief of the king of Surattha, for his unbelief, was reborn as a peta and resided on a nigrodha tree. But when his daughter transferred the merit of one of her meritorious deeds, he be-

came a believer.

26. *Ambasakkarapeta* (pp. 215 foll.). A merchant of Vaisāli for joking concealed the garment of his associate and had to go naked in his next birth though he was reborn as a god living on earth. But impressed by his exhortations, King Ambasakkhara offered his garments to bhikkhus so that the naked might get clothes to wear.

27. *Kūṭavimicchayikapeta* (pp. 209 foll.). For his past sins of speaking malicious words and cheating people, a judicial officer of King Bimbisāra had to eat the flesh taken out from his own body, though he was reborn as a devatā for having kept upasotha for one night.

28. *Dutiyaluddapeta* (pp. 207 foll.). As a result of his cruelty by day, a hunter used to be bitten by dogs in the daytime though he was reborn as a Vimānapeta enjoying happiness at night for his having ceased hunting by night.

29. *Migaluddapeta* (pp. 204 foll.). Like the previous one.

30. *Seriniṭeta* (pp. 201 foll.). Serinī, an unbeliever, used to speak ill of the Samaṇas ; she was, therefore, reborn as a petī in the petaloka suffering miserably. She was, however, at last freed from the petaloka by virtue of the merit transferred to him by the mother of an upāsaka.

31. *Kumārapeta* (pp. 194 foll.). An envious and stingy person used to speak ill of the ascetics ; but he was eventually prevailed upon to worship the Buddha and make an offering. After death, the son was reborn in the womb of a prostitute who threw him into a cemetery. He was eventually picked up by a wealthy householder to whose wealth he became later on the sole heir.

32. *Bhūsapeta* (pp. 191 foll.). A merchant of Sāvattī used to cheat people in trade, his son was a sinner, his wife and daughter-in-law were also very greedy. They were all reborn, after death, as petas and petīs in the Vindhya forest where they suffered terribly and miserably.

33. *Rathakārapeta* (pp. 186 foll.). For the good act of building a vihāra for a Saṅgha, a pious woman was reborn as a Vimānapetī on account of some of her past misdeeds.

34. *Abhijjamānapeta* (pp. 168 foll.). A hunter who delighted in the cruel sport of hunting was reborn as a peta naked and fierce in appearance and never saw any food or drink. He was, however, clothed and fed as a result of the charity of the minister of King Bimbisāra of food and clothes to all apāsakas.

35. *Ubbarīpeta* (pp. 160 foll.). At the death of her husband Cūḷani Brahmadaṭṭa, king of Pañcāla, Ubbarī was overpowered with grief and she wept bitterly. The Master who was then Bodhisattva came to her, and by a discourse on kamma and on the many births and deaths, as also by expounding the Dhamma, consoled her lacerated soul.

36. *Suttapeta* (pp. 144 foll.). A boy who was an attendant of a paccekabuddha came to be reborn as a Vimānapeta on account of his attachment to a girl. By winning over her mother, the peta was, however, able to bring the girl to his abode where they lived together happily for some time.

37. *Uttaramātupeta* (pp. 140 foll.). Uttarā, a woman, was stingy and a believer of false doctrines. She also used to curse those who were believers; she was accordingly, after death, reborn as a petī and suffered terribly for 55 years, when she was at last saved by the merit of a charity transferred to her by a therā.

38. *Saṃsāramocakapeta* (pp. 67 foll.). A girl of the Saṃsāramocaka caste who was a false believer was, however, made indirectly to salute a therā who wanted her to be saved from going to hell after death. She was reborn, therefore, as a petī, with some chance of salvation. The chance eventually came, and she was freed from the petaloka.

39. *Sāriputtattherassa Matupetī* (pp. 78 foll.). A mischievous woman, who did not give food, drink, and habitation to the bhikkhus who came to her place as guests, was reborn as a petī and had to suffer miseries. She was, however, relieved of her sufferings and reborn in the devaloka by Sāriputta whose mother she had been in the fifth birth.

40. *Mattapetī* (pp. 82 foll.). Mattā, the barren wife of a householder of Sāvathī, was very jealous of her husband and his second wife who were very loving and friendly towards each other,

and daily made offerings to theras and bhikkhus. On account of her jealousy and other misdeeds, she was reborn as a petī and suffered terribly. She was, however, released from the petaloka by dint of the merit of the second wife being transferred to her.

41. *Nandāpeta* (pp. 89 foll.). Nandā, the wife of a householder, was, as a result of her misdeeds, reborn as a petī. One day she appeared before her husband who according to her direction made gifts of charity to the bhikkhus and the petī was released from her miseries.

42. *Dhanapālapeta* (pp. 99 foll.). Dhanapāla, a miserly and sceptic merchant, was reborn as a peta in a desert where he could not get a drop of water to drink or grain to eat. After suffering for 55 years, he was, however, saved from suffering by a caravan of merchants who made offerings on his account to the Buddha and his disciples.

43. *Cūlasattīpeta* (pp. 105 foll.). A stingy and sceptic householder of Benares was reborn after death as a peta with a body without flesh and blood. The peta once approached King Ajātasattu, who, on his request and on his account, made offerings to the Buddha and his disciples, and the peta was relieved of his suffering.

44. *Revatīpeta* (pp. 257). An unbelieving and uncharitable wife of a believing and charitable householder was reborn, as a result of her misdeeds, as a petī. But when she was asked by her husband to approve, and did so, of the meritorious acts done by him, she became a devatā and resided with her husband in heaven.

45. *Aṅkurapeta* (pp. 111 foll.). Aṅkura, the youngest son of the king of Uttaramadhurā, was a charitable man. He learnt a good lesson, first from a deity of a nigrodha tree, and later on from a peta, that one should make gifts with his own hands, because the man charged with work might not do it in the right spirit. After death, he was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven.

These stories were evidently compiled with a purpose. Each one of them has a lesson, a moral which wants to drive home to the mind of the reader the effect of kamma after death. A man

after death is reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven, or in the devaloka, and enjoys the good and healthy effects of kamma to the extent he during his lifetime did good to others, especially to the Buddha and the bhikkhus of the Order, he was religiously and favourably minded towards Buddhism, he was charitable and he followed the right path by which of course was meant the Eight-fold Path of Buddhism. But whosoever is guilty of misdeeds, of cruelty, of too much worldly attachment, of hatred or even lack of faith and devotion towards the Buddha's religion or towards anyone belonging to that religious Order, or was an unbeliever or believer in false doctrines by which was certainly meant any doctrine other than Buddhism, that individual comes to be reborn, after death, as a peta or petī; he then suffers as the spirit of his deceased existence. And not until he or she does some good works or anybody else does it on their account—religious or charitable in the Buddhist sense—that he or she is delivered of his or her life of a peta or petī.

Theragāthā Commentary

The Theragāthā Commentary written by Dhammapāla³⁷ and known as Paramatthadīpanī contains accounts of theras mentioned in the Theragāthā. The commentary refers to a number of important places of ancient India, e.g., Sāvattihī, Rājagaha, Kapilavatthu, Kosambī, Magadha, Campā, Vesālī, Avanti, Sāketa, Takkasīlā, Bharukaccha, etc. Kings and tribes are also frequently mentioned: Pasenadi, Bimbisāra, Candapajjota, Mallas, Vajjians, Sakians, etc., are a few of them. It is evident from a study of the contents of the commentary that the theras belonged to different castes, from the highest aristocracy to the lowest scavenger, but they looked to one another with fraternal affection and equa-

³⁷ It was edited by Suriyagoda Sumaṅgala Thera and Webada Samgharatana Thera, and finally revised by Mahāgoda Siri Nānissara Thera; Simca Hewavitarane Bequest Series, published by the Trustees, B.E.G.E., 2461/1918. The Pāli Text Society has entrusted the editorship of this text to Dr. Przyluski and M. Durr.

nimity. Most of the theras lived contemporaneously with the Buddha. A brief summary of the principal theras is given below:

Subhūti was a nephew of Anāthapiṇḍika. On the day when the Jeta grove, purchased by his uncle, was presented to the Exalted One, Subhūti was present. When he headed the Norm preached by the Blessed One, he realised the worthlessness of the worldly life. He left the world and developed his insight in the basis of love-jhāna and won arahatship. The Exalted One declared him to be the chief of his disciples in universal amity and chief among such as were held worthy of gifts.

Koṭṭhita the Great was born in a very wealthy clan of brahmins. He perfected himself in the accomplishments of a brahmin. He found faith in the Norm Preached by the Exalted One and entered the Order. He gained insight, attained arahatship, and was ranked chief among those who were proficient in insight.

Kaṅkhā-Revata was born in a wealthy family of Sāvattihī. He found faith in the Norm and entered the Order. The Master pronounced him to be the chief of the bhikkhus who practised Jhāna.

Puṇṇa of the Mantānis was born in an eminent brahmin clan. He was sister's son of the Elder Kondañña. He accomplished the highest duties of a recluse, and in due course of time, the Master proclaimed Puṇṇa chief among the bhikkhus in preaching the Norm.

Dāsaka was born as the child of a slave of Anathapiṇḍika who appointed him as gate-porter of the Jetavana vihāra. His master freed him as he was virtuous. He left the world and was ordained accordingly. But he was slothful. He was soon inspired by the Buddha. Not long after he realised arhatship.

Abhaya was the bastard son of King Bimbisāra. He was at first the follower of Nātaputta, the Jain leader. He had a conversation with the Master. After the king's death he left the world. He soon realised arhatship.

Uttiya was born as the son of a brahmin. He left the world and became a paribbājaka, a wanderer. One day in course of his

journey he came where the Exalted One was preaching, and entered the Order. He attained arhatship in time.

Suppiya was born in a despised class, as one of a clan of watchman in a cemetery at Sāvatti. He was converted by the Thera Sopāka. He entered the Order and attained to the highest.

Gavampati was born as one of the four lay companions of the Thera Yasa. He left the world hearing Yasa's renunciation, and eventually won arhatship. Once the Lord with a great company of bhikkhus went to the Añjana grove. The accommodation being insufficient, the bhikkhus slept around the vihāra on the sand banks of the river Sarabhu. At night the stream rose in flood. But the Thera Gavampati, as he was asked by the Master, arrested the rising stream by his mystic power.³⁸

Vimala-kondañña was the bastard son of King Bimbisāra. His mother was Ambapālī. He left the world for the Order and attained arhatship.

³⁸ Mrs. Rhys Davids rightly calls him, "a very Moses in psychic power." She is perfectly right when she says that Gavampati has been lost in his last acts by the piṭaka tradition and we have to seek him in Chinese translations of possibly *Mahāsaṅghika* originals. (*Sakya or Buddhist Origins* by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 128). Mrs. Rhys Davids further points out that the Thera Gavampati praised in the Anthology as of mighty iḍḍhi but elsewhere coming into, she thinks but one brief sutta (*Samyutta*, V, 436), declined to come for less worthy motives: this is according to the Chinese recensions translated further by Prof. Przyluski (*Le concile de Rājagriha*, pt. I, pp. 8, 30, 66, and 116). She further adds, "there seemed to be nothing worth while in trying to help the world, now that the light of it had faded out, save in fading out also which he proceeded to do. It may well be that the failure lay not in Gavampati's will but in his physical inability to travel. But that it has been allowed to come in, as a serious reason for holding aloof from a Community in whom the mission spirit was still alive, is a sinister feature in the Compilers" (*Sakya*, pp. 348-349).

It may further be noted here that Gavampati lives still in Burmese Buddhist tradition where he has been acclaimed as the "Patron saint of the Mons" as well as the "patron saint of Pagan". He has been mentioned more than once in the Mon inscriptions of Pagan as one of those who assisted sage Biṣṇu in the foundation of the city of Sist of Śrīkṣetra, i.e., Old Prome. He thus becomes intimately associated with the Mon or Talaing tradition of Lower Burma as well. (*E.P. Birminica*)

Channa was a slave of Suddhodana's household. He entered the Order when the Master returned after obtaining enlightenment to meet his kinsfolk. Out of his affection for the Lord, egoistic pride in 'our Buddha, our Doctrine' arose in him. He could not conquer this fondness nor perform his duty as a novice. He suffered the Brahmadaṇḍa as prescribed by the Buddha after the Lord's Mahāparinibbāṇa. Later on he attained arhatship.

Tissa was a ruler of the town of Reguva. He was an absent ally of King Bimbisāra. It was through Bimbisara that he renounced the world and entered the Order. He won arhatship.

Vacchagotta was the son of a wealthy brahmin. He became a wandering recluse. He had a conversation with the Lord. He entered the Order and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Yasa was the son of a very wealthy councillor at Benares. Seeing the worthlessness of the worldly life he forsook it and went to the Buddha for ordination. He entered the Order and won arahatship.

Pinḍola-Bhāradvāja was the son of the chaplain to King Udena of Kosambī. He was versed in the brahmanical lore. He entered the Order and acquired sixfold abhiññā. The Master pronounced him to be the chief among his disciples who were lion roarers.

Cunda the Great was the son of a female brahmin named Rūpasārī, and younger brother of Sāriputta. He followed the latter into the Order and won arhatship.

Dhammapāla was born as a brahmin's son. Hearing from a certain therā about the Norm, he left the world and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Dhaniya was born in a potter's family and practised the potter's craft. Seeing that the Buddha-Sāsana helps one to be free from the sorrows of rebirth, he entered the Order and in due course won arhatship.

Upāli was born in a barber's family. He left the world following Anuruddha and the other five nobles. In due time he won arahatship. The Master himself taught him the whole Vinaya

Piṭaka. He was ranked first among those who knew the Vinaya.

Rāhula was born as the son of Princess Yosodharā. The circumstances of his entering the Order are recorded in the *Khandhaka*. He won arhatship.

Soṇa-Kūṭikanna was born in the country of Avanti in the family of a very wealthy councillor. He learned the Norm from the venerable Kaccāna the Great and entered the Order through him. He recited the sixteen aṭṭhakas and won arahatship.

Kassapa of Uruvela was born in a brahmin family. He learnt the three Vedas. Finding no vital truth in the scripture he became an ascetic. It is mentioned in the Vinaya texts how the Blessed One converted him and his two brothers having the family name Kassapa. This Kassapa was the chief of those bhikkhus who had great following.

Māluṅkyā's son was born as the son of the king of Kosala's valuer. His mother was named Māluṅkyā. He left the world as a wandering ascetic. On hearing the Master's teaching, he entered the Order and in due course won arahatship.

Kaccāyana the Great was born as the son of the chaplain to the King Candapajjota of Ujjenī. At his father's death he succeeded to the post of chaplain. The king coming to know the Buddha's advent asked him to bring the Master there. He went to the Master who taught him the Norm. Afterwards he won arahatship. As bidden by the Master he himself went to the king and established him in the faith and then returned to the Master.

Kappina the Great was born in a rājā's family in the border country at a town named Kukkuṭa. At his father's death he succeeded as rājā. At that time there was a brisk trade between Sāvattihī and Kukkuṭa. Once some traders, who were followers of the Buddha, were brought to the king. The king heard the excellence of the Norm from the traders and forthwith renounced the world. The Master who was then at Sāvattihī thought it a proper time to see Kappina. The Lord then came to the banks of the Candabhāgā where he met Kappina and his men. The Master preached the Norm and they all won arahatship.

It is interesting to note as what Mrs. Rhys Davids has rightly pointed out (*Sakya*, p. 39) that an unrest of enquiry (as in the *Dīgha*, Vol. II, 151) is noticeable in the commentarial tradition of another nobleman of North India, the rājā Kappina. Mrs. Rhys Davids remarks in this connection thus, "For us of European traditions the riding forth of the noble on a quest is familiar, but we do not find the Indian noble so doing in a similar tradition. We have the Jātaka quest of King Kusa after his lady, but it is as a very exceptional procedure. The Christian knight went on a worthy quest : the aid of those who needed him. Kappina's interest was said to be in the new in knowledge. The purpose of the Sakyian prince was the combined purpose of the new in knowledge in order to bring help to men" (*Sakya*, pp. 39-40). This remark of Mrs. Rhys Davids seems to be just and fair.

Revata. When the Thera Revata had won arahatship he went from time to time with the great theras to visit the Master. Going thus one day to visit the Buddha he stayed not far from Sāvattihī in a forest. Now the police came round on the track of thieves. The thieves, however, dropped their booty near the thera and ran. The thera was arrested and taken to the king. The thera proved his incapability for stealing and taught the king the Norm.

Anuruddha was born in the house of Amitodana, the Sakiyan. His elder brother was Mahānāma, the Sakiyan, the son of the Master's paternal uncle. He was summoned with the Sakiyan rājās to form a guard for the Master. Under the tuition of the Master himself he won arahatship. The Master ranked him foremost among those who had attained the celestial eye.

Sāriputta and Moggallāna the Great. The stories of Sāriputta and Moggallāna the Great are taken together. In the days of Gautama Buddha they were playmates named Upatissa (Sāriputta) and Kolita (Moggallāna). They were born as brahmins. Disgusted with the worldly life they left the world and became followers of the wanderer Sañjaya. In Sañjaya's teaching they found nothing genuine. Through Assaji, the bhikkhu, they found the Exalted One and were ordained by him. In course of time they won arahatship. Sāriputta was ranked chief among the dis-

ciples in wisdom and insight and Moggallāna was foremost in supernatural power of will.

Ānanda was born in the family of Amitodana, the Sakiyan. Ānanda renounced the world with Bhaddiya and others and was ordained by the Exalted One. He became the permanent body-servant to the Blessed One — a favour which was denied to Sāriputta and Moggallāna and others. He won arahatship after the death of the Buddha and just before the holding of the First Council.

Kassapa the Great was born in a brahmin family at the brahmin village of Mahā-tūttha in Magadha and was named Pippali-māṇava. He had not the intention of marrying. But he was married to one Bhaddā Kapilānī. Both of them lived separately. When Pippali-māṇava's parents died, both of them decided to renounce the world. Kassapa was ordained by the Master himself. In no time he won arahatship. The Master pronounced him chief among those who undertook the extra austerities.

Phussa was born as the son of the ruler of a province. He shunned worldly desires. He heard a certain great thera preach the Norm and entered the Order. In due course he acquired sixfold abhiññā (supernatural knowledge).

Aṅgulimāla was born as the son of the brahmin Bhaggava, who was chaplain to the king of Kosala. As he was born in the conjunction of the thief's constellation, he became a thief. He made a garland of the fingerbones and hung it round his shoulder as if decked for sacrifice. Both the king and the people were tired of him. The king sent a strong force to capture the bandit. The Exalted One, however, converted the robber-chief.

Añña-Kondañña was born in the village of Donavatthu, not far from Kapilavatthu, in a very wealthy brahmin family. Añña-Kondañña and four others left the world in quest of Amata or Nirvāṇa. Buddha after attaining enlightenment preached his wheel sermon at Tripatana to those five ascetics.

Sona-Koḷivisa was born at the city of Campā, in the family of a distinguished councillor. When the Blessed One had attained omniscience and began rolling the wheel of the Norm, and was

staying at Rājagaha, Soṇa came to pay a visit to the Buddha. He heard the Master teach the Norm and obtained his parents' consent to enter the Order. In due course he attained arahatship.

Kappa was born in the kingdom of Magadha, as the son of a provincial hereditary rājā. He was addicted to self-indulgence and sensuality. The Master out of compassion for him preached the Norm to him. Kappa entered the Order and in due course won arahatship.

Punna (*Sunāparanta*) was born in the Sunāparanta country, at the port of Suppāraka, in the family of a burgess. Once he went to Sāvathī with a great caravan of merchandise. There he heard the discourse of the Buddha. He entered the Order and in due course won arahatship.

Nandaka was born at Campā in a burgess's family. He was the younger brother of Bharata. When both of them heard that Soṇa-Koḷivisa had left the world, they also renounced the worldly life. Bharata soon won sixfold abhiññā. But Nandaka could not. Seeing an ox pulling a cart out of the bog after it had been fed with grass and water, Nandaka like the refreshed ox drew himself out of the swamp of Saṁsāra. Within a short time he won arahatship.

Lakunṭaka-Bhaddiya was born in a wealthy family. Hearing the Master preach he entered the Order and won arahatship.

Kassapa of the River was born in a clan of Magadha brahmins, as the brother of Uruvelakassapa. His religious inclination made him dislike domestic life, and he became an ascetic. How the Exalted One ordained him is recorded in the Khandhaka.

Kassapa of Gayā was born in a brahmin family. He left the world and with a company of disciples dwelt at Gayā. The story of his conversion by the Master is recorded in the Khandhaka.

Therīgāthā Commentary

The Therīgāthā Commentary⁹⁹ called the Paramatthadīpanī written by the Thera Dhammapāla appends explanatory stories

⁹⁹ It has been edited by E. Muller for the P.T.S.

to the verses of the Therīgāthā. These stories give us accounts of women who gradually became therīs. A summary of accounts of some of the important therīs is given below:

Abhirūpanandā. Nandā, so called for her great beauty and amiability, had to leave the world against her will owing to the sudden and untimely death of her beloved suitor Carabhūta. But as she was still very conscious of her beauty and always avoided the presence of the Buddha for fear of being rebuked on that account, she was one day urged upon to appear before the Buddha. And he, the Buddha, by his supernatural power transformed her into an old and fading figure. It had the desired effect and she became an arhat.

Jentī. Born in a princely family at Vaisālī, she won arahatship after hearing the Dhamma preached by the Buddha ; and later developed the seven saṃbojjhaṅgas.

Cittā. Born at Rājagaha, she one day, when of age, heard the Buddha preaching, and came to believe in his doctrine. She was ordained by Mahāpajāpatī, the Gotamī, and later on won arahatship.

Sukkā. Born in a rich family at Rājagaha, Sukkā, when of age, came to believe in the Buddha's doctrine and became a lay disciple. But one day hearing Dhammadinnā preach she was much moved, became a follower of him, and later on attained arahatship with paṭisambhidā (analytical knowledge). One day she gave to the bhikkhuṇīs a sermon so engrossing that even the tree-spirit heard her with rapt attention.

Selā. Otherwise known as Āḷavikā for her having been born in the kingdom of Āḷavī, she one day heard the Master and became a lay disciple. Not long after she became an arhant, and came to live with the Buddha at Sāvattihī, Māra once tried in vain to seduce her to choose the sensuous life.

Sīhā. Born at Vesālī as the daughter of General Sīha's sister, she one day heard the Master teaching the Norm and thereupon entered the Order. For seven years she tried in vain to attain arahatship and she intended to die. When she was about to kill herself, she succeeded in impelling her mind to insight

which grew within and she won arahatship.

Sundarī Nandā. Born in the royal family of the Sākya, beautiful Nandā renounced the world, but was still proud of her beauty. Buddha compelled her to come before his presence and taught her in the same way as in the case of Abhirūpanandā, and preached to her about the frail beauty of the body. She afterwards became an arhant.

Khemā. Beautiful Khemā was the consort of King Bimbisāra. Hearing that the Buddha was in the habit of speaking ill of beauty, she liked not to appear before him. One day, hearing the beauty of the Veluvana vihāra, she came to see it. It happened that the Buddha was then living there, and she was led before him. The Buddha then illustrated with the example of a beautiful-celestial nymph passing from youth through middle and old age to death the vanity of physical beauty and the suffering therefrom. Khemā at once became a believer and came to attain arahatship.

Anopamā. Daughter of a banker of Sāketa, and beautiful as she was, she was sued by many young men of influence. But thinking that there was no happiness in household life, she went to the Master, heard his teachings, and later on attained arahatship.

Rohinī. Born at Vesālī in a prosperous brahmin family, she, when grown up, went to the Master and heard him preach. With her parents' permission she entered the Order and soon attained arahantship.

Subhā. Beautiful Subhā, the daughter of a goldsmith of Rājagaha, saw the Master, who taught her the Dhamma. She then entered the Order under Mahāpajāpati Gotamī and in course of time won arahantship.

Tissā. Born at Kapilavastu among the Sākya, she renounced the world and afterwards attained arhantship.

Sumedhā. Daughter of King Koṅca of Mantāvātī, she, on hearing the doctrine of the Buddha from the bhikkhūṇīs, renounced the world, and soon acquiring insight, attained arahantship.

Candā. Coming of a brahmin family, she had to beg from door to door for food. One day she took her food from Therī Paṭācārā and other bhikkhunīs. She then listened to the discourses of Therī Paṭācārā, renounced the world, and afterwards succeeded in attaining arahantship with paṭisambhidā (analytical knowledge).

Guttā. Coming of a brahmin family of Sāvattthī, she, with her parents' consent, entered the Order under Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, and eventually attained arahantship together with paṭisambhidā.

Cālā, Upacālā, and Sisupacālā. Born in Magadha, these three were younger sisters of Sāriputta. On their brother leaving the Order, they too followed suit and afterwards attained arhantship. In vain Mara tried to stir up sensual desires in them.

Uppalavaṇṇā. Coming of a banker's family at Sāvattthī, Uppalavaṇṇā was sued by many bankers' sons and princes. But she renounced the world, received ordination, and gradually attained arhantship with paṭisambhidā or analytical knowledge.

Sumaṅgalamātā. Coming of a poor family at Sāvattthī, and wife of a basket-maker, she one day reflected on all she had suffered as a lay-woman. On this her sight quickened and she attained arhatship with analytical knowledge.

Puṇṇā. Born of a domestic slave at Sāvattthī in the household of Anāthapiṇḍika, and with great merits acquired in her previous births, she obtained Sotāpattiphalaṃ, and afterwards defeated in debate a brahmin Udakasiddhika. Puṇṇā renounced the worldly life, entered the Order, and attained arahantship.

Sundarī. Born at Benares, Sundarī lost her brother, upon which her father renounced the world and became an arhant. Sundarī then followed her father, left the world, entered the Order, and after hard striving attained arhantship with paṭisambhidā.

Vimalā. Born of a public-woman at Vesālī, Vimalā one day went to the house of Mahāmoggallāna to entice him. The venerable thera rebuking her, she was ashamed and became a believer and lay-sister. Some time after she entered the Order and gradually attained arhantship.

Mittakālikā. Coming of a brahmin family in the Kuru kingdom, she, when of age, entered the Order of sisters. For seven years she strove hard and afterwards won arhantship with the analytical knowledge.

Sakulā (Pakulā). Born of a brahmin family at Sāvattihī, she early became a believer, and one day hearing the preaching of an arahat became so much convinced that she entered the Order. Afterwards she attained arhantship and became foremost among the bhikkhuniīs.

Muttā. Coming of a brahmin family of Sāvattihī, she, when twenty years old, went to Mahāpajāpatii Gotamī and got ordination from her. She eventually became an arhant.

Punnā. Daughter of a leading Burgess of Sāvattihī, she, when twenty years of age, heard the Great Pajāpati and renounced the world. In due course she attained arhantship.

Dantikā. Coming of a purohita family, she, when of age, entered the Order under Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī at Rājagaha, and eventually attained arhantship with analytical knowledge.

Vaddhesī. Nurse of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, she renounced the world following her mistress. For twenty-five years she was harassed by the lusts of the senses. But one day hearing Dhammā-dinnā preach the Norm, she began to practise meditation and soon acquired the six supernatural powers.

Uttamā. Coming of a householder's family at Bandhumati, she in her old age heard Paṭācārā preach and entered the Order and very soon became an arhant. Afterwards she converted thirty sisters who entered the Order, and they in their turn became arhants.

Uttarā. Coming of a clansman's family at Sāvattihī, she, when grown up, heard Paṭācārā preach the Norm, became a believer, entered the Order, and became an arhant.

Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā. Coming of the family of a banker at Rājagaha, she, when grown up, fell in love with one Satthuka, a purohit's son. But Satthuka was avaricious and wanted to have all the jewels with which Bhaddā had decked herself. In vain she pleaded that she herself and all her ornaments belonged to him.

So when Satthuka one day took Bhaddā to the precipice of a cliff to give an offering, the latter pushed him over the precipice and he died. Bhaddā then left the world, entered the Order of the Nigaṇṭhas, and became an unequalled debator. One day she challenged Sāriputta to a debate but she was defeated, and went to the Buddha for refuge. Buddha discerned her maturity of knowledge, and she attained arhantship with analytical knowledge.

Sāmā (I). Coming of a rich household at Kosambī and moved by the death of one of her dear friends, she went to listen to the Elder Ānanda and acquired insight. On the seventh day after this she became an arhat.

Sāmā (II). Another Sāmā coming of a clansman's family heard in her old age a sermon through which her insight expanded and she won arhantship with patisambhidā (analytical knowledge).

Ubbiri. Coming of the family of a rich householder at Sāvathī, beautiful Ubbiri was made a queen of the king of Kosala. But a few years after when her only daughter Jiva died, she wept bitterly, whereupon she was questioned and instructed by the Buddha. She was then established in insight and in due course won arhantship.

Kisāgotamī. Coming of a poor family at Sāvathī, she, on the death of her only child went to the Buddha with the dead body, and requested him to bring the dead to life. The Buddha then delivered a sermon upon which she became a bhikkhuṇī, and later on an arhat.

Paṭācārā. Coming of a banker's family at Sāvathī, she, when of age, eloped with her lover who afterwards became her husband. But unfortunately enough the husband died of snake-bite and her son was drowned while crossing a river. She lost her brother and parents. She then became mad and went naked. But upon Buddha's directing her to recover her shamelessness, she acquired consciousness ; and instructed by the Master she was established in Sotāpattiphalam. Afterwards she became an arhat.

Vāsittīhī. Coming of a clansman's family at Vesālī, she became mad with grief at the death of her only son. But when she came to Mithilā and saw the Buddha she got back her normal mind, and she listened to the outlines of the Norm preached by the Buddha. She then acquired insight and became an arhant.

Dhammadinnā. Coming of a clansman's family at Rājagaha, Dhammadinnā was married to a setṭhī named Visākhā. But on his renouncing the world, she too followed and became a bhikkhuṇī in a village. By virtue of her merits acquired in a previous birth, she soon became an arhant and was later on ranked by the Buddha as the foremost among the sisters who could preach.

Dhammā. Coming of a respectable family at Sāvattī, Dhammā entered the Order on her husband's death and became an arhant with thorough knowledge of the Norm in form and meaning.

Mettikā. Daughter of a rich brahmin of Rājagaha, Mettikā lived the life of a recluse and eventually attained arhantship.

Abhayā. Coming of a respectable family at Ujjain, Abhayā renounced the world, entered the Order, and in course of time attained arhantship at Rājagaha.

Soṇā. Born at Rājagaha as the daughter of a purohita, Soṇā in her advanced years became a lay disciple first and afterwards entered the Order. Within a short time she attained arhantship, and Māra tried in vain to deviate her from this path.

Bhaddā Kāpilānī. Coming of a brāhmana family of the Kosiya clan at Sāgala, she renounced the world along with her husband and dwelt five years in a hermitage. She was then ordained by Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī and soon won arhantship. She was later on ranked first among the bhikkhunīs who could remember previous births.

Dhīrā. Born at Kapilavatthu in the noble clan of the Sākiyas, Dhīrā renounced the world with Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī and was troubled in heart at the Master's teaching. She strove for insight and eventually became an arhant.

Sanḅhā. Her story is exactly like that of Dhīrā.

Sumanā (I). Born at Kapilavatthu, Sumanā (I) renounced the world, was ordained by Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, and became gradually an arhant.

Sumanā (II). Born at Sāvattī as the sister of the king of Kosala, Sumanā (II) after the death of her grandmother went to the vihāra, and there hearing the Buddha preach, asked for ordination in her old age. She eventually became an arhant with thorough knowledge of the Norm in form and in meaning.

Addhakāsī. Born in the kingdom of Kāsī, Addhakāsī became a prostitute. But later on she left the world and became ordained by a messenger sent by the Buddha himself. She soon attained arhantship with knowledge of the Dhamma in form and meaning.

Soṇā. Coming of a clansman's family at Sāvattī, Soṇā, following her husband, renounced the world in her old age and entered the Order. Her knowledge gradually matured as a result of her hard strife, and she attained arhantship. She was ranked first among the bhikkhunīs for capacity of effort.

Sujātā. Born at Sāketa in a treasurer's family, Sujātā one day visited the Buddha in the Aṅgana Grove where the Master expounded the Norm to her in an inspiring lesson. Her intelligence being ripe, she at once became an arhant and was admitted to the Order of bhikkhunīs.

Vaddhamātā. Born in a clansman's family at Bharukaccha, Vaddhamātā, hearing a bhikkhu preach, became a believer and entered the Order and eventually became an arhant.

Ambapālī. Born spontaneously at Vesālī in the king's gardens at the foot of a mango tree, beautiful Ambapālī was sued by many princes and afterwards became their courtesan. Later on, out of faith in the Master, she built a vihāra and handed it over to him and the Order. And when she heard her own son preach the Norm, she worked for insight and soon attained arhantship.

Cāpā. Born in the Vaṅkahāra country as the daughter of the chief trapper, Cāpā, on the attainment of arhantship by her husband, renounced the world at Sāvattī and attained arhantship.

Subhā. Born at Rājagaha in the family of an eminent brahmin, beautiful Subhā received faith and became a lay disciple. Later on, she renounced the world, entered the Order under Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, exercised herself in insight, and soon attained arhantship with a thorough grasp of the Norm in form and meaning.

Isidāsī. Born at Ujjain as the daughter of a wealthy and virtuous merchant, she was married several times, but finding each husband undesirable, she grew agitated and took orders under the Therī Jīnadattā. She strove for insight and not long after attained arhantship together with thorough grasp of the Norm in form and meaning

Paramatthadīpanī

The Paramatthadīpanī⁴⁰ is a commentary on the Cariyāpiṭaka. Its author was Dhammapāla. The British Museum has acquired a good manuscript of this commentary in Burmese character dated 1764 (*vide* J.R.A.S., 1904, 174). The P.T.S. has undertaken to edit this text. Dhammapāla also wrote commentaries on the udāna and Itivutraka. The Itivuttaka Commentary is being edited by the P.T.S.

⁴⁰ It includes the commentaries on the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, *Thera Therīgāthā*, *Petavatthu*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Itivuttaka*, and *Udāna*.

CHAPTER VI

Pāli chronicles

Dīpavaṃsa

The Dīpavaṃsa¹ or the chronicle of the island of Lāṅkā is the earliest known work of its kind. It puts together certain well-known traditions handed down among the Buddhists of Ceylon, sometimes in a clumsy manner. Its diction is in places unintelligible, and its narrative is dull and interrupted by repetitions. Though it is composed in verse, curiously enough the verses are, here and there, intervened by prose passages (cf. *Dīpavaṃsa*, pp. 33, 64-65). What inference should be drawn from the occurrence of the prose passages in a metrical composition is still a matter of dispute. The point to be settled is whether the traditions on which the Dīpavaṃsa narrative is based were prevalent all in prose or all in verse or in both prose and verse. Its authorship is unknown. The canonical model of this work is to be traced

¹ Dr. Geiger has published a valuable treatise known as *Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa und die geschichtliche Überlieferung in Ceylon*, Leipzig, 1905. Translated into English by E.M. Coomaraswamy, *Dīpavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa*, Colombo, 1908. We invite our readers' attention to Dr. Geiger's interesting contribution to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXV, p. 443, on the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa and the Historical tradition in Ceylon.

in a number of verses in the Parivārapāṭha of the Vinaya Piṭaka.² The Dīpavaṃsa is an authoritative work well known in Ceylon at the time of Buddhaghosa, and, as a matter of fact, the great pāli commentator has copiously quoted from it in the introductory portion of his commentary on the Kathāvatthu. Dr. Oldenberg has edited and translated the book into English. He says that the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa are in the main nothing but two versions of the same substance, both being based on the historical introduction to the great commentary of the Mahāvihāra. The Dīpavaṃsa follows step by step and almost word

² Cf. Parivārapāṭha, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. V, p. 3.

“Tissatthero ca meddhāvī Devatthero ca paṇḍito, |
 punar eva Sumano meddhāvī vinaye ca visārado, |
 bahussuto Cūlanāgo gajo va duppadhamāsiyo, |
 Dhammapālitānāmo ca Rohaṇe sādhuṇḍito, |
 tassa sisso mahāpaṇḍito Khemaṇāmo tipetākī |
 dīpe tākararājā va paṇḍāya atirocatha.
 Upatisso ca meddhāvī Phussadevo mahākathī, |
 punar eva Sumano meddhāvī Pupphanāmo bahussuto
 mahākathī Mahāsīvo piṭake sabbatthakovidō, |
 ounar eva Upāli meddhāvī vinaye ca visārado,
 Mahānāgo mahāpaṇḍito saddhammavaṃsakovidō, |
 punar eva Abhayō meddhāvī piṭake sabbatthakovidō,
 Tissatthero ca meddhāvī vinaye ca visārado, |
 tassa sisso mahāpaṇḍito Pupphanāmo bahussuto
 sāsaṇaṃ anurakkhanto Jambudīpe patitṭhito. |
 Cūlābhayo ca meddhāvī vinaye ca visārado
 Tissatthero ca meddhāvī saddhammavaṃsakovidō |
 Cūladevo ca meddhāvī vinaye ca visārado
 Sivattṭhero ca meddhāvī vinaye sabbatthakovidō, |
 ete nāgā mahāpaṇḍitā vinayaṇṇū maggakovidā.
 vinayaṇṇū dīpe pakāsesuṇṇā piṭakaṇṇā Tambapaṇṇiyā ‘ti.’ ||

Cf. also *Dīpavaṃsa*, p. 32.

Nibbute lokanāthasmiṃ vassāni soḷasaṇṇā tadā,
 Ajātasattu catuvissāṇaṇṇā, Vijayassa soḷasaṇṇā ahū,
 samasaṇṇā tadā hoti vassaṇṇā Upālīpaṇḍitaṇṇā,
 Dāsako upasampanno Upālītherasantike.
 yavatā buddhaseṭṭhassa dhammappatti pakāsītā
 sabbāṇā Upālī vācesī navaṇṇāṇā jinabhāsitaṇṇā.

for word the traces of the original. According to Oldenberg the *Dīpavaṃsa* cannot have been written before 302 A.D. because its narrative extends fill that year. If we compare the language and the style in which the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* are written, it leaves no doubt as to the priority of the former. The *Dīpavaṃsa* was so popular in Ceylon that King Dhātusena ordered it to be recited in public at an annual festival held in honour of an image of Mahinda in the 5th century A.D. (vide *Dīpavaṃsa*, ed. by Oldenberg, Intro., pp. 8-9). An idea of its contents can be gathered from the summary given below.

The first chapter gives an account of Buddha's first visit to the island of Laṅkā. Gotama obtained perfect enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi-tree. He surveyed the whole world and perceived the island of Laṅkā, a dwelling-place fit for saints. He foresaw that Mahinda, the son of the Indian King Asoka, would go to the island and propagate the Buddhist faith there. Accordingly he placed a divine guard over the island. He visited Laṅkā and drove the Yakkhas, the inhabitants of the place, out of the island.

Buddha visited the island for the second time when the island was on the verge of being destroyed by a terrific war which ensued between the mountain-serpents and the sea-serpents. The Lord exhorted them to live in peace and all the serpents took their refuge in him.

His third visit to the island was in connection with an invitation he got from the Nāga King Maṇiakkhika of Kalyāṇī.

The *Dīpavaṃsa* then traces Buddha's descent from the Prince Mahāsammata, the first inaugurated king of the earth. Gotama Buddha was the son of Suddhodana, chief of Kapilavattu and Rāhulabhadda was the son of Gotama. Mention is also made other kings who reigned before Suddhodana and after Mahāsammata.

A brief account of the first two Buddhist Councils and the different Buddhist schools that arose after the Second Council is also given. The First Council was held under the presidency of Mahākassapa and under the patronage of Ajātasattu. The first

collection of Dhamma and Vinaya was made with the assistance of Upāli and Ānanda. The Second Council was held during the reign of Kālāsoka. The Vajjiputtas proclaimed the ten indulgences which had been forbidden by the Tathāgata. The Vajjiputtas seceded from the orthodox party and were called the Mahāsārngihikas. They were the first schismatics. In imitation of them many heretics arose, e.g., the Gokulikas, the Ekavyohārikas the Bahussutiyas, etc. In all there were eighteen sects³—seventeen heretical and one orthodox. Besides these there were other minor schools.

The Dīpavaṃsa further deals with the reign of the great Indian King Asoka, the grandson of Candagutta and son of Bindusāra, and the notable events that took place in his time. It was during his reign that Mahinda went to Ceylon and spread Buddhism there with the help of the Ceylonese King Devānaṃpiyatissa who was a contemporary of Asoka the Great. It is said that this great king built 84,000 viharas all over the Jambudīpa. The Third Buddhist Council was held under the presidency of Thera Moggaliputta Tissa and under the patronage of Asoka. After the Council was over the thera sent Buddhist missionaries to different countries (Gandhāra, Mahisa, Aparantaka, Mahārāṭṭha, Yona, Himavata, Suvāṇṇabhūmi, and Laṅkā) for the propagation of Buddha's religion.

The Dīpavaṃsa gives a brief account of the colonisation of Ceylon by Vijaya, son of the king of Vaṅga, and also a systematic account of kings of Ceylon who ruled after Vijaya and their activities in promoting the cause of Buddhism. Sīhabāhu, king of Vaṅga, enraged at the bad conduct of Vijaya, his eldest son, banished him from his kingdom. Vijaya with a number of followers went on board a ship and sailed away on the sea. They in course of their journey through the waters visited the seaport towns of Suppāra and Bharukaccha and later on came to Laṅkādīpa.

³ Vide Mrs. Rhys Davids, *The sects of the Buddhists*, J.R.A.S., 891, pp. 409 foll. ; *Schools of Buddhist belief*, J.R.A.S., 1892, op. 1 foll. Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, chap. 5, *Mahābodhvaṃsa*, pp. 96-97, *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 14, *Kathāvatthupakarāṇa-aṭṭhakathā*, pp. 2, 3, 5.

Vijaya and his followers set on colonising this country and built many cities. Vijaya became the first crowned king of the island. After Vijaya we find crowned king of the island. After Vijaya we find a long list of kings among whom Devānaṃpiyatissa stands out pre-eminent.

It was during the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa that Buddhism was first introduced into Laṅkā through Mahinda who at the instance of Thera Moggaliputta Tissa, the President of the Third Council, went to Ceylon for the propagation of the Buddhist faith there. It may be noted here that the great Indian King Asoka was a contemporary of Devānaṃpiyatissa and that they were in friendly terms. Asoka sent a branch of the Bodhi-tree of the Tathāgata to Laṅkā which was planted with great honour at Anurādhapura.

After the death of Devānaṃpiyatissa Buddhism was not in a flourishing condition. The immediate successors of the king were weak. The Damiḷas came over to Laṅkā from Southern India and occupied the country. The people were tired of the foreign yoke. They found in Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, a prince of the royal family, who could liberate the country from the foreign domination. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi at the head of a huge army drove the Damiḷas out of the country. He was the greatest of the Sinhalese kings. Whether as a warrior or a ruler, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi appears equally great. He espoused the cause of Buddhism and built the Lohapāsāda, nine storeys in height, the Mahāthūpa, and many other vihāras. Indeed Buddhism was in its most flourishing condition during the reign of this great king.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was followed by a number of kings, among them Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was the greatest. His reign is highly important for the history of Buddhist literature. It was during his reign that the bhikkhus recorded in written books the text of the three piṭakas and also the Aṭṭhakathā. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was also succeeded by a number of unimportant kings. The account of the kings of Ceylon is brought down to the reign of King Mahāsena who reigned for 27 years from *circa* 325 to 352 A.D.

Mahāvamsa. Its sources

At the close of the 4th century A.D. there existed in Ceylon, and older work, a sort of chronicle of the history of the island from very early times. The work was a part of the *Aṭṭhakathā* which was composed in old Sinhalese prose mingled with Pāli verses. The work existed in the different monasteries of Ceylon and on it the *Mahāvamsa* is based. The chronicle must have originally come down to the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon ; but it was later carried down to the reign of Mahāsena (4th century A.D.) with whose reign the *Mahāvamsa* comes to an end. Of this work, the *Dipavamsa* presents the first clumsy redaction in Pāli verses. The *Mahāvamsa* is thus a conscious and intentional rearrangement of the *Dipavamsa* as a sort of commentary on the latter.

Author

The author of the *Mahāvamsa* is known as Mahānāman.⁴

Date

A well-known passage of the later *Cūḷavamsa* alludes to the fact that King Dhātusena bestowed a thousand pieces of gold and gave orders to write a *dīpikā* on the *Dipavamsa*. This *Dīpikā* has been identified by Fleet with the *Mahāvamsa* ; and if this identification be correct, then the date of its origin is more precisely fixed. Dhātusena reigned at the beginning of the 6th century A.D., and about this time the *Mahāvamsa* was composed.

Historicity of the work

The historicity of the work is established by the following facts:

(a) As to the list of kings before Asoka, namely, the nine Nandas, Candagutta, and Bimbisāra, the statements concerning Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu as contemporaries of the Buddha

⁴ Read *Mahānāma in the Pāli Literature* by Rev. R. Siddhartha, published in I.H.Q., Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 462-465.

agree with canonical writings, and, in respect of the names, with those of the Brahmanic tradition. In the number of years of Candagutta's reign, the Ceylonese tradition agrees with the Indian. Candagutta's councillor Cāṇaka (Cānakya) is also known.

(b) The conversion of Ceylon, according to the chronicles, was the work of Mahinda, son of Asoka, and this is confirmed to a considerable extent by the fact that Asoka twice in his inscriptions (Rock Edicts XIII and II) mentions Ceylon to be one of the countries where he sent his religious missionaries and provided for distribution of medicines. It receives further support from Hiuen Tsang who mentions Mahendra, a brother of Asoka, expressly as the man by whom the true doctrine was preached in Sinhala. Even before Mahinda, relations existed between India and Ceylon, for the chronicles relate that Asoka sent to Devānaṃpiyatissa presents for his sacred consecration as the king of Ceylon.

(c) An inscription from a relic-casket from Tope No. 2 of the Sāñci group gives us the name of Sapurisasa Mogaliputasa who, according to the tradition, presided over the Third Council under Asoka's rule. There is no doubt that he is identical with Moggaliputta Tissa of the Ceylonese chronicles.

(d) The narrative of the transplanting of a branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree from uruvelā to Ceylon finds interesting confirmation in a representation of the story on the reliefs of the lower and middle architrave of the East gate of the Sāñci Stūpa.

(e) The contemporaneity of Devānaṃpiyatissa with Asoka is established on the internal evidence of the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa, as well as by archaeological evidence. Another contemporaneity of King Meghavarman reigning from c. 352-379 A.D. with Samudragupta is established by the Chinese account of Wang Hiuentse.

(f) There is a general historical reminiscence underlying the stories of the three Buddhist Councils recorded in the chronicles.

But the historical statements are not always infallible; and the longer the interval between the time of the events and the

time when they are related, the greater the possibility of an error, and the more will be the influence of legend noticeable. As regards the period from Vijaya to Devānañpiyatissa, there is a considerable distrust of tradition and traditional chronology. Also during the period from Devānañpiyatissa to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi there is matter for doubt. But in later periods we encounter no such difficulties and impossibilities. The chronology is credible, the numbers appear less artificial, and the accounts more trustworthy.

Text. The visit of the Tathāgata

In the ninth month after Buddhahood, when the Lord Buddha was dwelling at Uruvelā, he one day personally went to Laṅkā and converted a large assembly of Yakkhas as well as a large number of other living beings. After this, he came back to uruvelā but, again in the fifth year of his Buddhahood when he was residing in the Jetavana, he, in an early morning out of compassion for the nāgas went to the Nāgadīpa (apparently the north-western part of Ceylon) where he preached the five moral precepts and established the three refuges and converted many nāgas. The Lord then came back to Jetavana, but, again in the eighth year of his Buddhahood the Teacher, while dwelling in the Jetavana, and then came back to Jetavana.

The race of Mahāsammata

The Chapter II gives a long list of kings beginning with Mahāsammata from whose race sprang the Great Sage, the Tathāgata. Descendants of this race of kings ruled in Kusāvati, Rājagaha, and Mithilā, and they reigned in groups in their due order. One group whose chief was Okkāka ruled at Kapilavatthu and was known as the Sākyas. In this line was born Yasodharā a daughter of King Jayasena, and she was married to Sakka Añjana. They had two daughters, Māyā and Pajāpatī, who were both married to Suddhodana, a grandson of Jayasena and son of Sīhahanu. The son of Suddhodana and Māyā was the Lord Bud-

dha whose consort was Bhaddakaccānā, son was Rāhula, great friend was Bimbisāra, and another contemporary was Bimbisāra's son, Ajātasattu.

The three Buddhist Councils

The First Buddhist Council⁵ was convened three months after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha (at Kuśīnārā) in the Sattapaṇṇi Cave at Rājagaha where his nearest disciples followed by seven hundred thousand bhikkhus and a large number of laymen assembled to establish the most important rules of the Order as, according to their recollection, the Master himself had laid down. The work of the compilation was entrusted to Thera Ānanda and Thera Upāli. Thera Upāli spoke for the Vinaya, and Thera Ānanda for the rest of the Dhamma ; and Thera Mahākassapa seated on the thera's chair asked questions touching the Vinaya. Both of them expounded them in detail and the theras repeated what they had said. The work of the First Council took seven months to be completed, and the Council rose after it had finished compilation of the Dhamma, and the Canon came to be known as thera tradition.

A century after the parinibbāna of the Buddha when Kālāsoka was the reigning king, there were at Vaiśālī many bhikkhus of the Vajji clan who used to preach the Ten points of Buddhism. But the theras of Pāvā and Avanti with their leader, the great Thera Revata, declared that these Ten points were unlawful, and wanted to bring the dispute to a peaceful end. All of them followed by a large number of bhikkhus then went to Vaiśālī and there met the bhikkhus of the Vajji clan. Kālāsoka too went there, and, hearing both sides, decided in favour of the true faith, held out by the theras of Pāvā and Avanti. The

⁵ Prof. Przyluski's *Le Concile de Rājagriha*, pt. I, pp. 8, 30, 66, and 116 should be consulted. Read also *Buddhist Councils* by Dr. R.C. Majumdar published in the *Buddhistic Studies*, edited by Dr. B.C. Law. Vide *The Buddhist Councils held at Rājagriha and Vesālī* translated from Chinese by S. Beal.

brotherhood then came together finally to decide, and Revata resolved to settle the matter by an *Ubbāhikā* wherein four from each of the two parties were represented. Thera Revta, in order to hold a Council, chose also seven hundred out of all that troop of bhikkhus, and all of them met in the *Vālikārāma* and compiled the *Dhamma* in eight months. The heretical bhikkhus who taught the wrong doctrine founded another school which came to bear the name *Mahāsāṅghika*.

The Third Council was held under better circumstances during the reign of King Asoka at the *Asokārāma* in *Pāṭaliputta* under the guidance and presidentship of Thera *Moggalliputta Tissa*. Within a hundred years from the compilation of the doctrine in the Second Council, there arose eighteen different sects in the Buddhist Order with their respective schools and systems, and another schism in the Church was threatened. At this time, 218 years from the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha, Asoka came to the throne, and after a reign of four years, he consecrated himself as king in *Pāṭaliputta*. And, not long after, *Sāmaṇera Nigrodha* preached the doctrine to the king, and confirmed him with many of his followers in the refuges and precepts of duty. Thereupon the king became bountiful to the bhikkhus and eventually entered the doctrines. From that time the revenue of the brotherhood was on the increase but the heretics became envious, and they too, taking the yellow robe and dwelling along with the bhikkhus, began to proclaim their own doctrine as the doctrine of the Buddha, and carry out their own practices even as they wished. They became so unruly that King Asoka was obliged to arrange an assembly of the community of bhikkhus in its full numbers at the splendid *Asokarama* under the presidency of Thera *Moggalliputta Tissa*. Then did the king question one by one on the teachings of the Buddha. The heretical bhikkhus expounded their wrong doctrine, upon which the king caused to be expelled from the Order all such bhikkhus and their followers. Only the rightly believing bhikkhus answered that the Lord taught the *Vibhajja*-doctrine, and this was supported and confirmed by Thera *Moggalliputta Tissa*. Three

thousand learned bhikkhus were then selected to make a compilation of the true doctrine under the guidance of the great therā, and they completed their work at the Asokārāma in nine months.

The coming and consecration of Vijaya and others

Vijaya of evil conduct was the son and prince regent of King Sīhabāhu, ruler of the kingdom of Lāla ; but he was banished from the kingdom by his father for his many intolerable deeds of violence. Boarded on a ship with his large number of followers with their wives and children, Vijaya first landed at Suppāraka, but afterwards, embarking again, landed in Laṅkā in the region called Tambapaṇṇi, where he eventually married and consecrated himself as king and built cities. After his death, he was succeeded by his brother's son Paṇḍuvāsudeva who married Subhaddakaccānā, and consecrated himself as king. He was in his turn succeeded by his son Abhaya who was followed by Paṇḍukābhaya. Between Paṇḍukābhaya and Abhaya there was no king for 17 years.

Devānaṃpiyatissa

Paṇḍukābhaya's son Muṭṣasiva followed his father and was succeeded by his second son Devānaṃpiyatissa whose friend was Dhammāsoka whom he had never seen, but to whom he was pleased to send a priceless treasure as a gift. Dhammāsoka appreciated the gift, and sent as a return-gift another treasure to Devānaṃpiyatissa who was now consecrated as king of Laṅkā.

After the termination of the Third Council, Moggainputta Tissa Thera, in order to establish the religion in adjacent countries, sent out learned and renowned missionaries to Kasmīr, Gandhāra, Mahīsamaṇḍala, Vanavāsa, Aparāntaka, Mahārāṭṭha, Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Burma), and to the Yona country. To the lovely island of Laṅkā, he sent Mahinda, the theras Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla to preach the religion.

Mahinda

Mahinda came out to Laṅkā with four theras and Saṅghamittā's son Sumana, the gifted sāmaṇera. Even on their landing many devas, nāgas, and supaṇṇas were converted to the doctrine, and he with his followers entered the capital city where people thronged to see him, and he preached the true faith unto them. The wise King Devānaṃpiyatissa heard him explain some of the miracles and teachings and episodes of the life of the Buddha, and became one of his most devoted patrons. The king then built for the great thera the Mahāvihāra, henceforth known as the Mahāmeghavanārāma, which the thera accepted. Next the king built for him and his followers another vihāra on the Cetiyaḥabbata, henceforth known as the Cetiyaḥabbata-vihāra, which too the thera accepted. The wise king then became eager to enshrine one of the relics of the Great Lord the Buddha in a stūpa, so that he and the followers of the faith might behold the Conqueror in his relics and worship him. At his request Mahinda sent Sumana to King Dhammāsoka with the instruction to bring from him the relics of the Sage and the alms-bowl of the Master, and then to go to Sakka in the fair city of the gods to bring the collar-bone of the Master from him. Sumana faithfully carried out the instruction, and when he landed down on the Missaka mountain with the relics, the king and the people were all filled with joy, and thirty thousand of them received the pabbajjā of the Conqueror's doctrine. Later on the king sent his nephew and minister Ariṭṭha again to Dhammāsoka to bring the Bodhitree which at Dhammāsoka's approach severed of itself and transplanted itself in the vase provided for the purpose. Ariṭṭha then came back on board a ship across the ocean to the capital with the holy tree and a gay rejoicing began. With the Bodhitree came also Therī Saṅghamittā with eleven followers. The Tree and its Saplings were planted with due ceremony at different places, and royal consecration was bestowed on them. Under the direction of the Thera Mahinda who converted the island, Devānaṃpiyatissa continued to build vihāras and thūpas one after another, and thus ruled for 40 years, after which he

died. He was succeeded on the throne by his son, Prince Uttiya; but in the eighth year of his reign, the great Thera Mahinda, who had brought light to the island of Laṅkā, died at the age of sixty; and the whole island was struck with sorrow at his death, and the funeral rights were observed with great ceremony.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi

After a reign of ten years Uttiya died, and was followed by Mahāsiva. Sūratissa, two Damiḷas, Sena and Guttaka, Asela and Eḷāra, a Damiḷa from the Cola country, in succession. Eḷāra was killed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi who succeeded the former as king.

Gāmaṇi, for such was his original name, was born of Prince Kākavaṇṇatissa, overlord of Mahāgāma, and Vihāradevī, daughter of the king of Kalyāṇī. Gāmaṇi was thus descended through the dynasty of Mahānāga, second brother of Devānaṃpiyatissa. Kākavaṇṇatissa had another son by Vihāradevī named Tissa, and both Gāmaṇi and Tissa grew up together. Now when they were ten and twelve years old, Kākavaṇṇatissa, who was a believing Buddhist, wanted his sons to make three promises ; first, they would never turn away from the bhikkhus, secondly, the two brothers would ever be friendly towards each other, and, thirdly, never would they fight the Damiḷas. The two brothers made the first two promises but turned back to make the third, upon which their father became sorry. Gāmaṇi gradually grew up to sixteen years, vigorous, renowned, intelligent, majestic, and mighty. He gathered round him mighty and great warriors from far and near villages, as well as from the royal and noble families. Gāmaṇi developed a strong hatred towards the Damiḷas who had more than once usurped the throne of Laṅkā, and became determined to quell them down. Now he had gathered a strong army of brave and sturdy warriors round him, he approached his father for permission to make war on the Damiḷas. But the king, though repeatedly requested, declined to give any such permission. As a pious Buddhist devoted to the cult of ahimsā, he could not give permission for war that would result in bloodshed and cruelty. He also dissuaded the warriors to fight for his sons. Gāmaṇi,

thereupon, became disgusted with his father, and went to Malaya ; and because of his anger and disgust towards his father, he was named as Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. In the meantime King Kāka-vaṇṇatissa died, and there arose a deadly scramble for the throne between the two brothers, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Tissa. Two battles were fought with considerable loss of life, and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi eventually became victorious. Peace was then concluded and the two brothers began to live together again. He took some time to provide for his people who had suffered during the last wars, and then went out to fight against the Damiḷas. He overpowered Damiḷa Chattā, conquered Damiḷa Titthamba and many other mighty Damiḷa princas and kings. Deadly were the wars that he fought with them, but eventually he came out victorious, and united the whole of Laṅkā into one kingdom. Gāmaṇi was then consecrated with great pomp, and not long after he himself consecrated the Maricavāṭṭi vihāra which he had built up. Next took place the consecration of the Lohapāsāda ; but the building up of the Great Thūpa was now to be taken up. He took some time to the obtaining of the wherewithal, i.e., the materials or the thūpa from different quarters, and then began the work in which masons and workmen from far and near did take part, and at the beginning of which a great assemblage of theras from different countries took place. When the work of the building had considerably advanced, the king ordered the making of the Relic-chamber in which the relics were afterwards enshrined with due eclat, pomp, and ceremony. But ere yet the making of the chatta and the plaster work of the monument was finished, the king fell ill which later on proved fatal. He sent for his younger brother Tissa, and asked him to complete the thūpa, which Tissa did. The ill king passed round the Cetiya on a palanquin and did homage to it, and left with Tissa the charge of doing all the work that still remained to be done towards it. he then enumerated some of the pious works he had done in his life to the theras and bhikkhus assembled round his bed, and one of the theras spoke to him on the unconquerable foe of death. Then the king became silent, and he saw that a golden

chariot came down from the Tusita heaven. Then he breathed his last, and was immediately seen reborn and standing in celestial form in a car that had come down from the Tusita heaven.

A long line of kings. Ten kings

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was succeeded by his brother Saddhātissa who ruled for 18 years, and built many cetiyas and vihāras. He was followed by Thūlathana, Lañjatissa, Khallātanāga, and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The last named was a famous king during whose reign the Damiḷas became powerful and again usurped the throne. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was thus followed by Damiḷa Puḷahattha, Damiḷa Bāhiya, Damiḷa Panayamāraka, Damiḷa Piḷayamāraka, and Damiḷa Dāṭhika. But the Damiḷas were dispossessed of their power not long after by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, who now ruled for a few more years.

Eleven kings

After his death, his adopted son Mahācūlī Mahātissa reigned for 14 years with piety and justice. He was followed by Coranāga, Tissa, Siva, Damiḷa Vaṭuka, Brahmin Niliya, Queen Anulā, Kūṭakaṇṇa Tissa, Bhātikābhaya, and Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga.⁶ All of them had short reigns and were builders of vihāras and cetiyas. Anulā was a notorious queen and to her love intrigues at least four kings, Siva, Tissa, Damiḷa Vaṭuka, and Brahmin Niliya, lost their lives. Except Tissa, they were all upstarts and they rightly deserved the fate that had been theirs.

Twelve kings

After Mahādāṭhika's death, Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya, his son, followed him on the throne. He was followed by Kaṇṇirajānutissa, Cūḷābhaya, Queen Sīvalī, Iḷanāga, Candamukha Siva, Yaśalāla-

⁶ In the list of Ancient Kings of Ceylon the name of Dārubhatikatissa appears after Damiḷa Vaṭuka (*Vide Geiger, Mahāvamsa, Introduction, p. xxxvii*).

katissa, Subharāja, Vaṅkanāsikatissaka, Gajabāhukagāmaṇi, and Mahallaka Nāga in succession. Most of these kings were worthless, and their merit lay only in the building or extension of vihāras and other religious establishments and in court-intrigues. Two of them, Iḷanāga and Subharāja were, however, comparatively more noted for their acts of bravery and valour exhibited mostly in local wars.

Thirteen kings

After the death of Mahallanāga, his son Bhātikatissaka reigned for 24 years. He was followed in succession by Kaniṭṭhatissaka, Khujjanāga, Kuñcanāga, Sirināga, Tissa, Abhayanāga, Sirināga, Vijayakumāraka, Saṅghatissa, Sirisamghabodhi, Goṭṭhābhaya, and Jeṭṭhatissa who are grouped together in a chapter entitled "Thirteen Kings" in the Mahāvamsa. Scarcely there is anything important enough to be recorded about these kings, besides the fact that most of them ruled as pious Buddhists, always trying to further the cause of the religion by the foundation and extension of religious establishments, and that they carried out the affairs of the kingdom through wars, intrigues, rebellions, and local feuds.

King Mahāsena

King Jeṭṭhatissa was succeeded by his younger brother, Mahāsena, who ruled for 27 years and during whose reign, most probably, the Mahāvamsa was given its present form. Originally it ended with the death of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, but now it was probably brought up-to-date.

On his accession to the throne, he forbade the people to give food to any bhikkhu dwelling in the Mahāvihāra on penalty of a fine of hundred pieces of money. The bhikkhus thus fell in want, and they left the vihāra which remained empty for nine years. It was then destroyed by the ill-advisers of the king and its riches were removed to enrich the Abhayagirivihāra. The king wrought many a deed of wrong upon which his minister Megha-

vaṇṇābhaya became angry and became a rebel. A battle was imminent, but the two former friends met, and the king, repentant of his misdeeds, promised to make good all the harm done to the religious establishments of Laṅkā. The king rebuilt the Mahāvihāra, and founded amongst others two new vihāras, the Jetavanavihāra and the Maṇihīravihāra. He was also the builder of the famous Thūpārāma vihāra, as well as of two other nunneries. He also excavated many tanks and did many other works of merit.

Dr. Kern says in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism* that the Mahāvamsa deserves a special notice on account of its being so highly important for the religious history of Ceylon. Dr. Geiger who has made a thorough study of the Pāli chronicles, has edited the text of the *Mahāvamsa* for the P.T.S., London, and has ably translated it into English for the same society, with the assistance of the late Dr. M.H. Bode. G. Turnour's edition and translation of this text are now out of date. Prof. Geiger has translated it into German. Mrs. Bode has retranslated it into English and Dr. Geiger himself has revised the English translation. There is a commentary on the Mahāvamsa known as the Mahāvamsaṭṭikā (*Wamsatthapakāsini* revised and edited by Baṭuwantudawe and Nānissara, Colombo, 1895) written by Mahānāma of Anurādhapura. This commentary is helpful in reading the text. It contains many additional data not found on the text. Readers are referred to the *Mahāvamsa* ed. by Turnour, Ceylon, 1837, *Mahāvamsa* revised and edited by H. Sumaṅgala Baṭuwantudawe, Colombo, 1883, and *Cambodjan Mahāvamsa* by E. Hardy, J.R.A.S., 1902. There is a Sinhalese translation by Wijesinha, Colombo, 1889 (chapter and verse).

Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa compared

It has long been ascertained that both Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa owe their origin to a common source —the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa of the Mahāvihāra monastery, which, evidently was a sort of chronicle of the history of the island from very early times, and must have formed an introductory part of

the old theological commentary (aṭṭhakathā) on the canonical writings of the Buddhists. Both Oldenberg and Geiger, the celebrated editors of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa* respectively, are of opinion that this *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa* was composed in Sinhalese prose, interspersed, no doubt with verse in the Pāli language. This book (*Mahāvaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*) existed in various recensions in the different monasteries of the island, and the authors of both *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa* borrowed the materials of their works from one or other of the various recensions of that *Aṭṭhakathā*. This borrowing presumably was independent, and quite in their own way ; but even then, in the main, they are nothing but two different versions of the same thing. But as the *Dīpavaṃsa* had been composed at least one century and a half earlier than the *Mahāvaṃsa*, it shows perhaps more faithfulness to the original, i.e., to the *Aṭṭhakathā*, for, as Oldenberg points out, that the "author of the *Dīpavaṃsa* borrowed not only the materials of his own work but also the mode of expression, and even whole lines, word for word, from the *Aṭṭhakathā*. In fact, a great part of the *Dīpavaṃsa* has the appearance not of an independent, continual work, but of a composition of such single stanzas extracted from a work or works like the *Aṭṭhakathā*".⁷ But the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is not so fettered in his style or execution. Coming as he did at least one century and a half later (i.e., the beginning of the 6th century A.D.) than the author of the *Dīpavaṃsa* when the islanders had attained much more freedom in their learning and writing of the Pāli language he evidently showed greater ease and skill in his use of the language, as well as in his style and composition, and finally, a more free and liberal use of the material of his original.

It is well known that Mahānāman was the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, whereas we are completely in the dark as to the name of the author of the *Dīpavaṃsa*. A further proof of the fact that both the authors were indebted to a common source is

⁷ *Dīpavaṃsa* (Oldenberg). Introduction, p. 6.

provided by a very striking coincidence of the two narratives, namely, that both the chronicles finish their accounts with the death of King Mahāsena who flourished about the beginning of the 4th century A.D. It was not much later that the *Dīpavaṃsa* was composed, but as the *Mahāvāṃsa* was composed still later, we might as well expect the bringing down of the narrative to a later date. But this was not the case, apparently for the fact that their common source, the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvāṃsa* of the Mahāvihāra monastery, as shown by Oldenberg, was very intimately connected with King Mahāsena with whose reign the glorious destinies of the monastery came practically to an end, and there the *Aṭṭhakathā* could only logically stop its account.⁸

But the historical writers of the Mahāvihāra fraternity did not at once bring down their account to the reign of Mahāsena. The *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvāṃsa* seems to have originally brought down its account only to the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon ; but it was later on continued and brought down to the reign of Mahāsena, where both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa* as already noticed, came to an end.

That the *Dīpavaṃsa* was well known to the author of the *Mahāvāṃsa* is evident from the very arrangement of the chapters and events of the narrative, so much so that the *Mahāvāṃsa* seems to be more an explanatory commentary on the earlier chronicle. The account in the *Dīpavaṃsa* is condensed, and the sequence of events and characters presents the form more of a list and catalogue than of any connected account. The *Mahāvāṃsa*, on the other hand, is elaborated, more embellished, and seems rather to explain the catalogue of events and characters of the earlier chronicle so as to give it the form of a connected narrative. Geiger rightly thinks in this connection that "the quotation of the *Mahāvāṃsa* of the ancients in the proemium of our *Mahāvāṃsa* refers precisely to the *Dīpavaṃsa*".⁹ The well-known passage of the *Cūḷavaṃsa* (38. 59) "datvā sahaṣṣaṃ

⁸ *Dīpavaṃsa* (Oldenberg), Intro., p., 8.

⁹ *Mahāvāṃsa* (Geiger), Intro., p. xi.

dīpetum Dīpavaṃsaṃ samādisi” which Fleet translates as “he (King Dhātusena) bestowed a thousand (pieces of gold) and gave orders to write a *dīpikā* on the Dīpavaṃsa” also lends support to this view,¹⁰ for this Dīpikā, Fleet says, is identical with Mahāvaṃsa.

It is interesting to compare the more important chapters of the two chronicles to see how their subject-matters agree or differ. We have already indicated that their contents are almost identical ; in the Dīpavaṃsa they are condensed, and in the Mahāvaṃsa, elaborate. After an identical account of the race of Mahāsammata, both the earlier and later chronicles proceed to give a more or less detailed account of the three Buddhist Councils. The account of the First Council is almost the same. Five hundred chosen bhikkhus assembled under the leadership of Mahākassapa in the Sattapaṇṇa cave at Rājagaha and composed the collection of the Dhamma and the Vinaya. The Dīpavaṃsa mentions the fourth month after the Master’s death as the time at which the First Council was held. This was the second Vassa-month, i.e., Sāvaṇa. This date is substantially confirmed by that provided by the Mahāvaṃsa which mentions the bright half of Āsāḍa, the fourth month of the year as the beginning of the Council. But as the first month was spent in preparations, the actual proceedings did not begin till the month of Sāvaṇa. The account of the Second Council too is substantially the same. It was brought about by the *dasa-vatthulli* of the Vajjians of Vesālī, a relaxation of monastic discipline ; and 700 bhikkhus took part in the discussion of the Council. It was held in the 11th year of the reign of Kālāsoka ; there is, however, a slight discrepancy about the locality where the Council was held. The Mahāvaṃsa mentions the Vālikārāma, whereas the Dīpavaṃsa mentions the Kūṭāgāsālā of the Mahāvāna monastery as the place of the Council. The tradition of a schism in the Second Council is also identical in the two chronicles. The Dīpavaṃsa states that the heretical monks held a separate Council called the Mahāsaṅgīti, and

¹⁰ *Mahāvaṃsa* (Geiger), Intro., p. xi, where Geiger quotes Fleet.

prepared a different redaction of the Scriptures. The tradition is also noticed in the *Mahāvamsa* where it is related that they formed a separate sect under the name *Mahāsāṃghika*. The account of the Third Council is also identical. It was held at Pāṭaliputta under the presidency of Tissa Moggaliputta and lasted for nine months.

The list of Indian kings before Asoka and pieces of historical account connected with them, the traditional date of the Buddha's parinirvāna, and the duration of reigns of individual Indian kings are always almost identical in both the chronicles. The story of the conversion of Ceylon, that of the coming of Vijaya and his consecration, the list and account of Ceylonese kings up to Devānaṃpiyatissa and that of the latter's contemporaneity with King Dhammāsoka, are for all practical purposes the same. But before the two chronicles take up the account of Mahinda's coming to Ceylon, the *Mahāvamsa* inserts a somewhat elaborate account of the converting of different countries under the efficient missionary organisation of Moggaliputta Thera. The *Mahāvamsa* thus rightly stresses the fact that it was a part of the religious policy of the great thera that Mahinda came to Ceylon. Here again the accounts of the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* are identical ; then follow the identical accounts of Mahinda's entry into the capital, his acceptance of the *Mahāvihāra* and that of the *Cetiyaṭṭhāra-vihāra*, the arrival of the relics, the receiving and coming of the Bodhi tree, and the *Nibbāna* of the Thera Mahinda. From Vijaya to Devānaṃpiyatissa the tradition and traditional chronology are almost identical; there is only a discrepancy about the date of Devānaṃpiyatissa himself. The earlier chronicle states that King Devānaṃpiyatissa was consecrated king in the 237th year after the Buddha's death, whereas the *Mahāvamsa* places it on the first day of the bright half of the ninth month, *Maggasira* (Oct.-Nov.), showing a discrepancy involved probably in the chronological arrangement itself.¹¹

¹¹ See *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), Intro., pp. xxxi fol.

The account of the kings from the death of Devānāmpiyatissa to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi is also identical in the two chronicles. But the Mahāvamsa is much more detailed and elaborate in its account of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, giving as it does in separate chapters the topics of the birth of Prince Gāmaṇi, the levying of the warriors for the war of the two brothers, Gāmaṇi and Tissa, the victory of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the consecrating of the Maricavaṭṭi vihāra, the consecrating of the Lohapāsāda, the obtaining of the wherewithal to build the Mahāthūpa, the beginning of the Mahāthūpa, the making of the relic-chamber for the Mahāthūpa, the enshrining of the relics and finally his death : whereas the Dīpavaṃsa touches, and that also in brief, the two accounts only in their main outline.

The list and account of the later kings from Duṭṭhagāmaṇi to Mahāsena in the Dīpavaṃsa are very brief. In the Mahāvamsa, however, though the essential points and topics are the same, the accounts differ considerably in their detail which may be due to the more liberal use by the author of the original as well as of other historical and traditional sources than the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa. He might have also used those indigenous historical literature and tradition that might have grown up after the author of the Dīpavaṃsa had laid aside his pen. This is apparent from a comparison of the respective accounts of any individual king, say, the last King Mahāsena. Thus the Dīpavaṃsa relates that while he was in search of really good and modest bhikkhus, he met some wicked bhikkhus ; and knowing them not he asked them the sense of Buddhism and the true doctrine. Those bhikkhus, for their own advantage, taught him that the true doctrine was a false doctrine. In consequence of his intercourse with those wicked persons, he performed evil as well as good deeds, and then died. The Mahāvamsa account is otherwise. It gives the story of his consecration by Saṅghamittā, how it was left desolate for nine years, how a hostile party succeeded in obtaining the king's sanction for destroying the monastery, why for this fault of the king the minister became a rebel, how the Mahāvihāra was reconstructed and came to be again inhab-

ited by bhikkhus, how an offence of the gravest kind was made against Thera Tissa and how he was expelled, how the king built the Mañihīra-vihāra, destroying the temples of some brahmanical gods, and how he built many other ārāmas and vihāras, and a number of tanks and canals for the good of his subjects.

One such instance as just noticed is sufficient to explain the nature or the difference in the accounts of individual kings as given in the two chronicles. The duration of ruling years as given to individual kings is in most cases identical ; there are only a few discrepancies, e.g., with regard to the reigns of Sena and Gutta, Lajjitissa (the Mahāvamsa gives the name as Lañjattissa), Niliya, Tissa Yasalāla, Abhaya, and Tissa. In the case of Senā and Gutta, the Dīpavamsa gives the duration of rule as 12 years, whereas the Mahāvamsa gives it as 22 years. The Dīpavamsa gives 9 years 6 months to Lajjitissa, whereas the later chronicle gives 9 years 8 months. Niliya is given 30 months in the earlier chronicle, but in the later chronicle he is given 6 months. Tissa Yasalāla is given 8 years 7 months, and 7 years and 8 months respectively ; and the order of rule of Abhaya and Tissa of the Dīpavamsa is transposed in the Mahāvamsa as Tissa and Abhaya, and Abhaya is given only 8 years in place of 22 as given by the Dīpavamsa.

The value of the Ceylonese chronicles

In the early days of the study of the Ceylonese chronicles, scholars were sceptical about their value as sources of authentic historical tradition and information. But now after lapse of years when the study of Indian and Ceylonese history has far advanced, it is now comparatively easy for us to estimate their real value.

Like all chronicles, the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa contain germs of historical truth buried deep under a mesh of absurd fables and marvellous tales. But if they do contain mainly myths and marvels and read more like fantasies, they are like other chronicles of their time. This, however, should not be used as any argument for completely rejecting the chronicles as positively false and untrustworthy. It is, however, important that one

should read them with a critical eye as all records of popular and ecclesiastical tradition deserve to be read. Buried in the illumination of myths, miracles, and legends, there are indeed germs which go to make up facts of history, but they can only be gleaned by a very careful elimination of all mythical and unessential details which the pious sentiment of the believer gathered round the nucleus. "If we pause", Geiger rightly says, "first at internal evidence then the Ceylonese chronicles will assuredly at once win approval in that they at least wished to write the truth. Certainly the writers could not go beyond the ideas determined by their age and their social position, and beheld the events of a past time in the mirror of a one-sided tradition. But they certainly did not intend to deceive hearers or readers."

The very fact that both *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa* are based on the earlier *Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa*, a sort of a chronicle which itself was based upon still earlier chronicles, ensures us in our belief that they contain real historical facts, for, with the *Aṭṭhakathā*, the tradition goes back several centuries, and becomes almost contemporary with the historical incidents narrated in the chronicle.

Even in the very introductory chapters, there are statements which agree with other canonical writings, and find confirmation in our already known facts of history. Such are the statements that *Bimbisāra* was a great friend of Buddha, and both *Bimbisāra* and *Ajātasattu* were contemporaries of the Master. There does not seem to be any ground for rejecting the tradition of the chronicles that *Gotama* was five years older than *Bimbisāra*, though the duration of rule ascribed to each of them disagrees with that ascribed by the *Purāṇas*. But whatever that might be, there can hardly be any doubt as to the authenticity of the list of Indian kings from *Bimbisāra* to *Asoka* provided by the chronicles. The Jain tradition has, no doubt, other names; "this", as pointed out by Geiger, "does not affect the actual agreement. There can be no doubt that the nine *Nandas* as well as the two forerunners of *Asoka*, *Candagutta* and *Bindusāra*, were altogether historical personages." But more than this is the com-

plete agreement of the Ceylonese and Pauranic tradition in the duration of reign, namely 24, ascribed to Candagutta. The discrepancy of the two traditions in respect of regnal duration of Bindusāra and Asoka, namely 3 years and 1 year respectively, is almost negligible. Still more interesting is the name of Canakka (Cānakya), the brahmin minister of Candagutta, who was known to the authors of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa*.

So much with regard to the historical value of the Ceylonese chronicles in respect of Indian history. But more valuable are the chronicles with regard to the history of Ceylon. As regards the oldest period from Vijaya to Devānaṃpiyatissa the chronicles are certainly untrustworthy to the extent that the duration of years ascribed to each reign seems incredible in view of the fact that they appear to be calculated according to a set scheme, and present certain insuperable difficulties of chronology with regard to one or two reigns, e.g., of King Paṇḍukābhaya and Muṭasiva. Moreover, the day of Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon has been made to synchronise with the date of Buddha's death, which itself is liable to create a distrust in our mind. But even in the first and the earliest period of Ceylonese history, there are certain elements of truth which can hardly be questioned. Thus there is no ground for doubting the authenticity of the list of kings from Vijaya to Devānaṃpiyatissa ; nor is there any reason for rejecting the account of Paṇḍukābhaya's campaigns, as well as the detailed account of the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa, which seem decidedly to be historical. We have also sufficient reason to believe the contemporaneity and friendship of Tissa and Asoka who exchanged greetings of gifts between themselves.

As for the period from Devānaṃpiyatissa to Mahāsena, the chronicles may safely but intelligently be utilised as of value. There are no doubt gaps in the traditional chronology which have been carelessly filled in, notably in the period from Devānaṃpiyatissa to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, but after Duṭṭhagāmaṇi there is no such careless and fictitious filling in of gaps, nor any set-up system of chronology, and on the whole the list of kings and their duration of reigns are credible. But even where the chro-

nology is doubtful, there is no ground whatsoever for doubting the kernel of historical truth that lies mixed up with mythical tales in respect of the account of each individual reign, say, for example, of the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. It may, therefore, be safely asserted that the Ceylonese chronicles can be utilised, if not as an independent historical source, at least as a repository of historical tradition in which we can find important confirmatory evidence of our information with regard to early Indian and contemporary Ceylonese history.

But the chronicles must be considered to be of more value for the ecclesiastical history not only of Ceylon but of India as well. With regard to this there are certain notices in the chronicles that have helped us to start with almost definite chronological points which are equally important in respect of the political history of the continent and its island. One such fixed point is provided by the chronicles where it has been stated that 218 years after the Sambuddha had passed into Nirvāṇa when Asoka was consecrated. This corner stone has helped us to ascertain one of the most knotty and at the same time most useful starting points of Indian history, namely, the year of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa and his birth, which, according to the calculation based on the date just cited are 483 B.C. and 563 B.C. respectively.¹²

Next in point of importance with regard to the history of Buddhism is the conversion of the island by Mahinda, who is represented in the chronicles as a son of Asoka. Historians have doubted the tradition in view of the fact that there is no mention of it in the numerous edicts and inscriptions of Asoka. Geiger has very ably shown that this argument is at least an *argumentum e silentio* and can hardly be conclusive. The tradition of the chronicles is unanimously supported by the tradition of the country itself, and finds further confirmation in the account of Yuan Chwang who expressly states that the conversion of Ceylon was the work of Mahendra or Mahinda, who is, however, repre-

¹² See *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger), Secs. 5 and 6 Introduction.

sented as a brother of Asoka. But it must not be understood that Ceylon was converted all on a sudden by Mahendra or Mahinda. Similar mission must have been sent earlier; "a hint that Mahinda's mission was preceded by similar missions to Ceylon is to be found even in *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa* when they relate that Asoka, sending to Devānāpiyatissa with presents for his second consecration as king, exhorted him to adhere to the doctrine of the Buddha."¹³

Geiger has also been able to find very striking confirmation of the history of the religious missions as related in the chronicles in the relic-inscriptions of the Sañchi stūpa, No. 2.¹⁴ He has thus pointed out that Majjhima who is named in the *Mahāvāṃsa* as the teacher who converted the Himalaya region and Kassapagotta who appears as his companion in the *Dīpavaṃsa* are also mentioned in one of the inscriptions just referred to as 'pious Majjhima' and 'pious Kassapagotta, the teacher of the Himalaya'. In another inscription also Kassapagotta is mentioned as the teacher of the Himalaya. Dundubhissāra who is also mentioned in the chronicles as one of the theras who won the Himalaya countries to Buddhism, is mentioned in another inscription as Dadabhisara along with Gotiputta (i.e., Kotiputta Kassapagotta). The thera, i.e., Moggaliputta Tissa, who is described in the chronicles as having presided over the Third Buddhist Council, is also mentioned in another inscription as Moggaliputta. These facts are guarantee enough for carefully utilising the chronicles as an important source of information for the early history of Buddhism.

This would be far more evident when we would consider the accounts of the three Buddhist Councils as related in the two chronicles. The authenticity of the accounts of these Councils had during the early days of the study of the two chronicles often been doubted. But it is simply impossible to doubt that there must lie a kernel of historical truth at the bottom of these accounts. As to the First Council, both the northern and south-

¹³ *Mahāvāṃsa*, p. xix.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xix-xx.

ern traditions agree as to the place and occasion and the President of the Council. As to the Second Council, both traditions agree as to the occasion and cause of the first schism in the Church, namely, the relaxation of monastic discipline brought about by the Vajjian monks. As to the place of the Council, the northern tradition is uncertain, but the southern tradition is definite inasmuch as it states that it was held in Vesālī under King Kālāsoka in 383/2 B.C. and led to the separation of the Mahāsāṃghikas from the Theravāda. The Ceylonese tradition speaks of a Third Council at Pāṭaliputra in the year 247 B.C. under King Dhammāsoka which led to the expulsion of certain disintegrating elements from the community. The northern tradition has, however, no record of a Third Council, but that is no reason why we should doubt its authenticity. Geiger has successfully shown that the "distinction between two separate Councils is in fact correct. The Northern Buddhists have mistakenly fused the two into one as they confounded the kings, Kālāsoka and Dhammāsoka, one with another. But traces of the right tradition are still preserved in the wavering uncertain statements as to the time and place of the Council."¹⁵

The succession of teachers from Upāli to Mahinda as provided by the chronicles is also interesting from the view-point of the history of early Buddhism. The succession list which includes Upāli, the great authority on Vinaya at the time of the Buddha, Dāsaka, Sonaka, Siggava, Moggaliputta Tissa, and Mahinda, may not represent the whole truth, they even might not all be Vinayapāṃokkhā, i.e., authorities on Vinaya; but the list presents at least an aspect of truth, and is interesting, presenting, as it does, "a continuous synchronological connexion between the history of Ceylon and that of India". The list can thus be utilised for ascertaining the chronological arrangement of early Indian history as well as of the teachers of early Buddhism.

The chronicles can still more profitably be utilised as a very faithful record of the origin and growth of the numerous reli-

¹⁵ *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger's Tr.), pp. Lix-lx and ff.

gious establishments of Ceylon. They are so very elaborately described and the catalogue seems to be so complete that a careful study may enable us to frame out a history of the various kinds of religious and monastic establishments, e.g., stūpas, vihāras, cetiyas, etc., of Ceylon. Thus the history of the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri vihāra, the Thūpārāma, Mahāmeghavanārāma, and of a host of others is recorded in elaborate detail. Incidentally they refer to the social and religious life led by the monks of the Order as well as by the lay people. It is easy to gather from the chronicles that the great architectural activity of the island began as early as the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa and continued unabated during each succeeding reign till the death of Mahāsena. The numerous edifices, tanks, and canals whose ruins now cover the old capitals of the island were built during that period, and their history is unmistakably recorded in the chronicles. Religious ceremonies and processions are often vividly described, and they give us glimpses of the life and conditions of the time. Not less interesting is the fact, often times related as a part of the account of these religious edifices, of very close intercourse with more or less important religious centres of India, namely, Rājagaha, Kosambī, Vesālī, Ujjenī, Pupphapura, Pallava, Alasanda (Alexandria), and other countries. Every important function was attended by brother monks and teachers from the main land to which the Ceylonese kings and people turned for inspiration whenever any question of bringing and enshrining a relic arose. There are also incidental and stray references which are no less valuable. The Mahāvamsa informs us that King Mahāsena built the Maṇihīravihāra and founded three other vihāras, destroying temples of the (brahmanical) gods. It shows that brahmanical temples existed side by side, and religious toleration was not always the practice.

As for the internal political history and foreign political relations with South India, specially with the Daṃiḷas, the chronicles seem to preserve very faithful records. No less faithful is the geographical information of India and Ceylon as supported by them. But most of all, as we have hinted above, is the informa-

tion contained in them, in respect of the history of Buddhism and Buddhist establishments of the island. There is hardly any reason to doubt the historicity of such information.

Cūlavamsa

The Cūlavamsa¹⁶ is not an uniform and homogeneous work. It is a series of additions to, and continuations of the Mahāvamsa. The Mahāvamsa is the work of one man : Mahānāma, who compiled the work during the reign of Dhātusena in the 6th century A.D. But the single parts of the Cūlavamsa are of different character, written by different authors at different times. The first who continued the chronicle was according to Sinhalese tradition the Thera Dhammakitti. He came from Burma to Ceylon during the reign of King Parakkamabāhu II in the 13th century A.D.

Between the Chapters 37 and 79 no trace is found of the commencement of a new section. This part of the chronicle seems to be the work of the same author. So it is clear, if the Sinhalese tradition is authentic, then about three quarters of what we call the Cūlavamsa (pages 443 out of 592 pages of Geiger's edition of the Cūlavamsa) were composed by Dhammakitti.

The second section of the Cūlavamsa begins with the reign of Vijayabāhu II, the successor of Parakkamabāhu I, and ends with that of Parakkamabāhu IV. Hence it follows, the second part of the Cūlavamsa consists of the Chapters from 80 to 90, both inclusive.

The third portion begins with the Chapter 91 and ends with the Chapter 100.

The Mahāvamsa gives us a list of kings from Vijaya, the first crowned king of Ceylon, to Mahāsena. Mahānāma simply followed here his chief sources, the Dipavamsa, which also ends with King Mahāsena. The Cūlavamsa, however, begins with the reign of King Sirimeghavaṇṇa, son of King Mahāsena, and ends with Sirivikkamarājasīha.

¹⁶ Edited by Dr. W. Geiger in two volumes for the P.T.S., London, translated into English by Geiger and Mrs. R. Rickmers, 1930.

The first section of the Cūlavamsa begins with Sirimeghavanna and ends with Parakkamabāhu I. Evidently this portion gives a chronological account of 78 kings of Ceylon. Altogether eighteen paricchadas are devoted to the glorification of the great national hero of the Sinhalese people, Parakkamabāhu I. Revd. R.S. Copleston has called this portion of the Cūlavamsa the "epic of Parakkama." This king was noted for his charity. He not only made gifts of alms to the needy, but also to the bhikkhus. As a warrior this king also stands out pre-eminent. The Coḷas and Damiḷas came to Laṅkā from Southern India and occupied Anurādhapura. Parakkama fought many battles with them and drove them out of the country and became king of the united Laṅkā. He then espoused the cause of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He built many great vihāras and thūpas. He also constructed many vāpis and uyyānas.

The second portion of the Cūlavamsa begins with Vijayabāhu II and ends with Parakkamabāhu IV. Thus it refers to 23 kings of Ceylon.

The third section begins with Bhuvanekabāhu III and ends with Kittisirirājasīha. Thus it refers to 24 kings.

The last chapter gives a brief account of the last two kings e.g., Sirirājājasīha and Sirivikkamarājasīha.

List of Pāli texts in the Ceylonese chronicles

There are in both the chronicles, the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa, interesting references to Pāli texts affording very useful materials for the history of Pāli literature as well as of early Buddhism in Ceylon.

In the Dīpavamsa references are not only made to Vinaya texts, the five collections of Sutta Piṭaka, the three Piṭakas, the five Nikāyas (they are not separately mentioned), and the nine-fold doctrine of the Teacher comprising the Sutta, Geyya, Veyyākaraṇa, Gāthā, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abbhuta, and Vedalla, but also to the seven sections of the Abhidhamma, the Paṭi-sambhidā, the Niddesa, the Piṭaka of the Āgamas and the different sections, namely, Vaggas, Paññāsakas, Saṃyuttas, and Nipātas

into which the Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, and Aṅguttara Nikāyas are respectively divided. Mention is also made separately of the two Vibhaṅgas of Vinaya, namely, Parivāra and Khandhaka, the Cariyāpiṭaka, the Vinaya Piṭaka, the Pātimokkha, and the Aṭṭhakathā. We find further mention of the Kathāvatthu of the Abhidhamma, the Petavatthu, the Saccasaṃyutta, and the Vimānavatthu. Of Suttas and Suttantas separate mention is made of the Devadūta Sutta, Bālapaṇḍita Suttanta, Aggikkhaṇḍa Suttanta, Āsivisa Suttanta, Āsivisūpama Suttanta, Ana mataggiya Sutta, Gomayapiṇḍaovāda Suttanta, Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta, and the Mahāsamaya Suttanta.

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- Abhidhamma, 5, 37; 7, 56.
Abbhuta, 4, 15.
Aggikkhandha Suttanta, 14, 12.
Anamataggiya Suttanta, 14, 45.
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Vimānavatthu, 12, 85.
Bālapaṇḍita Suttanta, 13, 13.
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Vibhaṅgas, 7, 43.
Mahāsamaya Suttanta, 14, 53.
Sutta, 4, 15 ; 4, 16.
Sutta Piṭaka (pañcanikāye), 18, 19 ; 18, 33.
Saṃyuttas, 4, 16.

In the Mahāvamsa too we find numerous mentions of Pāli texts. But, curiously enough, references to independent texts are much less comprehensive than that of the earlier chronicle; though mentions of Suttas and Suttantas mainly of the three Nikāyas, the Aṅguttara, the Majjhima, and the Saṃyutta, as well as of the Sutta Nipāta and the Vinaya Piṭaka are much more numerous. There are also several references to Jātakas. The three piṭakas are often mentioned as important texts, but only the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya are mentioned by name, and that too only once or twice in each case.

Index of Pāli Texts in the Mahāvamsa

- Abhidhamma Piṭaka, 5, 150.
Āsivisūpamā Sutta (Aṅguttara Nikāya), 12, 26.
Anamatagga Saṃyutta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 12, 31.

- Aggikkhandopama Sutta (Aṅguttara), 12, 34.
Kapi Jātaka, 35, 31.
Kālakārāma Suttanta, 12, 39.
Khajjaniya Suttanta (Saṃyutta N.), 15, 195.
Khandhakas (Sections of the Mahāvagga and Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka), 36, 68.
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Cittayamaka (Ref. Yamakappakaraṇa of the Abhidhamma), 5, 146.
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Maṅgala Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), 32, 43.
Mahāmaṅgala-Sutta (Sutta N.), 30, 83.
Mahāsamaya Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 30, 83.
Samacitta Sutta (Samacittavagga in the Duka Nipāta of the Aṅguttara Nikāya), 14, 39.
Sutta Piṭaka, 5, 150.

Geographical references in the Ceylonese chronicles

The Ceylonese chronicles incidentally refer to a large number of countries and localities, important in the history of Buddhism, in India and Ceylon. Most of them come in for mention as a result of their association with the life and religion of the Buddha, or in connection with the historical interrelation,

or the part played by them in the history of India and Ceylon. Most of these places and countries are already known from other, mainly Buddhist, sources, and few of them require any new identification. Even then, they add to our geographical knowledge, and not a few of the references are of more than passing usual interest. Such are, for example, the references to Alasanda in the city of the Yonas in the Mahāvamsa, or to Yonaka in the Dīpavamsa in connection with the building of the Great Thūpa, and the sending of Missions by Moggalliputta respectively. Alasanda, as is well known, is Alexandria in the land of the Yonas, probably the town founded by Alexander in the country of the Paropanisādae near Kabul. The chronicles refer in common to the following places and countries in India and Ceylon:

North and North-West India:

Gāndhāra : modern Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts.

Yona or Yonaka : The foreign settlements on the North-Western Frontier, perhaps identical with the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.

Anotatta laka : One of the seven great lakes in the Himalayas.

Western India:

Aparāntaka : comprises modern Gujarat, Kathiawar and the sea-coast districts.

Suppāra (Dīp) or Suppāraka (Mah) : Surpāraka (Sans), modern Sopāra in the Thānā district, north of Bombay.

Mahārāṭṭha : modern Mahārāṣṭra.

Mid-India and Eastern India:

Kapilavatthu : the birth place of Gotama, and capital of the Sākya tribe in Nepal.

Kusāvati : identical with later Kuśīnārā.

Kuśīnārā : a town of the clan of the Mallas in modern Nepal.

Giribbaja : or Rājāgriha, modern Rājgir in Bihar.

Jetavana : a park and monastery near Sāvathī in the Kosala country.

Madhurā : another name for Mathurā.

Ujjenī : now Ujjain in the Gwalior State; old capital of Avanti.

Uruvelā : in ancient Buddha-Gayā in Gayā district.

Kāsi : modern Benares (Vārāṇasī) district.

Isipatana : the famous deer park of Benares where Buddha first turned the Wheel of law.

Tāmalitiya (Dīp) or Tāmalittī (Mah) : Tāmralipti, modern Tamluk in the district of Midnapur, Bengal.

Pāṭaliputta : identical with modern Patnā and the adjoining region.

Pupphapura : Puṣpapura, identical with ancient Pāṭaliputra.

Barāṇasī : modern Benares (Vārāṇasī).

Mithilā : modern Tirhut in Bihar.

Rājagaha : modern Rājgir in Bihar.

Vaṅgā (Dīp) or Vaṅga (Mah) : identical roughly with Eastern Bengal.

Vesālī : modern Basār in Muzaffarpur, north of Patnā.

The Deccan and South India:

Viñjhā (Dīp), Viñjhātavī (Mah) : The Vindhya mountain with its dense forests.

Damiḷa : The Tamil country.

Ceylon:

Suvaṇṇabhūmi : not in Ceylon, generally identified with Lower Burma comprising the Rammaññadesa.

Malaya : Central mountain region in the interior of Ceylon.

Abhayagiri : outside the north gate of Anurādhapura.

Dīghavāpī : probably the modern Kandiya-Kattu tank in the Eastern Province.

Silakūta : northern peak of the Mihintāla mountain.

Jetavana : a park and monastery near Sāvathī in the Kosala country.

Kalyāṇī : modern Kaelani, the river that flows into the sea near Colombo.

Cetiyaḥpabbata : the later name of the Missaka mountain.

Nandanavana : between Mahāmeghavana where the Mahāvihāra now stands and the southern wall of the city of Anurādhapura.

Laṅkā is identified with the island of Ceylon. Missakagiri (Dīp) —pabbata (Mah) : modern Mihintāla mountain, east of Anurādhapura.

The Dīpavaṁsa, however, exclusively mentions several countries and places which are not mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa.

North and North-West India:

Kurudīpa : probably identical with Uttarakuru.

Takkasilā : modern Taxila in the N. W. frontier province.

Sāgala (reading doubtful) : modern Sialkot in the Punjab.

Western India:

Bharukaccha : modern Broach, an ancient seaport in Kathiawar.

Lālaraṭṭha : identical either with Lāṭa in modern Gujarat or Rāḍha in Bengal.

Sihapura : capital city of Lāṭa or Rāḍha country.

Mid-India and Eastern India:

Aṅgā : identical with modern Bhagalpur region in Bihar.

Campā : modern Pātharghāṭā in the district of Bhāgalpur.

Magadhā : a tribe dwelling in the territory now represented by modern Patnā and Gayā districts in Bihar.

Mallā : a republican tribe of ancient Kusinārā and Pāvā.

Vardhamānapura : Vardhamānabhukti of inscriptions: modern Burdwan.

Veḷuvana : the famous bamboo-garden monastery in Rājagriha, modern Rājgir.

Vedissa : Vidisā, modern Bhilsā in the Gwalior State.

Hatthipura : Hastināpura (Sans) : generally identified with an old town in Mawāna Tahsil. Meerut.

Indapatta : Indraprastha, near modern Delhi.

It may be noticed in this connection that in the Dipavaṃsa, Aṅgā, Magadhā, Vaṅgā, and Mallā are mentioned in the plural, not as Vaṅga in the singular as in the Mahāvaṃsa. The tribal significance has been maintained in the Dīpavaṃsa, whereas in the later chronicle it has been over-looked.

Ceylon:

Anurādhapura : ancient capital of Ceylon, now in ruins.

Ariṭṭhapura : in North Central province, north of Habarana.

Naggadīpa : probably an island in the Arabian Sea.

Tambapaṇṇi : most probably identical with the island of Ceylon.

The Mahāvaṃsa likewise refers exclusively to several countries and places not mentioned in the Dīpavaṃsa.

North and North-West India:

Alasanda : Alexandria, the town founded by Alexander in the Paropanisadae country.

Uttarakuru : a country north of Kāśmīra, mentioned in Vedic and Paurānic literature.

Kāśmīra : modern Kashmir.

Mid-India and Eastern India:

Avantī : the region round modern Ujjain in Gwalior.

Madda : the country lay between the Ravi and the Chenab, roughly identical with the country round the modern district of Sialkot.

Mahāvana : a monastery in the ancient Vajji country mentioned also by Fā-Hien.

Dakkhiṇagiri vihāra : a vihāra in Ujjenī.

Payāga : Modern Allahabad.

Pāvā : a republican state inhabited by the Mallas.

Kosambī : modern Kosam in Allahabad, on the Jumnā, capital of the Vatsas.

South India and the Deccan:

Coḷa : the ancient Choḷa country whose capital was Kāñchīpuram.

Mahisamaṇḍala : identical with Mandhāta island on the Nabadā, ancient capital : Māhiṣmatī, a district south of the Vindhya.

Vanavāsīn : modern Vanavāsī in north Kanara, preserves the older name.

Ceylon:

Ākāsa Cetiya : situated on the summit of a rock not very far from the Cittalapabbata monastery.

Kadamba nadī : modern Malwaṭṭe-oya by the ruins of Anurādhapura (Kadambaka nadī in the Dīpavaṁsa).

Karinda nadī : modern Kirindu-oya in the Southern province where must be located the Pañjali-pabbata.

Kāla Vāpī : built by Dhātusena by banking up the river Kaḷu-oya or Goṇa nadī.

Gambhīra nadī : 7 or 8 miles north of Anurādhapura.

Goṇa nadī : modern Kalu-oya river.

Jetavanārāma near Abhayagiri in Anurādhapura.

Tissamahāvihāra : in South Ceylon, north-east of Hambanṭota.

Tissavāpī : a tank near Mahāgāma.

Thūpārāma : a monastery in Anurādhapura.

Paṭhama Cetiya : outside the eastern gate of Anurādhapura.

Manihirā : now Minneriya, a tank near Pulonnuwa.

Mahāgaṅgā : identical with Mahāwaeligaṅgā river.

Mahātīttha : identical with modern Mantota opposite the island of Manaar.

Mahāmeghavana : south of the capital Anurādhapura.

Dvāramaṇḍala : near Cetiyaṭṭhapa (Mihintale), east of Anurādhapura.

Pulindā : a barbarous tribe dwelling in the country inland between Colombo, Kalutara, Galle and the mountains (Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, p. 60, Note 5).

Ambatthala : immediately below the Mihintale mountain.

Besides these, there are many other references to countries and places of Ceylon of lesser importance. They have all been noticed and identified in Geiger's edition of the *Mahāvamsa* to which we are indebted for the identification of places in Ceylon noticed above.

Buddhaghosuppatti

The *Buddhaghosuppatti* deals with the life and career of Buddhaghosa, the famous commentator, less authentic than the account contained in the *Cūḷavaṃsa*. It gives us an account of Buddhaghosa's boyhood, his admission to the priesthood, his father's conversion, voyage to Ceylon, Buddhaghosa as a witness, permission to translate scriptures, his object attained, return to India, and his passing away. The book is written in an easy language. It is more or less a historical romance. As to the historical value of this work readers are referred to my work, *The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa* (Ch. II, pp. 43-44). The *Buddhaghosuppatti* has been edited by James Grey and published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London. Grey has also translated the book into English.

The stories in the *Milinda Pañha*, the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Buddhaghosuppatti* are so similar that one doubts it very much that the author of this work borrowed the incidents from the *Milinda Pañha* and the *Mahāvamsa* and grafted them on to his own.

A critical study of the *Buddhaghosuppatti* does not help us much in elucidating the history of Buddhaghosa. The author had little authentic knowledge of the great commentator. He only collected the legends which centred round the remarkable

man by the time when his work was written. Those legends are mostly valueless from the strict historical point of view. Grey truly says in his introduction to the *Buddhaghosuppatti* that the work reads like an "Arthurian Romance". The accounts given by the *Buddhaghosuppatti* about the birth, early life, conversion, etc., of *Buddhaghosa* bear a great similarity to those of *Milinda* and *Moggaliputta Tissa*. In the interview which took place between *Buddhaghosa* and *Buddhadatta*, the latter is said to have told *Buddhaghosa* thus, "I went before you to compile Buddha's word. I am old, have not long to live and shall not, therefore, be able to accomplish my purpose. You carry out the work satisfactorily".

In *Buddhadatta's Vinayavinicchaya* we read that *Buddhadatta* requested *Buddhaghosa* to send him the commentaries when finished that he might summarise them. This request was complied with by *Buddhaghosa*. *Buddhadatta* summarised the commentary on the *Abhidhamma* in the *Abhidhammāvātāra* and the commentary on the *Vinaya* in the *Vinayavinicchaya*. The above statement in the *Vinayavinicchaya* which is more authoritative than the *Buddhaghosuppatti* is in direct contradiction to the statement in the latter book. The author has made a mistake in the sixth chapter of the *Buddhaghosuppatti* in which it is stated that *Buddhaghosa* rendered the Buddhist scriptures into *Māgadhī*. In the seventh chapter of the same book we read that after the lapse of three months when he completed his task, the works of *Mahinda* were piled up and burnt. *Buddhaghosa* translated the texts themselves. Had it been so there would not have been any occasion for burning the works have been carefully preserved as the only reliable and authentic interpretation of the sacred texts. It has been distinctly stated in the *Mahāvamsa* that the texts only existed in the *Jambudīpa* and *Buddhaghosa* was sent to *Ceylon* to translate the *Sinhalese* commentaries into *Māgadhī*. If the tradition recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* is to be believed, then only we can get an explanation for the destruction of *Mahinda's* works.

Saddhammasaṅgaha

The Saddhammasaṅgaha is a collection of good sayings and teachings of the Master. There are prose and poetry portions in it. It consists of nine chapters. It was written by Dhammakiyābhidhāna Thera. It has been edited by Nedimāle Saddhānanda for the P.T.S., London. The Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara, and Khuddaka Nikāyas are mentioned in it. The books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka are referred to in this work. There are references in it to the Vajjiputtakas of Vesālī and Yasa's stay in the Kūṭāgārasālā in the Mahāvana. It is mentioned in this book that Moggaliputta Tissa recited the Kathāvattu in order to refute the doctrines of others. This treatise contains an account of the missionaries sent to various places to establish the Buddha's religion. Thera Majjhantika was sent to Kashmir and Gandhāra, Mahādeva Thera to Mahisamaḍḍala, Rakkhita Thera to Vanavāsī, Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita Thera to Aparāntaka, Mahādhammarakkhita Thera to Mahāraṭṭha, Mahārakkhita Thera to the Yonaka region, Majjhima Thera to the Himalayan region, Sonaka and Uttara to Suvannabhūmi, and Mahinda Thera to Laṅkā with four other theras, Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla. Besides, there is a reference to the Buddha preaching his Dhamma to the inhabitants of the city of Campaka (Campakanagaiavāsinaṃ).

Sandesa-Kathā

The Sandesa-Kathā has been edited by Minayeff in J.P.T.S., 1885. It is written mostly in prose. It dilates on many points, e.g., the composition of Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha by Thera Anuruddha, the composition of a commentary known as the Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī by Thera Sumaṅgalasāmī, etc. It refers to many kingdoms, e.g., Suvannabhūmi, Rāmañña, Jayavaddhana, Ayuddhaya, Kamboja, Sivi, Cīna, etc.

Mahābodhivaṃsa

The Mahābodhivaṃsa has been edited by Mr. Strong for

the P.T.S., London. This work was written by Upatissa (Upatissa-theravarena viracito). The Sinhalese edition by Upatissa and revised by Sarandada, Colombo, 1891, deserves mention. There is a Sinhalese translation of this work in twelve chapters. Prof. Geiger says that the date of the composition of the Mahābodhivaṃsa is the 10th century A.D. (*Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 79). According to some it was composed within the last quarter of the 4th century A.D. Strong points out in the preface to his edition of the Mahābodhivaṃsa that the author has treated his subject with freedom and prolixity. Most of the events in the early history of Buddhism pass under the shadow of the Bo tree. The author has borrowed largely from the sources as well as from the actual text of the Mahāvaṃsa, but there is abundant evidence that he employed other materials as well. This work contains discourses on the attainment of bodhi (enlightenment), the attainment of bodhi by Ānanda, passing away of the Buddha who was endowed with ten potentialities, the first three Buddhist convocations (sangīti), landing of Mahinda at Laṅkā, accepting Mahāvihāra and Cetiyaḡiri, things worshipped by the Buddhas, advent of Duminda, etc.

The following manuscripts of the Mahābodhivaṃsa are available:

- (1) A manuscript on paper in the Sinhalese character in possession of the P.T.S., England.
- (2) A palm-leaf manuscript in the Sinhalese character in possession of the P.T.S., England.
- (3) A palm-leaf manuscript in the Sinhalese character in the Library of the British Museum.
- (4) A palm-leaf manuscript in the Burmese character in the Library of the India Office.

Thūpavaṃsa

The Thūpavaṃsa contains an account of the thūpas or dagobas built over the relics of the Buddha. Readers' attention is invited to a paper on this book by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe (J.R.A.S., 1898). This work has not yet been

edited by the P.T.S., London. A Sinhalese edition of this work is available (ed. by Dhammaratana, Pealiyagoda, 1896).

Historical allusions in the Thūpavaṃsa

In the Thūpavaṃsa we are told that the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa sent theras (elders) to different parts of India for the propagation of the Buddhist faith. He sent Majjhantikathera to Kasmīra and Gandhāra, Mahādevathera to Mahimsakamaṇḍala, Rakkhitathera to Vanavāsi, Yonaka-dhammarakkhitathera to Aparāntaka, Mahādhammarakkhitathera to Mahāraṭṭha, Mahārakkhitathera to Yonakaloka, Majjhimathera to Himavanta, Sonathera and Uttarathera to Suvannabhūmī, and Mahinda and four other theras to Tamba-Paṇḍīpa. It may be added here that the Thera Mahinda and the Therī Saṅghamittā, son and daughter respectively of Asoka, were instrumental in propagating Buddhism in Ceylon. The Mahāvaṃsa also states the same thing, and it further says that Moggaliputta Tissathera was a contemporary of Asoka and that he presided over the Buddhist Council which was held under the patronage of this great monarch.

It appears from both the Mahāvaṃsa and the Thūpavaṃsa that the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa sent these theras to different parts of India at his own initiative. There is no mention of Asoka having taken any part in this activity, though such an important event occurred during his time and in his own kingdom mainly. But in his Rock Edict XIII, Asoka says that he despatched ambassadors to countries in and outside India. He further says in his Rock Edict II that he provided for the distribution of medicines in different countries. In both the Edicts Asoka mentions Ceylon (Tāmbraparṇī). But how to reconcile these two accounts which we find in the Mahāvaṃsa and the Thūpavaṃsa on the one hand and the lithic records of Asoka on the other? Dr. Geiger in his introduction to his translation of the Mahāvaṃsa (pp. xvi-xx) says that before Mahinda relations existed between continental India and Ceylon and efforts were made to transplant the Buddhist doctrine to Ceylon. But with Mahinda this process came to a successful end. Besides, Mahinda's mission was pre-

ceded by similar missions to Ceylon. The *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa* relate that Asoka, sending to Devānāmpiyatissa with presents for his second consecration as king, exhorted him to adhere to the doctrine of the Buddha.

The history of the missions as related in *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvāṃsa*, and *Thūpavaṃsa* receives most striking confirmation in the inscriptions. The names of the theras Majjhima and Kassapagotto (who appears as Majjhima's companion in the *Dīpavaṃsa*) occur in the Bhilsa Topes (Sāñchi group and Sonāri group) as teachers of the Himalayas. The name of Moggaliputta Tissa also occurs in the Sāñchi group. Further, according to Grünwedel; the transplanting of a branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree from Uruvelā to Ceylon is represented in the East Gate of the Sāñchi Topes.

Dr. Geiger has successfully proved the trustworthiness of the Ceylonese chronicles. He in an ingenious and convincing way has shown that the two accounts, which we find in the inscriptions of Asoka and the Ceylonese chronicles, are not untrustworthy. Asoka strove to propagate Buddhism in and outside India. Moggaliputta Tissathera also played an important part in spreading Buddhism in countries within India. The conversion of Ceylon was achieved by Mahinda and his followers, who were despatched by Moggaliputta Tissathera, and also by Mahinda's sister Saṅghamittā.

It is thus clear from what Geiger says that there were two separate attempts to propagate Buddhism in the time of Asoka. The first attempt was made by the king himself who sent ambassadors to countries both in and outside India. The second attempt was made by Moggaliputta Tissathera, the then head of the Buddhist Church, after the Third Council was over. But this attempt was confined to India only.

That the success of Buddhism both in India and outside countries was largely due to the support it got from kings like Bimbisāra, pasenadi, Asoka, Kanishka, and Harshavardhan and also from the Pāla kings of Bengal, nobody can dispute. If it did not receive royal patronage, it would have surely met the same

fate as Jainism did. Taking this important fact into consideration, we shall not be unjustified to say that Asoka must have lent ungrudging help to Moggaliputta Tissathere.

From what has been stated above and from the grounds which we will state below it will not be unreasonable to say that there were no two separate attempts, but a single attempt for the propagation of the Buddhist Faith, and that in this attempt both Asoka and Moggaliputta Tissathera played important parts. But why the names of Asoka and Moggaliputta Tissathera are absent respectively from the Ceylonese chronicles and the inscriptions of Asoka ? In a general way Asoka says that he sent ambassadors, who were undoubtedly Buddhist monks, to different countries. He does not even make mention of his own son and daughter who did great service to the cause of Buddhism. He must have sent ambassadors in collaboration with the leading theras of the time. It will be unjust to accuse such a great king like Asoka that he intentionally out of self-complacency and self-conceit did not mention Moggaliputta Tissathera and other leading theras. But such is not the case with the authors of the Ceylonese chronicles. They have intentionally excluded the name of Asoka, and thereby have enhanced the position of the Buddhist Saṅgha, and the prestige of its leaders. There is no lack of fables and tales in the chronicles. There are also statements which are untenable. But these are meant for the glorification of the Buddha, His Dhamma, and His Saṅgha only.

Geographical Data

Tāmalitti, a harbour in the region at the mouth of the Ganges, now Tamluk. At Tāmalitti the Chinese pilgrim Fā-Hien embarked for Ceylon in the beginning of the 5th century A.D.

Gandhāra comprises the districts of Peshāwar and Rāwalpiṇḍi in the northern Punjab.

Kasmīra is the modern Kāshmir.

Mahimsakamaṇḍala is generally taken as the modern Mysore.

Fleet takes it as the territory of Māhisha of which the capital was Māhiṣmatī. Agreeing with Pargiter he places this capital on the island of the Nabadā river, now called Mandhātā. Mahiṁsa-kamaṇḍala is, therefore, a district south of the Vindhya mountains.

Vanavāsī : The Vanavāsakas or Vanavāsins are mentioned in the Mahābhārata and Harivaṁśa, as a people dwelling in Southern India. There is also a modern town Vanavāsī in North Kanara which seems to have preserved the old name.

Aparāntaka, the western ends, comprising the territory of Northern Gujarat, Kathiawar, Kachcha, and Sind.

Mahārāṭṭha, the country of the Marathās.

Yonaloka : The Yonas are also mentioned together with the Kambojas, in the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka. V. Smith says that they must mean the clans of foreign race (not necessarily Greek) on the north-western frontier, included in the Empire of Asoka.

Suvaṇṇabhūmi : The general opinion is that Suvaṇṇabhūmi is lower Burma with adjacent districts. Fleet says that it might be the country in Bengal called Karṇasuvarṇa, or else the country along the river Son, a river in Central India, and tributary of the Ganges on its right bank, which is called Hiraṇyavāha 'the gold bearer'.

Vediśa is the modern Bhilsa in Gwalior State, situated 26 miles north-east of Bhopal.

Rāmagāma : The Koliyas of Rāmagāma were a tribe related to the Sākiyas. The river Rohiṇi flowed between the territories of the Koliyas and Sākyas. In the Sumaṅgalavilāsini the capital of the Koliyas is called Vyagghapajja.

Pāvā was the capital of the Mallas. Missaka Pabbata, now the mountain Mihintale, 8 miles to the east of Anurādhapura, is also called the Cetiya-pabbata.

Three chapters of the Text and their resume

The text of the Thūpavaṁsa may be conveniently divided into three main chapters. The first chapter comprises the previ-

ous births of the Buddha. The second chapter deals with the life of the Buddha from his birth to the attainment of his Mahāparinibbāna and also the distribution of the bodily relics of the Buddha by the brahmin Doṇa and the building of a great thūpa at the south-eastern part of Rājagaha by Ajātasattu of Magadha at the instance of the Thera Mahākassapa in which the bodily relics of the Buddha from Vesālī, Kapilavatthu, Allakappa, Vethadīpa, Pāvā, Kusinārā, and Rājagaha were deposited. The third or the last chapter treats of the later history of the relics.

Chapter I

The author justifies his composition of the Thūpavaṃsa in Pāli, when there are already two other versions of the same text, one in the Sinhalese language and the other in the Māgadhī, by saying that the Sinhalese version is not conducive to the good of all, and that the Māgadhī version is full of contradictory words and that it is not exhaustive.

The author goes to explain what is meant by a thūpa. He says that there are four kinds of persons who are worthy of thūpas: Tathāgato, PaccekaBuddha, Tathāgata-sāvako and Rāja-cakka-vattī. A thūpa is a cetiya in which the relics of any one of the above four have been deposited. As for example, the Kañcana-mālika Mahāthūpo contains the relics of Gotama Buddha who has fulfilled the thirty pāramitās, attained the supreme knowledge, set rolling the wheel of law, and performed other duties and won the anupādisesa-nibbāna.

The author then gives a detailed account of the Buddhas who appeared in this earth for the salvation of mankind. He speaks of the Buddhas who preceded Gotama Buddha and the thūpas that were erected in honour of them. He then sums up the life of Gotama Buddha in a masterly way and gives a detailed account of the thūpas, that were erected over the relics of Gotama Buddha, with their later history.

We shall now deal with the story of Sumedha Tāpasa who was born as the Bodhisatta several times during the period in

which the twenty-four Buddhas appeared in this earth for the welfare of the worldly beings and who himself appeared in this earth as the 25th Buddha, called Gotama Buddha.

In the time of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, the brahmin Sumedha lived in the city of Amarāvātī. He was versed in the Brahmanical lore. He lost his parents in his boyhood. When he came of age he inherited a vast fortune. But knowing that the world is full of miseries and that money is the source of misery, he made up his mind to distribute his wealth among the needy. One day he gave away his wealth to the poor and left the world and dwelt in the Himavanta.

Meanwhile the Buddha Dīpaṅkara came to Rammanagara and the inhabitants of the city invited the Blessed One and his followers to take their meal at a certain place highly decorated for the purpose. The people began repairing the road connecting the proposed place and the Vihāra in which the Lord dwelt. Sumedha heard the news and offered his service. He was given a muddy place to cleanse. Before the place was cleansed the Buddha with his followers reached the place. Sumedha at once fell flat on the muddy place with the determined desire to become a Buddha in a later birth and the Buddha and his followers crossed the muddy place treading over his body. The Blessed One while crossing the muddy place over Sumedha's body predicted that Sumedha would surely become Gotama Buddha in future. The Buddha Dīpaṅkara went to the place where he had been invited, took his meal, and exhorted all to do good deeds and went away. The Blessed One attained anupādisesanibbāna in the Nandārāma and the people raised a great thūpa.

In the time of the Buddha Kondañña, the Bodhisatta was born as a great king named Vijitāvī. He made immense gifts to the Bhikkhu Saṅgha with the Buddha at its head. The Lord predicted that the Bodhisatta was destined to become Gotama Buddha in future. When the king heard the Buddha preaching he made up his mind to renounce the worldly life. He did leave the world. He performed many meritorious acts and was born in the Brahmaloaka. The Buddha attained Parinibbāna in the

delightful Candārāma and a cetiya, measuring 7 yojanas in extent, was raised by the people.

In the time of the Buddha Maṅgala, the Bodhisatta was born as a brahmin named Suruci. He invited the Buddha to his house for seven days and heard the Blessed One preaching. The Lord predicted that the Bodhisatta would become Gotama Buddha in future. When the Bodhisatta heard this prediction, he left the worldly life and adopted the life of a monk. In due course he was born in the Brahmāloka. The Buddha won parinibbāna in due course and the people raised a great thūpa.

In the time of the Buddha Sumana, the Great Being was born as a Nāga king named Atula. He invited the Buddha and his followers to his house and served them with dainty dishes. The Lord predicted that he would be the Buddha Gotama in future. The Blessed One attained Parinibbāna in due course and a thūpa was raised.

In the time of the Buddha Revata, the Bodhisatta was born as a brahmin named Atideva. He heard the Buddha preaching and was established in the sīlas. The Blessed One predicted that he would be Gotama Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Sobhita, the Bodhisatta was born as a brāhmaṇa named Ajita. He heard the Buddha preaching and was established in the sīlas. The Lord predicted that he would be the Buddha Gotama in future.

In the time of the Buddha Anomadassī, the Bodhisatta was born as a Yakkhasenāpati. He made immense gifts to the Bhikkhus Saṅgha with the Buddha at its head. The Buddha predicted that he was destined to be the Buddha Gotama.

In the time of the Buddha Paduma, the Bodhisatta was born as a lion who for seven days without going out in search of food saw the Buddha engaged in the Nirodha-samāpatti. The Blessed One predicted that the lion would be born as the Buddha Gotama in future.

In the time of Buddha Nārada, the Bodhisatta renounced the worldly life and invited the Buddha and his followers to a sumptuous feast. The Buddha predicted that he would be the

Buddha Gotama in future.

In the time of the Buddha Padumuttaro, the Bodhisatta was born as a great king named Jaṭila. He made immense gifts to the Buddha and his followers. The Buddha predicted that he would be the Buddha Gotama in future.

In the time of the Buddha Sumedha, the Bodhisatta was born as a youth named Māṇavo possessing immense riches. He distributed his wealth and made immense gifts to the Buddha and his followers and heard the Buddha preaching and was established in the saraṇas or refuges. The Buddha predicted that he would be the Buddha Gotama in the near future.

In the time of the Buddha Sujāta, the Bodhisatta was born as a great king. He heard the preaching of the Buddha and distributed in charity his riches to the Buddha and his Saṅgha. He renounced the world and always made great gifts. The Buddha predicted that he would be the Buddha Gotama in future.

In the time of Buddha Piyadassī, the Bodhisatta was born as a youth named Kassapa. He mastered the three Vedas. Once he heard the discourses of the Buddha and distributed his immense riches. He was established in the sīlas and saraṇas. The Buddha predicted that he would be the Buddha Gotama in future.

In the time of the Buddha Atthadassī, the Bodhisatta was born as a great ascetic named Susīma. He heard the religious discourses of the Buddha and worshipped the lord with great honour. The Blessed One predicted that was destined to become a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Dhammadassī, the Bodhisatta was born as Sakka, the king of gods. He worshipped the lord with great honour. The Blessed One predicted that he would be a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Siddhattha, the Bodhisatta was born as a great ascetic named Maṅgala. He picked up jambu fruits and offered them to the Buddha. The Blessed One predicted that he would be the Buddha Gotama in future.

In the time of the Buddha Tissa, the Bodhisatta was born as a Khattiya of great fame and wealth. He renounced the worldly

life. He worshipped the Buddha with great honour. The Blessed One predicted that he would be a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Phussa, the Bodhisatta was born as a Khattiya king named Vijitāvī. He gave up the worldly life, learnt the three piṭakas, and performed the sīlas and pāramitās. The Buddha predicted that he was destined to be a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Vipassī, the Bodhisatta was born as a Nāga king named Atula. He made a gift to the Buddha of the great golden throne adorned with seven kinds of gems. The Blessed One predicted that he would become a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Sikhi, the Bodhisatta was born as a king named Arindamo. He made immense gifts to the Bhikkhu Saṅgha with the Buddha at its head. The Blessed One predicted that he would be a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Vessabhu, the Bodhisatta was born as King Sudassana. He made immense gifts to the Buddha and his Saṅgha. The Blessed One predicted that Sudassana would be born as Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Kakusandha, the Bodhisatta was born as King Khema. He made immense gifts to the Buddha and his Bhikkhu Saṅgha, heard the discourses of the Buddha, and gave up the worldly life. The great teacher predicted that he should be a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Konāgamana, the Bodhisatta was born as a king named Pabbāta. He accompanied by his ministers went to the teacher and heard the Master preaching. He made many gifts by way of charity to the Bhikkhu Saṅgha with the Buddha at its head. Afterwards he received ordination from the Buddha. The Blessed One predicted that the King Pabbata would be a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Kassapa, the Bodhisatta was born as a youth named Jotipāla. He was well versed in the three Vedas. He with Ghaṭikāra went to the place where the Buddha was he heard the Master preaching. He took pabbajjā and learnt the three piṭakas. The teacher predicted that he was destined to be a Buddha.

Chapter II

The Buddha Gotama having passed through successive births during the period in which the twenty-four Buddhas beginning with Dīpaṅkara appeared in this earth was born as King Vessantara having performed the Pāramitās. He was then born in the Tusita heaven. He was entreated by the Devatās to be born among men in order to work out their salvation. The Buddha consented to their proposal and observing the time, the island, the country, the family, and the extent of life-time of her who will bear him, he was born in the Sākya family. He was bred and brought up in luxury. On four occasions while going out to enjoy in the gardens he saw an old man, a diseased person, a dead man, and a samaṇa respectively. Seeing the miseries of the world he was bent upon renouncing the world. He left the world leaving behind his wife and only son. On the bank of the Anomā he cut off his hairs and wore the robe of a monk forsaking his royal garments. He first went to Ājāva and Uddaka and being unsatisfied with their discourses went to the river Narañjarā and sat at the foot of the Bodhi tree meditating. He was fully enlightened. He became the Buddha. Being entreated by Brahmā to preach the doctrine he evolved, he went to Benares and preached the doctrine there to the pañcavaggiya bhikkhus. Thousands of men and women gradually became his followers. The Blessed One attained Mahāparinibbāna at Kusinagara in the Upavattana of the Mallas. The body was wrapped up with corded cotton and new cloth and was kept in an iron trough containing oil and was covered with another iron trough. Four Malla chiefs followed by others tried to light up the coffin but failed in their attempt. It was then told by Anuruddha that the coffin could not be lighted before the Thera Mahākassapa, who with his followers was on the way to Kusinārā from Pāvā, would arrive at the place and pay his obeisance to the Lord. In due course the thera arrived. Fire was set to the coffin. When the body was burnt and the fire extinguished, the bones from the coffin were taken out to be distributed. The claimants for the bodily relics of the great teacher were the Mallas of Kusinārā, King Ajātasattu of Magadha,

the Licchavis of Vesālī, the Sākya rulers of Kapilavatthu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, a brāhmaṇa of Veṭhadīpa, and the Mallas of Pāvā. At first the Mallas of Kusīnārā were unwilling to part with any portion of the relics. A strife became imminent. But the brahmin Doṇa by an impressive speech succeeded in bringing about reconciliation among those present. The relics were divided into eight equal portions. The Brāhmaṇa Doṇa kept for himself the teeth of the Master without telling others about it. But Sakka, the king of gods, stole the teeth and brought the same to the heaven of gods. When Doṇa, after distributing the relics, did not find the teeth, he took the bowl in which the relics were originally kept. The Moriyas of Pippalivana who came late had to content themselves with the ashes only.

Eight great thūpas were built over the relics of the Buddha at the following places : Rājagaha, Vesālī, Kapilavatthu, Allakappa, Rāmagāma, Veṭhadīpa, Pāvā, and Kusīnārā. But the relics which were deposited at Rāmagāma were taken and kept by the Nāgas with great care and honour. These relics (of Rāmagāma) were afterwards taken to Ceylon.

At the suggestion of the Thera Mahākassapa King Ajātasattu collected the bodily relics of the Buddha from Vesālī, Kapilavatthu, Allakappa, Veṭhadīpa, Pāvā, and Kusīnārā and deposited them together with the relics at Rājagaha under a great thūpa at the south-eastern part of Rājagaha.

Chapter III

At the time of Asoka, eighty-four thousand cetiyas were built over the relics of the Buddha.

We shall now proceed to give a detailed account of the same. King Bindusāra had one hundred sons. At the time when Bindusāra was ill, Asoka, who was Governor of Ujjenī, hurried to Rājagaha, the capital of the Magadha kingdom, to usurp the throne. Bindusāra died and Asoka having killed all his brothers except Tissa Kumāra took possession of the royal throne. But Asoka's consecration took place four years after. At first Asoka

was not a patron of the Buddhists. He like his father supported the brahmins and other sects. One day he noticed the improper conduct of them while taking meals. He became highly dissatisfied with them. Thenceforth he began to feed the Buddhist monks and became their great patron.

One day the king saw his nephew Nigrodha Sāmaṇera, son of Sumana; who was Asoka's elder brother, passing through the royal courtyards. The king was highly satisfied with Nigrodha's calm demeanour. The king sent his minister for the Sāmaṇera. When Nigrodha came, the king received him with great honour. The Sāmaṇera admonished the king by reciting the Appamādavagga of the Dhammapada. The king with his followers was established in the three saraṇas and five silas. Throughout his kingdom he built 84,000 vihāras in 84,000 cities. He found out the relics that were deposited in the south-eastern part of Rājagaha by King Ajātasattu and deposited them in the 84,000 vihāras that he built. He further became a 'dāyāda' of the Dhamma by allowing his son Mahinda and his daughter Saṅghamittā to become members of the Buddhist Saṅgha.

Meanwhile The Thera Moggaliputta Tissa in order to propagate the Buddha's Dhamma sent Majjhantikathera to Kasmīra and Gandhāra, Mahādevathera to Mahimsakamaṇḍala, Rakkhitathera to Vanavāsī, Yonakadhammarakkhitathera to Aparāntaka, Mahādhammarakkhitathera to Mahārāṭṭha, Mahārakkhitathera to Yonakalokam, Majjhimathera to the Himavantadesa, the theras Soṇa and Uttara to Suvannabhumi, and the theras Mahinda, Ittiva, Uttiya and Bhaddasala to the Tambapaṇḍīpa. All the theras together succeeded in their mission. The Thera Mahinda together with his companions went to Ceylon when Devānampiyatissa was ruling there. King Devānampiyatissa was a great friend of Asoka, though the two had never seen each other. The Ceylonese king knowing that the theras were disciples of the Buddha received them with great honour. The people of Ceylon together with their king became followers of the Buddha. Many were established in the saraṇas.

The king with his 500 wives was established in the first stage

of sanctification when they heard the Thera Mahinda preaching the Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, and Saccasaṃyutta. When the Thera preached the Devadūta Suttanta to the masses, they were also placed in the first stage of sanctification.

At the request of the Thera Mahinda the King Devānaṃpiyatissa sent the Sāmaṇera Sumana to King Asoka in order to have relics so that he could build a thūpa. Sumana went to Pāṭaliputta and got from King Asoka relics contained in the bowl used by the Buddha. He then saw Sakka, the King of gods, and got from him the Buddha's right eye. Sumana came back to Laṅkā with the relics. The relics were received by Devānaṃpiyatissa with great care and honour. A great vihāra was built and the right eye of the Buddha was placed in it.

Anulādevī, Devānaṃpiyatissa's Brother's wife, became desirous of receiving pabbajjā. At the suggestion of the Thera Mahinda, Devānaṃpiyatissa sent his nephew Ariṭṭha to Asoka in order to bring a branch of the Bodhi tree to Ceylon and also to bring the Therī Saṅghamittā who would give pabbajjā to Anulā. King Asoka received Ariṭṭha with great honour when the latter came to Pāṭaliputta. The king readily consented to send a branch of the Bodhi tree and the Therī Saṅghamittā to Ceylon. In course of time Ariṭṭha came back to Ceylon with the branch and Saṅghamittā. The branch was transplanted at Anurādhapura with great honour. Anuladevī with five hundred young ladies received the pabbajjā ordination from the then Saṅghamittā. They gradually attained arahatship.

The great King Devānaṃpiyatissa built thūpas throughout Tambapaṇṇidīpa at the interval of a yojana.

Devānaṃpiyatissa was followed by a succession of rulers : Uttiya, Mahāsīva, and Sūratissa. But Sūratissa was defeated by the Damiḷas who usurped the throne of Laṅkā for some time. But the Damiḷas were overpowered by Asela, a son of Mūṭasiva. But a Damiḷa named Eḷāra came over to Laṅkā from the Choḷa country, defeated and killed Asela and became king of Ceylon. Eḷāra, however, could not rule for long, for he was killed and defeated by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

King Devānampiyatissa's second brother was Uparājā Mahānāga. The king's wife desiring that her son should be king, tried every means to put an end to Mahānāga's life. Mahānāga accompanied by his wife and followers fled to Rohaṇa and thence to Mahāgāma and began to rule there. His wife bore him two sons, Yaṭṭhālatissa and Tissa. After Mahānāga's death Yaṭṭhālatissa's death his son Goṭṭhābhaya became king. Goṭṭhābhaya was succeeded by Kākavaṇṇatissa who had two sons, Gāmini Abhaya and Tissa.

The country was under the yoke of the Damiḷas. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, when he came of age, expressed his desire to fight with the Damiḷas. But his father did not permit him to do so out of affection. But Duṭṭhagāmaṇi became very turbulent and repeatedly expressed his desire to free the country from the yoke of the Damiḷas. He fled from Mahāgāma as he was angry with his father. He was accordingly called Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. After the death of Kākavaṇṇatissa, Tissa, who was then at Dīghavāpi, came to Mahāgāma and performed his duties to the departed soul. He being afraid of his brother came back to Dīghavāpi with his mother and the elephant Kaṇḍula. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi came back to Mahāgāma and became king. On his accession to the throne he sent messengers to his brother demanding his mother and the elephant. Tissa refused to accede to the demand. The two brothers met in the battle-field. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was defeated in the battle. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi again marched with a huge army against his brother. This time he came out successful. The theras of the island brought about reconciliation between the two brothers.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi then decided to drive the Damiḷas out of the island. He marched with a mighty army against the Damiḷas. He first went to Mahiyaṅgana and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Damiḷas and built the Kañcuka thūpa at Mahiyaṅgana. The past history of this thūpa may be told here. At the time of the Buddha's visit to Laṅkā at the ninth month of His Enlightenment, Sumana, the Lord of gods, got from the Buddha his (the Blessed One's) hairs as relics to worship. A thūpa was raised 7 cubits in height over the relics at Mahiyaṅgana, the place which

the Buddha visited. After the Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna, Sarabhū Sariputta's disciple, came to Laṅkā with the collar-bone of the Buddha and deposited it in the same cetiya which was made 12 cubits in height. Devānāmpiyatissa's brother Cūḷābhaya made the cetiya 30 cubits in height and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi after defeating the Damiḷas made the cetiya 80 cubits high.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi succeeded in defeating and killing the thirty-two Damiḷa kings, the greatest of them being Eḷāra, and thus freed the country from the foreign domination. He then became the undisputed ruler of the country. He rewarded those who served him in his enterprise against the Damiḷas. He then devoted himself to promote the weal and happiness of his subjects and the interests of the Buddhist Saṅgha. The king built the Māricavaṭṭivihāra over the spear with the relic, with which he marched against the Damiḷas and routed them. The vihāra was dedicated to the Buddhist Saṅgha.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi then made known his desire to build the great thūpa, the splendid Sovanṇamāli, a hundred and twenty cubits in height, and an uposatha house, the Lohapāsāda, making it nine storeys high. The Lohapāsāda, making it nine storeys high. The Lohapāsāda was built after the design of the Palace of the gods. There were one thousand chambers in the pāsāda. On the pillars were figures of lions, tigers, and shapes of devatās. Some Jataka-tales were also fitly placed here and there. When the vihāra was finished, the king dedicated the same to the Buddhist Saṅgha.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi then resolved to build the Mahāthūpa without oppressing the people by levying taxes from them. He was very anxious how to get the materials to build the great thūpa. But the gods came to his rescue. He was provided with all the materials by the gods. The building of the Mahāthūpa was begun on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha. The foundation stone of the Great Cetiya was laid with great care and magnificence in presence of the bhikkhus who assembled there from different parts of Jambudīpa. In the relic-chamber the king placed a Bodhi tree, made up of jewels. Over it a beautiful canopy

was raised. The figures of the sun, moon, and stars and different lotus-flowers, made up of jewels, were fastened to the canopy. In the relic-chamber were depicted the setting in motion of the wheel of the doctrine by the Buddha, the preaching in the heaven of gods, the Mahāsamaya Suttanta, the exhortation to Rāhula, the Mahāmaṅgalasutta, the distribution of the relics by Doṇa, and many other scenes connected with the life of the Buddha.

One of the eight doṇas of the bodily relics of the Buddha, which was adored by the Koliyas of Rāmagāma and which was taken thence to the Nāga kingdom, was brought to Laṅkā to be deposited in the Mahāthūpa. The relics were then enshrined with great honour.

But before the making of the chatta and the plaster-work on the cetiya was finished, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi fell seriously ill. The king sent for his younger brother Tissa from Dīghavāpi and told him to complete the work of the thūpa that was left unfinished. Lying on a palanquin the king passed round the cetiya and paid his homage to it. He bade the scribe read aloud the book of meritorious deeds. It is stated that the king built 99 vihāras of which the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra, the Lohapāsāda, and the Mahāthūpa were his greatest works. The great king passed into the Tusita heaven.

Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vaṃsa

The Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vaṃsa or the history of the temple of Attanagalla consists of eleven chapters written in simple Pāli. Eight chapters deal with an account of King Siri-Saṅghabodhi and the last three chapters deal with the erection of various monumental and religious edifices on the spot where the king spent his last days. It reads like an historical novel. J. D'Alwis' English translation with notes and annotations deserves mention. Dr. G. P. Malalasekera has undertaken to prepare an edition and English translation of this work in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. There is an edition of this work published in Colombo, 1909, under the title, *Attanagala-vihāra-vaṃsaya*.

Dāṭhāvaṃsa

The Dāṭhāvaṃsa or the Dantadnātuvaṃsa means an account of the tooth-relic of the Buddha Gautama. Vaṃsa means chronicle, history, tradition, etc. Literally it means lineage, dynasty, etc. The Dāṭhāvaṃsa is a quasi-religious historical record written with the intention of edifying and at the same time giving an interesting story of the past. This work is noteworthy because it shows us Pāli as a medium of epic poetry.

The Author

The work was written by Mahāthera Dhammakitti of the city of Pulatti. He was a disciple of Sāriputta, the author of the Sāratthadīpanī-tīka, Sāratthamañjūsātīkā, Ratanapañcika-tīkā on the Candrayākaraṇa and the Vinayasaṅgraha. He was well versed in Sanskrit, Māgadhībhāṣā, tarkaśāstra (logic), vyākaraṇa (grammar), kāvya (poetry), āgama (religious literature), etc. He was fortunate enough to secure the post of a Rājaguru. Two vaṃsas of the Pāli Buddhist literature, the Sāsanavaṃsa and the Gandhavaṃsa, tell us that it was he who composed the Dāṭhāvaṃsa (P.T.S. Ed., p. 34 and J.P.T.S., 1886, p. 62). We know from the Dāṭhāvaṃsa that originally it was written by the poets in the Sinhalese language and later on rendered into Māgadhībhāṣā by Dhammakitti for the benefit of the people of the other countries at the request of Parakkamṇ, the Commander-in-chief of Ceylon, who placed Līlāvātī on the vacant throne of Ceylon. This Līlāvātī, later on, became the queen of Parakramabāhu, the king of Ceylon. (Verses 4-10).

Date of Composition

The Dāṭhāvaṃsa was written in the Buddha era 845 during the reign of King Kittisirimeghavaṃṇa of Ceylon. Kern says that it is also known as Daḷadāvaṃsa composed about 310 A.D. It was translated into Pāli in A.D. 1200 under the title of Dāṭhāvaṃsa (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 89).

Importance

The Dāṭhāvaṃsa is an important contribution to the history of Pāli Buddhist literature. It is an historical record of the incidents connected with the tooth-relic of the Buddha. It is as important as the Mahāvaṃsa and the Dīpavaṃsa. The history of Ceylon would be incomplete without it.

Style

The Dāṭhāvaṃsa is a specimen of fine poetry. It contains Pāli and some debased Sinhalese words. Its vocabulary is rich. Kern rightly remarks that it belongs to the class of compendiums and contains repetitions of passages from more ancient works with more or less apocryphal additions (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 9). In the first chapter, stanzas are written in jagaticanda. Sixty stanzas are written in vaṃsastha vṛtta and the last two in śragdharā vṛtta; in the second chapter, stanzas are written in anuṣṭupachanda in pathyavaktra vṛtta and in mandākrāṇṭa vṛtta; in the third chapter, the stanzas are written in triṣṭhupachanda in upajāta, indravajrā, upendravajrā, and śikhariṇī vṛttas; in the fourth chapter, stanzas are written in atiśakvaṛichanda in mālinī, sāddulavikriḍita vṛttas; and in the last chapter, stanzas are written in śakvaṛichanda in vasantatilaka and śragdharā vṛttas.

Subject-matter

The Dāṭhāvaṃsa gives an account of the tooth-relic of the Buddha which is said to have been brought to Ceylon by Dantakumāra, prince of Kaliṅga, from Dantapura, the capital of Kaliṅga. It consists of five chapters, a brief summary of which is given below.

Chapter I. While the Buddha Dīpaṅkara was coming to the city of Rammavatī at the invitation of the people of the city, a hermit named Sumedha showed his devotion by laying himself down on the muddy road which the Buddha was to cross. The Buddha walked over his body with his disciples. Sumedha prayed

to the Buddha Dīpaṅkara that he might be a Buddha himself in future. Dīpaṅkara granted him the boon whereupon he set himself in all earnestness, to fulfil the ten pāramitās (perfections). The hermit was in heaven prior to his last birth. At the instance of the gods, he was reborn in Kapilavastu in the family of Suddhodana and in the womb of Mahāmāyā. As soon as he was reborn, he stood up and looked round and was worshipped by men and gods. He went seven steps northwards. He was named Siddhatthakumāra. Three palaces, suitable for the three seasons of the year, were built for him. While going to the garden, he saw an old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a hermit. He then made up his mind to renounce the worldly life. With the help of the gods he left the palace and reached the river Anomā and on the banks of the river, he cut off his hair and threw it upwards to the sky. Indra got the hair and built a caitya over it which is still known as Cūḷamaṇi Caitya. A potter brought a yellow robe, a beggar's bowl, etc., for him. He put on the yellow robe and left for Rājagaha. Thence he went to Uruvelā and made strenuous efforts for six years to acquire bodhi (enlightenment). In the evening of the full-moon day of Vaiśākh, he went to the foot of the Bodhi tree and sat on a seat made of straw and defeated Māra's army. In the last watch of the night he acquired supreme knowledge. After the attainment of bodhi, he spent a week, seated on the same seat at the foot of the Bo-tree, enjoying the bliss of emancipation. He spent another week, looking at the Bodhi tree with steadfast eyes. Another week was spent by him at a place called Rataṇaghara near the Bodhi tree, meditating upon paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination). He then went to the foot of the Ajapālanigrodha tree where he spent a week in meditation. He went to Mucalinda nāgabavana where he was saved by the nāga from hailstorm. He then visited the Rājāyatana. Thence he started for Isipatanamigadāva to preach his first sermon known as Dhammacakkapavattana, but on the way two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, offered him madhupiṇḍika (a kind of food prepared with honey and molasses). The Buddha placed them in two refuges. He then reached

Isipatana on the fullmoon day of the month of Āṣāḍha. He preached the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta to the first band of five disciples headed by Aññakondañña.

Chapter II. The Buddha was thinking of doing good to the world. Nine months after his attainment of bodhi, the Buddha made an aerial voyage to Laṅkā to fulfil his mission and descended on the garden named Mahānāgavana. Then he went to the meeting of the yakkhas and terrified them by creating storm, darkness, and heavy rains. The yakkhas having been greatly troubled by these, came to the Buddha and asked for protection. In the midst of the meeting he sat down on a seat of leather but by his miraculous power he made the seat very hot and owing to the excessive heat radiating from the seat, the yakkhas became very much distressed and the leather expanded so as to cover the whole of the island of Laṅkā and the yakkhas gathered together on the coast, unable to bear the excessive heat. The Giridīpa which was full of shady trees, was brought close to the island of Laṅkā by the Buddha and the yakkhas, to save themselves from the extreme heat, went into the Giridīpa which was again set on its former site and thus the island of Laṅkā was rid of the yakkhas. As soon as the yakkhas left the island of Laṅkā he stopped his miracle and many a god came to the island and surrounded him. The Buddha preached to the devas Dhamma and gave one of his hairs to God Sumana who built a caitya over it on the top of the Sumanakūṭa Hill and worshipped it. Then the Buddha returned to Jetavana. Again he went to Laṅkā five years after his enlightenment and pacified the contest between Cūlodara and Mahodara for a jewelled throne. Again he came to the island of Laṅkā eight years after his enlightenment being invited by a nāga named Maṇiakkhika. The Buddha with five hundred disciples went to the house of Maṇiakkhika in Kalyāṇī. A caitya built over the seat offered by Maṇiakkhika and used and left by the Buddha, was worshipped by the nāgas there. This caitya was named Kalyāṇī Caitya. The Buddha then visited the Sumanakūṭa Hill and left his footprints there. Thence he went to Dīghavāpī where he sat in meditation for some time. Thence

he visited the site of the Bodhi tree at Anurādhapura where also he sat in meditation for some time. Thence he visited the Thūpārāma and finished his work in Ceylon. He preached Dhamma for forty-five years and obtained parinibbāna on the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha in the garden named Upavattana of the Malla kings near Kusīnārā, he preached Dhamma to the Mallas, in the middle watch he made Subhadda an arahat, and in the last watch he instructed the bhikkhus to be ardent and strenuous. Early in the morning he rose up from meditation and passed away. Many miracles were seen after his parinibbāna, e.g., the earth quaked from end to end, celestial music was played, all trees became adorned with flowers, though it was not the time for flowers to bloom. The body of the Buddha was wrapped up in new clothes and cotton, five hundred times. It was put into a golden pot, full of oil. A funeral pyre was prepared with scented wood such as sandal, twenty cubits in height, and the Malla chiefs put the oil-pot in the pyre. As Mahākassapa did not arrive, fire could not be kindled because it was desired by the gods that the Buddha's body must not be burnt before Mahākassapa had worshipped it. As soon as Mahākassapa came and worshipped the dead body of the Buddha, fire was kindled. The dead body was so completely burnt as to leave no ashes or charcoal. Only the bones of the Buddha of the colour of pearl and gold remained. On account of the Buddha's desire the bones became separated excepting the four bones of the head, two collarbones, and teeth. Sarabhu, a disciple of Sāriputta, went to Mahiāngana in Ceylon taking with him one of the collar-bones of the Buddha and built a caitya. An arahat named Khema took a left tooth-relic of the Buddha and over the remaining bone-relics, kings of eight countries began to quarrel. Doṇa settled the dispute and divided the bones equally among the eight countries. The kings after having received the relics, took them to their respective kingdoms, built caityas over them, and worshipped them. One tooth-relic taken by Khema was given to Brahmadata, king of Kālīṅga, who built a caitya over it and worshipped it. Brahmadata's son, Kāsīrāja, succeeded his father

and worshipped, like his dead father, the caitya built over the toothrelic of the Buddha. Kāsīrāja's son, Sunanda, succeeded him and did the same. Sunanda's son, Guhasīva, succeeded him to the throne and did the same. Guhasīva's minister, who was a false believer, asked the king whether there was anything supernatural in the tooth-relic of the Buddha which the king worshipped and for which valuable offerings were given by him. The king then narrated the various qualities of the tooth-relic which showed miracles when prayed for. The minister gave up his false belief and became a follower of the Buddha. The heretics seeing this became very much dissatisfied. Guhasīva ordered all the nigaṇṭhas to be driven out of the kingdom. The nigaṇṭhas went to King Paṇḍu of Pāṭaliputta, who was then a very powerful king of Jambudīpa. They complained to Paṇḍu that King Guhasīva being a king subordinate to him (Paṇḍu) worshipped the bone of a dead person (that is, Buddha's relic) without worshipping Brahmā, Siva, and others whom he (Paṇḍu) worshipped and they further complained that Guhasīva ridiculed the deities worshipped by him (Paṇḍu). Hearing this King Paṇḍu grew angry and sent one of his subordinate kings called Cittayāna with a fourfold army to arrest and bring Guhasīva with the tooth-relic. Cittayāna informed Guhasīva of his mission and Guhasīva welcomed him cordially, showed him the tooth-relic of the Buddha, and narrated to him the virtues possessed by it. Cittayāna became very much pleased with him and became a follower of the Buddha.

Chapter III. Cittayāna then informed Guhasīva of the order of King Paṇḍu. Guhasīva with the tooth-relic on his head, followed by a large number of followers with valuable presents for King Paṇḍu, went to Pāṭaliputta. The nigaṇṭhas requested King Paṇḍu not to offer any seat to Guhasīva, and they also requested him to set fire to the tooth-relic. A big pit of burning charcoal was dug by the king's command and the heretics after taking away the tooth-relic, threw it into the fire. As soon as it came in contact with fire, fire became as cool as the winter breeze and a lotus blossomed in the fire and in the midst of the lotus, the

tooth-relic was placed. Seeing this wonder, many heretics gave up false beliefs, but the king himself being a false believer for a long time, could not give up false belief and ordered the tooth-relic to be destroyed by stone, which found its place in the sky. The nigaṇṭhas asked the king not to attach great importance to the miracles as they were not unprecedented. The tooth-relic was put in a casket and the nigaṇṭhas were asked to take it out and throw it away, but none could do so. The king declared that he who would be able to take out the tooth-relic, would be rewarded. Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson recollecting the virtues of the Buddha and the deeds done by his great grandfather for the Buddha, was very much pleased to know of the declaration and went to take the tooth-relic out of the casket. He praised the tooth-relic much and then the tooth-relic rose up to the sky and then came down to rest on the head of the great grandson of Anāthapiṇḍika. The nigaṇṭhas told King Paṇḍu that due to the influence of Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson the tooth-relic could rise up to the sky and come down to rest on the head of the great grandson. The nigaṇṭhas denied the influence of the tooth-relic which displayed various miracles according to the desire of Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson. The tooth-relic was thrown into a moat. Cittayāna advised the king that he should follow Dhamma of the Buddha because by worshipping the tooth-relic, Bimbisāra and other kings attained nirvāṇa. Thus advised he gave up false belief and brought the tooth-relic with great pomp. King Guhasīva was cordially received by King Paṇḍu and both of them did many meritorious deeds.

Chapter IV. A king named Khiradhāra came to fight with King Paṇḍu who became victorious. Paṇḍu after re-establiſhing peace in his kingdom, sent back Guhasīva with Buddha's tooth-relic to Kāliṅga. Dantakumāra, son of the king of Ujjain, came to Kāliṅga to worship the tooth-relic. Guhasīva cordially welcomed him and became pleased to hear the qualities of Dantakumāra and afterwards gave his daughter in marriage to Dantakumāra. After the defeat of Dantakumāra, his sons and nephews came to Malayavana, a town near Dantapura, to take

away the tooth-relic by force. Fully realising the danger, Guhasīva asked his son-in-law and daughter to go to Ceylon with the tooth-relic. As the king of Ceylon and his subjects were faithful to the Buddha, he thought Ceylon would be the best and safest place for the relic. At this time Mahāsenā, a friend of Guhasīva, was the king of Ceylon. The son-in-law and the daughter with the relic sailed by a merchant ship from the port of Tāmbralīpti. The ship reached Ceylon safely with the relic.

Chapter V. Dantakumāra and his wife with the relic went to a village near the eastern gate of Anurādhapura in the ninth year of the reign of Kittisirimegha, son of Mahādisena. Dantakumāra met an arahat and informed him of the tooth-relic which he brought to Ceylon for its safety. The arahat after hearing this, went to the king and informed him of the matter. Mahādisena, the preceding king of Ceylon, was a friend of Guhasīva, king of Kaliṅga, who did not know that Mahādisena had died and his son, Kittisirimegha, was on the throne of Ceylon. Dantakumāra and his wife became very much grieved to know that Mahādisena was no more and his son Kittisirimegha had succeeded him on the throne. The king of Ceylon after learning from the arahat that the tooth-relic was brought to Ceylon for its safety by Dantakumāra and his wife, became very much pleased. The king and the queen of Ceylon went barefooted to Meghagirivihāra, residence of the arahat, to receive the relic. They brought the relic to the palace and placed it on the throne with great devotion. The citizens of Ceylon, the bhikkhus well-versed in the Tripiṭakas, and the arahats came to worship it. The king knew that the colour of the relic was as white as the morning star. But finding it not to be so when it was taken out of the casket, suspicion arose in the mind of the king, but his suspicion was soon removed when the relic displayed several miracles. The king built a special temple and kept it there. All the Sinhalese monks and householders assembled at Anurādhapura to worship the tooth-relic. At this time a question arose as to the section of the monks to whom the tooth-relic would be entrusted for its safety and management. The king decided that the tooth-

relic would select its own abode. The tooth-relic placed on a fully decorated elephant was taken round the city and was brought to the place where the Thera Mahinda preached his first sermon after reaching Ceylon. The king of Ceylon ruled that the relic would be taken round the city once in a year in spring. The temple where it was kept, was extended at the cost of nine lacs. After the death of Kittisirimegha, his successors such as Buddhādāsa worshipped it with devotion and protected it.¹⁷

Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa

The Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa has been edited by Minayeff of St. Petersburg in J.P.T.S., 1885. It is a work by a modern Burmese author of unknown date. It is a mixture of prose and poetry. The language is simple and the diction noteworthy. It contains an account of the thūpas raised by Sakka, Pajjunna, Maṇimekhalā, Addhikanāvika, Varuṇanāgarāja, and Sattanāvika over the hair relics of the Buddha.

Gandhavaṃsa

The Gandhavaṃsa has been edited by Minayeff. His edition is based on Burmese manuscripts. It is a small and interesting outline of the history of Pāli books. It is written mostly in prose. Besides the books of the canon, there is contained in it a sketch of the history of more modern pāli works far more de-

¹⁷ The *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* has been edited in Devanāgarī character and translated into English by Dr. B.C. Law and published by Messrs. Motilal Banarsidas, proprietors of the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore. Besides, there are two Sinhalese editions (by Terunnanse and Silālaṅkāra), and a P.T.S. (London) edition published in 1884 in J.P.T.S. There is another English translation of this work by Mutu Coomaraswami, published by Messrs. Trübner and Co., London. A French version of this work appeared in Paris in 1884 under the name *Le Dāṭhāvaṃsa ; ou, Histoire de la dent relique du Buddha Gotama: poème épique pāli de Dhammakitti*. There is a commentary on the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* known as the *Dāṭhādhatuvaṃsaṭṭikā* mentioned in an inscription of the 15th century A.D. *Vide* also G. Turnour: *Account of the Tooth-Relic of Ceylon* (J.A.S.B. vi.).

tailed than that in the Sāsanavaṃsa. A list of authors and their works as stated in the Gandhavaṃsa is given below:

Mahākaccāyana : Kaccāyanagandho, Mahāniruttigandho,
Cullaniruttigandho, Nettigandho, Peṭakopadesa-
gandho, Vaṇṇanītigandho.

Buddhaghosa : Visuddhimaggo, Sumaṅgalavilāsini,
Papañcasūdanī, Sāratthapakāsini, Manorathapūraṇī,
Samantapāsādikā, Paramatthakathā, Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī,
Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Jātakaṭṭhakathā.

Buddhadatta : Vinayavinicchayo, Uttaravinicchayo,
Aḅhidhammāvatāro, Madhuraṭṭhakathā, Itivuttaka-
aṭṭhakathā, Udānaṭṭhakathā, Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā,
Theraḡāthāṭṭhakathā, Vimānavatthussa Vimalavilāsini
nāma aṭṭhakathā, Petavatthussa Vimalavilāsini nāma
aṭṭhakathā, Paramatthamañjūsā,
Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathādīnaṃ catunnaṃ
aṭṭhakathānaṃ Līnatthapakāsini nāma ṭīka,
Jātakaṭṭhakathāya Līnatthapakāsini nāma ṭīka,
Paramatthadīpanī, Līnatthavaṇṇanā.

Mahāvajirabuddhi : Vinayagaṇḍhi.

Vimalabuddhi : Mukhamattadīpanī.

Cullavajiro : Atthabyakkhyānaṃ.

Dīpaṅkaro : Rūpasiddhipakaraṇaṃ, Rūpasiddhiṭikaṃ
Summapaṅcasuttaṃ.

Culladhammapālo : Saccasaṅkhepaṃ.

Kassapo : Mohavicchedanī, Vimaticchedanī,
Buddhavaṃsa, Anāgatavaṃsa.

Mahānāma : Saddhammapakāsani, Mahāvaṃsa,
Cullavaṃsaṃ.

Upasena : Saddhammaṭṭhitikaṃ.

Moggallāna : Moggallānabyākaraṇaṃ.

Samgharakkhita : Subodhālaṅkāraṃ.

Vuttodayakāra : Vuttodaya, Saṃbandhacintā, Navaṭīkaṃ.

Dhammasiri : Omit Anuruddha.

- Anuruddha : Khuddasikkham.
Anuruddha : Paramatthavinicchayaṃ, Nāmarūpapari-
chedaṃ, Abhidhammatthasaṃgahapakaraṇaṃ.
Khema : Khemaṃ.
Sāriputta : Sāratthadīpanī, Vinayasaṃgahapakaraṇaṃ,
Sāratthamañjūsam, Pañcakaṃ.
Buddhanāga : Vinayatthamañjūsam.
Navo Moggallāna : Abhidhānappadīpikaṃ.
Vācissaro : Sambandhacintāṭīkā,
Moggallānabyākaraṇassaṭīkā,
Nāmarūpaparichedaṭīkā, Padarūpavibhāvaṇam,
Khemapakaraṇassaṭīkā, Mūlasikkhāyaṭīkā,
Vuttodayavivaraṇaṃ, Sumaṅgalapasādani,
Bālāvatāro, Yogavinicchayo, Sīmālaṅkāra,
Rūpārūpavibhāga, Paccayasaṃgaho.
Sumaṅgala : Abhidhammatthavikāsanī,
Abhidhammattha-Vibhāvanī.
Dhammakitti : Dantadhātupakaraṇaṃ.
Medhamkaro : Jinacaritaṃ.
Saddhammasiri : Saddatthabhedacintā.
Devo : Sumaṅakūṭavaṇṇanā.
Cullabuddhaghoso : Jāttagāṇidānaṃ, Sotattagāṇidānaṃ.
Raṭṭhapāla : Madhurasavāḥini.
Aggavaṃsa : Saddanītipakaraṇaṃ.
Vimalabuddhi : Mahāṭīkaṃ.
Uttama : Bālāvatāraṭīkaṃ, Liṅgatthavivaraṇaṭīkaṃ.
Kycavāraṅṅo : Saddabindu, Paramatthabindupakaraṇaṃ.
Saddhammaguru : Saddavuttīpakāsaṇaṃ.
Aggapaṇḍita : Lokuppatti.
Saddhammajotipāla : Sīmālaṅkāraṇassaṭīkā,
Mātikatthadīpanī, Vinayasamuṭṭhānadīpanī,
Gandhasāro, Paṭṭhānagaṇaṇānayo, Saṅkhepa-
vaṇṇanā, Suttaniddeso, Pātimokkhaṇḍaṇī.
Nava Vimalabuddhi : Abhidhammapaṇṇarasatṭhānaṃ.

Vepullabuddhi : Saddasāratthajālīniyaṭṭikā, Vuttodayaṭṭikā,
Paramatthamañjūsā, Dāsagaṇḍhivaṇṇanā, Magadha-
bhūtāvidaggaṃ, Vidadhimukkhamaṇḍanaṭṭikā.

Ariyavaṃsa : Maṇisāramañjūsāṃ, Maṇidīpaṃ,
Gaṇḍābharanaṃ, Mahānissaraṃ, Jātakavisodhanaṃ.

Cīvaro : Jaṅghadāsassa ṭikāṃ.

Nava Medhamkaro : Lokadīpakasāraṃ.

Sāriputto : Saddavuttipakāsakassaṭṭikāṃ.

Saddhammaguru : Saddavuttipakāsanaṃ.

Dhammasenāpati : Kārikaṃ, Etimāsamidīpakāṃ, and
Mānohāraṃ.

Nāṇasāgaro : Liṅgattavivaraṇapakāsanaṃ.

Abhaya : Saddatthabhedacintāya mahāṭṭikāṃ.

Guṇasāgaro : Mukhamattasāraṃ taṭṭikāṃ.

Subhūtacandana : Liṅgattavivaraṇapakaranaṃ.

Udumbaraṇāmācariyo : Peṭakopadesassa ṭikāṃ.

Upatisācariya : Anāgatavaṃsassa aṭṭhakathā.

Buddhapiya : Sāratthasaṅgahanāmagandho.

Dhammānandācariya : Kaccāyanasāro,

Kaccāyanabhedanā, Kaccāyanasārasaṭṭikā.

Gandhācariya : Kurundigandha.

Nāgītācariya : Saddasāratthajālīnī.

Works of unknown authors mentioned in the Gandhavaṃsa
are stated below :

Mahāpaccariyaṃ, Pūrāṇaṭṭikā, Mūlasikkhāṭṭikā, Līnattha-
pakāsīnī, Nisandeho, Dhammānusāraṇī, Neyyāsandati,
Neyyāsandatiyā ṭikā, Sumahāvātāro, Lokapaññattipakaraṇaṃ,
Tathāgatupattipakaraṇaṃ, Nalātadhātuvāṇṇanā, Sihalavattu,
Dhammadīpako, Paṭipattisaṅgaho, Visuddhimaggagandhi,
Abhidhammagandhi, Nettipakaraṇagandhi, Visuddhimagga-
cullanaṇaṭṭikā, Sotappamālinī, Pasādanī, Subodhānākarassa
Navaṭṭikā, Guḷhatthaṭṭikāṃ, Bālapabodhanaṃ, Saddatthabhedacintāya
majjhimaṭṭikāṃ, Kārikāyaṭṭikāṃ, Etimāsamidīpikāyaṭṭikāṃ,
Dīpavaṃsa, Thūpavaṃsa, and Bodhivaṃsa.

Sāsanavaṃsa

The author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa* gives an outline of Buddha's life and briefly deals with the three Buddhist Councils held during the reigns of the three Indian kings, Ajātasattu, Kālāsoka, and Asoka. After the Third Council was over, Moggaliputta Tīssathera sent Buddhist missionaries to different countries for the propagation of the Buddhist faith. Paññāsāmī, the author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, speaks of the nine regions visited by the missionaries. But of these nine, five are placed in Indo-China. Dr. Mabel Bode is of opinion that the author's horizon seems to be limited, first by an orthodox desire to claim most of the early teachers for the countries of the South (and hence to prove the purest possible sources for the Southern doctrines), and secondly by a certain feeling of national pride. According to this account, Mahā-Moggaliputta Tīssa (as if with a special care for the religious future of Maramma) sent two separate missionaries to neighbouring regions in the valley of the Irawaddy—besides three others, who visited Laos and Pegu.

The Thera Mahinda went to Ceylon for the propagation of the faith during the reign of the Sinhalese King Devānaṃpiyatīssa who was a contemporary of the Indian King Asoka.

Sona and Uttara visited Suvāṇṇabhūmi (Sudhammapura—that is, Thaton at the mouth of the Sittaung River). The author holds that even before the sending out of the missionaries to Suvāṇṇabhūmi by Moggaliputta Tīssathera, the President of the Third Buddhist Council, Buddha came here personally with a number of bhikkhus to preach his doctrines.

Mahārakkhita Thera spread Buddhism in the Yona country (the country of the Shan tribes about Zimmé).

Yonakarakkhita Thera visited the country of Vanavāsī (the region round Prome) and propagated Buddhism there.

Majjhantika visited Kasmīra and Gandhāra (the Gandhāra country) lay on the right bank of the Indus, south of Kabul, and the whole country became a strong Buddhist hold.

It was through Mahā-Revata Thera that Buddhism found its way into Mahīśakamaṇḍala (Andhra country).

Mahā-Dhammarakkhita Thera went to Mahārāṭṭha (Mahā-nagara-rāṭṭha or Siam) and spread Buddhism there.

Majjhima Thera spread the Buddhist faith in Cinarāṭṭha (the Himavantapadesa of the Ceylon books).

Now we shall deal with the history of the spread of Buddhism in Aparantarāṭṭha which (placed by European scholars west of the Punjab) is no other than the Sunāparanta of the Burmese, i.e., the region lying west of the upper Irawaddy.

The Sāsanavaṃsa brings before us a picture of the relations of State and Saṃgha in Burma from the time of Anuruddha, with his constant adviser, Arahanta, to the time of Meng-Dun-Meng, with his Council of Mahātheras. Those relations were one of mutual dependence. The Order, though enriched by the gifts of pious laymen, yet depends, in the last resort, upon the king. The peaceful, easy life dear to the Burmese bhikkhu, the necessary calm for study or the writing of books, the land or water to be set apart for ecclesiastical ceremonies, all these are only secured by the king's favour and protection. This accounts for the general loyalty of the Saṃgha to the head of the State. The king's despotism is also held in check.

"At the lowest, the royal gifts of vihāras and the building of cetiyas are either the price paid down for desired prosperity and victory, or the atonement for bloodshed and plunder; and the despot dares not risk the terrors, the degradation, that later births, in coming time, may hold in store for him, if he injures or neglects the Saṃgha." As a rule, the king was the recognised authority in ecclesiastical affairs. This is evident from Anuruddha's vigorous reforms. The Saṃgharāja is not the elected Head of the Order. He is appointed by the king, whose favourite and tutor he usually is. It appears from the Pārūpana Ekaṃsika controversy that the king's power to settle a religious question by royal decree is full recognised by the Saṃgha. But we also see the king himself under his ācariya's influence, so far as to ensure his favouring the orthodox or unorthodox school, according to the views of the Saṃgharāja.

The history of religion in Mramma is nothing more than

the history of the Buddhist order in Sunāparanta and Tambādīpa. The history of the Burmese as a nation centres in a group of cities —Pugān, Sagain, Ava, Panyā, Amarapura, Mandalay—each, in its turn, the seat of Kings.

The early Buddhist stronghold in Burma was at Sudhammapura, the capital of Manohari, king of Pegu. Anuruddha, king of Pugān, at the instance of Arahanta, a great thera who came from Sudhammapura to Pugān, made war with Manohari and brought the sacred relics and books to Pugān. All the members of the Saṅgha in Thaton (Sudhammapura) were also transferred to Pugān. Anuruddha further sent for copies from Ceylon, which Arahanta compared with those of Pegu, to settle the readings.

During the reign of Narapatisisu, the celebrated teacher, Uttarājīva, came from Sudhammapura to Arimaddana and established religion there. His pupil Chapada who spent ten years studying in Ceylon returned with four colleagues to the capital. After the death of Chapada separate schools came into existence, having their origin in certain differences that arose between the three surviving teachers —Sīvali, Tamalinda, and Ānanda. The schools are together known as Pacchāgaṇa to distinguish them from the earlier school in Arimaddana (Purimagana) founded by Arahanta.

The reign of Kyocvā is highly important for the history of Buddhism. He was himself the author of two manuals : Paramatthabindu and Saddabinḍu for the use of his wives, and one of his daughters wrote the Vibhatvattha. We are told of the science and zeal of the women of Arimaddana, and anecdotes are told of their skill in grammar and the keenness of their wit.

In the reign of Bureng Naung religion thrived most. It is recorded of him that he even forced Buddhism on the Shāns and Muslims in the north of his kingdom.

In the reign of Siri-Mahāsīhasūrasudhammarājā begins a new chapter in the history of Burmese Buddhism—the Pārupana-Ekaṁsika controversy. The rise and many phases of the dispute are set forth at length by the author of the Sāsanavaṁsa. Two

sects arose : the Ekamsika sect (it was named so for going about in the village with one shoulder uncovered by the upper garment) and the Pārūpana sect (this school strictly observed the wearing of the upper garment on both shoulders, during the village rounds). During the reign of Bodoah Prā the question was settled for good. A royal decree established the Pārūpana practices for the whole of the kingdom.

During the reign of Meng-dun-Meng we come to the last controversy, perhaps recorded because it points to the influence of the Burmese Saṅgha in Ceylon. An ancient Sīmā in the island (Ceylon) was the subject of dispute. The matter was brought for judgment to the Saṅgharājā at Mandalay, by deputations from both sides. The Saṅgharājā gave judgment after consulting various sacred texts. The members of both sides received presents from the king. Thus the history of religion in Aparanta closes.

The edition of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*¹⁸ is based on two palm-leaf MSS in the British Museum. It is a non-canonical book and is a text of Burmese authorship. It is a very interesting historical work. The author Paññaswāmi, who dates his book 1223 of the Burmese Common Era 1861 A.D., was the tutor of the then reigning king of Burma and himself a pupil of the head of the Order at Mandalay. The table of contents promises a general history of Buddhism drawn from a few well-known Pāli works, e.g., Aṭṭhakathā, Vinaya Piṭaka, Mahāvaṃsa, and Dīpavaṃsa. Events are brought up to the time of the Third Council in the time of Asoka and the sending forth of missionaries by the Thera Mahā-Moggaliputta Tissa. The later history of religion consists of nine chapters, which falls into two parts. The first part consists of a few legends strung together with quotations from Buddhaghosa and Dīpavaṃsa. The accounts of Ceylon and Burma seem to be more careful and complete than those of other matters of this group. The second part covers three-fifths of the book and treats

¹⁸ Read *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa* edited by Jñānatilaka Nāyaks Punnāṇse and *Sāsanavaṃsadīpaya* by Vimalasāra Unnāṇse. Read also *The author of the Sāsanavaṃsa* by M. Bode, J.R.A.S., 1899, pp. 674-676.

solely of the history of Buddhism in Burma proper. In part one, the section dealing with the missions strikes the key-note of the Sāsanavaṃsa. A few geographical notes explained the nine regions visited by the first missionaries. A careful study of this work shows the author's intimate acquaintance with the commentaries. The style imitates that of Buddhaghosa and his successors. There are no points of philological interest. The book gives us an interesting record of the part played by the Buddha's religion in the social and intellectual life. Paññaswāmi's history is a purely ecclesiastical piece of work. This work has been edited by Mabel Bode, Ph.D., for the P.T.S., London.

CHAPTER VII

Pāli manuals

Introduction

Saṅgaha is an earlier Pāli nomenclature for both a compilation and a manual. The later term *Atthasāra* is precisely an equivalent of the English handbook or manual. The Buddhist teachers had indeed developed the art of manual writing much earlier, the *Khuddakapāṭha*, the *Pātimokkha*, and the *Abhidhamma* treatises, all partaking of the character of manuals. The manuals were written in both prose and verse and in some cases in the form of *Kārikās*. As a matter of fact most of the works of Thera Buddhadatta represent so many manuals in the shape of *Kārikās*. Buddhaghosa's writings are conspicuous by the absence of such manuals with the solitary exception of the *Visuddhimagga*. The same holds true in the case of Dhammapāla's writings. The art continued nevertheless and coming to somewhat later times we have a number of works that deserve to be classed under manuals. Although the subject-matters of these manuals vary, one predominant feature of each of them is this that it presents its theme systematically in a somewhat terse and concise form, purporting to be used as a handbook of constant reference.

Saccasaṅkhepa

The *Saccasaṅkhepa* is a religious work on truth written by Dhammapāla Thera. Malalasekera points out that there seems to be some uncertainty as to the authorship and date of the *Saccasaṅkhepa*. The *Saddhammasaṅgaha* assigns it to Ānanda.¹ The *Saccasaṅkhepa* has been edited by Dhammārāma Bhikkhu. There are five chapters in it dealing with rūpa (form), vedanā (feeling), citta-pāvatti (thought), pakiṇṇakasaṅgaha, and nibbāna. It is known as the summary of the truth, published by the P.T.S. in J.P.T.S., 1917-1919. It consists of 387 stanzas. Rūpa or form is one of the five khandhas. The destruction of the four elements means the destruction of rūpa. There are three kinds of vedanā or feelings, feeling that is pleasant, feeling that is unpleasant, and feeling that is neither pleasant nor unpleasant, i.e., indifferent. All the three vedanās are to be done away with, for they are painful. Citta or thought when attached to raga or passion leads to repeated births which are full of misery. When citta is detached from passion there is no rebirth for a being. The *Pakiṇṇakasaṅgahavibhāga* treats of miscellaneous subjects, e.g., pride, sloth, niggardliness, and their evil effects. The last chapter deals with nirvāṇa which means destruction of all passions and desires and avoidance of all worldly miseries.

Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha

The *Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha*² has served for probably eight centuries as a primer of psychology and philosophy in Burma and Ceylon, and a whole literature of exegesis has grown up around it, the latest additions to which are but of yesterday. The manual is ascribed to a teacher named Anuruddha ; but nothing is known about him except the fact that he had compiled

¹ *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 202.

² *Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha*, in compendium *Buddhistischer Philosophie und Psychologie*, Vol. I, by Brahmācārī Govinda deserves mention.

two other treatises on philosophy, and one of them was written while the author was at Kāñcipura or Conjeeveram. Burmese tradition asserts that he was a thera of Ceylon and wrote the compendium at the Sinhalese vihāra founded by Somadevī, queen of King Vattaḡamaṇi who flourished between 88-76 B.C., a date fictitiously early for the book. In fact, Anuruddha is believed to have lived earlier than 12th but later than the 8th century A.D. Sāriputta compiled a paraphrase to this book. The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha has been edited and published in J.P.T.S., 1883, and translated with notes by Shwe Zan Aung and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids under the name of the Compendium of Philosophy included in the P.T.S. translation series.

Other contemporary philosophical manuals

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha is classed in Burmese bibliography under a classified list of Philosophical manuals, nine in number. They are:

1. Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha, by Anuruddha, 2. Paramattha Vinicchaya, by Anuruddha, 3. Abhidhammāvatāra, by Buddhaddatta, 4. Rūpārūpa vibhāga, by Buddhaddatta, 5. Saccasaṅkhepa, by Dhammapāla, 6. Mohavicchedanī, by Kassapa, 7. Khemapakaraṇa, by Khema, 8. Nāmācārādīpaka, by Saddhamma Jotipāla, and 9. Nāmarūpapariccheda, by Anuruddha.

Exegetical literature on the book

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha, because of its exclusively condensed treatment, stimulated a large growth of ancillary works, of which the following have uptill now been known.

A. Four *ṭīkā*s or commentaries: 1. Porāṇa*ṭīkā*; by Navavimāla Buddhi of Ceylon, 2. Abhidhammattha-vibhāvanī, by Sumaṅgala of Ceylon, 3. Saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā, by Saddhamma Jotipāla of Burma, and 4. Paramattha-dīpanī-*ṭīkā*, by Ledi Sadaw of Burma.

B. A 'Key' to the *ṭīkā*-gyaw, entitled Maṇisāramaṅju, by Ariyavaṇsa of Sagaing, Burma.

C. A commentary entitled Madhu-Sāratthadīpanī, by

Mahānanda of Hanthawadda Burma.

D. A number of works, not in Pāli, but in Burmese:

1. Abhidhammattha-saṅgana-madhu, a modern work by Mogaung Sadaw, 2. Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha-gandhi, a modern work by Payagyi Sadaw, 3. Paramattha-Sarūpa-bhedanī, by Visuddhārāma Sadaw. 4. Abhidhammattha-Sarūpa-dīpaka, by Sadaw, 5. Abhidhammattha-Sarūpa-dīpaka, by the late Myo-byingyi, and 6. a number of analytical works entitled Akauk.

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha and the Visuddhimagga

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha covers very largely the same range of subject-matter as that of the Visuddhimagga, though the amplitude of treatment and the order and emphasis of treatment in each are different. But they are to some extent complementary, and as such still hold the field as modern text-books for students of Buddhism in Buddhist countries.

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha is so highly condensed that it consists, for the most part, of terse, jejune sentences, which are not easily intelligible to lay readers. It is, therefore, profitable to have a résumé of the main topics and problems of the whole work as a Manual of Buddhist Psychology and Philosophy.

Mind

Mind is ordinarily defined as that which is conscious of an object ; and the Buddhists have tried to frame their definition with the help of fifty-two mental attributes or properties enumerated in Part II of the Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha. But the definition of mind is also a division of mind, and our author's division into vedanā, nāṇa, and saṅkhāra corresponds to Bain's division of the mind into feeling, thought or intellect, and will or volition.

Consciousness (viññāna) has, therefore, been defined as the relation between ārammaṇika (subject) and ārammaṇa (object). In this relation the object presented is termed paccaya

(the relating thing) and the subject, paccayuppanna (the thing related). The two terms are thus relative.

The object of Consciousness is either object of Sense or object of Thought. Object of sense subdivides itself into five classes sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch, which are collectively termed pañcārammaṇa (fivefold object). The object of thought also consists of five sub-clauses: citta (mind), cetasika (mental properties), pasāda, rūpa and sukhumarūpa (sensitive and subtle qualities of body), paññati (name, idea, notion, concept), and nibbāna. These are collectively termed dhammārammaṇa.

Paññatti

The Paññatti object consists of several subclauses. Paññatti is either (1) that which makes known (paññāpetīti); or (2) that which is made known (paññāpiyatīti), corresponding to our author's terminology—Saddapaññatti and Atthapaññatti which are undoubtedly relative terms. Saddapaññatti is a name (of a thing) which, when expressed in words, or represented by a sign is called a 'term'. It is synonymous with nāma-paññatti. Atthapaññatti is the idea or notion of the attributes of a thing made known or represented by a name. In other words, it is equivalent to 'concept' and is subdivided into various classes. Paññatti has been distinguished from Paramattha in the sense that the former is nominal and conceptual whereas the latter is real.

The object comprehending, as it does, the subject, is wider, more extensive than the latter. This is probably one reason why greater prominence is given to the object paṭṭhāna. In Buddhism there is no actor apart from the action, no percipient apart from perception. In other words, there is no conscious subject behind consciousness.

Life and Ancient view

Like the current of the river (nadi soto viya) is the Buddhist idea of existence. For no two consecutive moments is the

fabric of the body the same, and this theory of the ceaseless change or flux is called *anicca-dhamma* which is applied alike to the body and the mind, or the Being and thought respectively. The dividing line between these two is termed *mano-dvāra*, the Threshold of Consciousness. Life, then, in the Buddhist view of things, is like an ever-changing river, having its source in birth, its goal in death, receiving from the tributary streams of sense constant accretions to its flood, and ever-dispensing to the world around it the thought-stuff it has gathered by the way.

Primary classification of consciousness

Subliminal consciousness is either *kāma*, *rūpa* or *arūpa*. Supraliminal consciousness is normal, supernormal, and transcendental. Normal consciousness is termed *kāmacitta*, so called because desire or *kāma* prevails on the plane or existence. Supernormal consciousness is termed *Mahaggatācitta* because it has reached the sublime state, and is further distinguished as *rūpa*, or *arūpacitta*.

Universal mental properties and classes of consciousness

Consciousness in this fourfold classification is primarily composed of seven mental properties (*cetasikas*) —namely, contact (*phassa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), will or volition psychic life (*jīvitindriya*), and attention (*manasikāra*). These seven mental properties are termed *sabba-citta-sādhāraṇa* or universals, because they are common to every class and state of consciousness, or every separate act of mind or thought. There are forty-five different properties distinguishing one class from another. And those, in varying combinations, give rise to the eighty-nine classes of consciousness enumerated in Part I of the *Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha*, or according to a broader classification, one hundred and twenty-one. The seven mental properties have been enumerated above; there are, besides these, six particular specific or accidental properties. These are *vitakka*, *vicāra*, *adhimokkha*, *virīya*, *pīti*, and *chanda*. The four universal

bad cetasikas or properties are moha, ahirika, anottappa, and uddhacca. Besides these, there are also two specific cetasikas or properties, lobha and diṭṭhi. All these properties are discussed and explained in the body of the book.

Classes and orders of consciousness grouped

Of these and other classes of consciousness making up a total of eighty-nine, some function as causes or karma, some as resultants or vipāka, and some are non-causal or kriyā. Besides these three classes, there are two elements in every consciousness, the Constant and the Variable. The form of consciousness is the constant element, and is opposed to the matter of consciousness which constitutes the variable element. But in Buddhism, both subject and object are variable at every moment ; and there are several forms of consciousness each of which may be designated a 'process of thought' whenever it takes place as a fact. To every separate state of consciousness which takes part in a process of thought as a functional state, either in the subjective form of the stream of being, or in the objective form of a conscious act of mind or thought, there are three phases — genesis (uppāda), development (thiti), and dissolution (bhaṅga)— each of which is explained and discussed by the author in his Manual in all its processes and stages.

Internal intuition and reflection proper (Suddhamanodvārayithi)

The possibility of the 'internal' presentation of all the six classes of objects mentioned above is that a sensation can be experienced, the Buddhists believe, without the corresponding objective stimulus. The possibility of Reflection proper is attributed to the relation termed 'proximate sufficient cause' by virtue of which (a) a sense impression once experienced in a sense cognition by way of the five doors, or (b) a previous experience of all internal intuition or cognition by way of the mind-door, or (c) the idea once formed in the sequels or either, can never be

lost. There are different processes of reflection in connection with Things Seen (*diṭṭha*). But when an object that has not been actually sensed is constructed out of, and connected with these seen objects, it is termed 'object associated with things seen' (*diṭṭhi-saṃbandha*). And the process of thought connected therewith is classed in the category of objects associated with things seen. The object-constructed out of and connected with Things Heard (*suta* object) is termed 'object associated with things heard' (*suta-saṃbandha*). Any object constructed out of Things Cogitated (*viññāta*) and connected therewith is termed 'associated with things cogitated' (*viññāta-saṃbandha*). Any object in the category of Things Seen, Heard or Cogitated may either be past, present or future. When it is present, it is intuited as a vivid reality. The same forms hold good for all kinds of thought or reflection.

Memory and changing personality

How is memory possible, if the object be not the same for any two consecutive moments in life ? The answer is given in detail by the author. Each mental state is related to the next in at least four different modes of relation (*paccaya*): Proximity (*anantara*), Contiguity (*samanantara*), Absence (*natthi*), and Abeyance (*avigata*). This fourfold relation is understood to mean that each expired state renders service to the next. In other words, each, on passing away, gives up the whole of its energy to its successor : and this is how the memory is helped and retained.

The ethical aspect of apperception of Javana

The stage of apperception pertains to that active side of an existence (*kammabhāva*), which determines the passive side (*upapatti-bhāva*) of the next existence. The apperceptual act is thus a free, determining, causal act of thought, as distinguished from the mental states, which are fixed, determined and resultant acts (*vipāka*) of *kamma*. Volition, under favourable circum-

stances, is transformed into kamma. But volition (*cetanā*) in apperception on occasion of sense (*panca-dvārikajavana*) cannot possibly become kamma. Hence we must look to the volition involved in reflective or representative apperception (*manodvārika-javana*) for kamma, which according to the different characters of volition is classed in different types or varieties with distinct characteristics.

Dream consciousness

Interesting though is the phenomenon of dream, it is conspicuous in the *Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha* by its absence. Scattered references and sometimes systematic explanations have here and there been made in Buddhist works regarding forms of dreamthought, dreams-classified, theories of dreams, relation of dream to sleep, etc.

Higher consciousness or rūpacitta

The first essential qualification of the process of thought transition from the normal to the super-normal is 'purity of virtue or morals'. The next is meditation and concentration of thought. There are four moments of apperception during the transitional stage from normal to super-normal consciousness. The first is termed 'preparation', the second 'success', which is followed by the third called 'adaptation', After the last moment of 'adoption' normal consciousness is cut off by the super-normal, and the transitional stage is superseded by the latter, known as the first *Jhāna*, and for one thought-moment, the person attaining it experiences ecstasy. Attainment in *Jhāna* is thus a very important psychological moment, marking an epoch in his mental experience for the person who succeeds in commanding it. *Jhāna* is usually classified in five stages, and in the fifth stage ecstatic concentration reaches its full development with the help of the continued voluntary exercise of the mind on an after-image to which it has been directed.

Mental training and iddhi-pāda

To attain super-intellectual powers (abhiññā) for an adept in the Fifth Jhāna, it will be necessary for him to go through a course of mental training in fourteen processes. Super-normal powers of will or Iddhi-vidhā may then be developed by means of the so-called four bases of Iddhi which involve respectively the development of Four dominant or predominant principles of purpose, effort, knowledge, and wisdom. There are ten classes of Iddhi known to Buddhism, the last three of which constitute the Iddhi-vidhā, and are used as a basis for the willing process.

Arūpa Jhānas

With a slight difference in procedure in mental attitudes and mood of thought, the same forms of the transitional, inductive, or sustained and retrospective processes of Fifth Rūpa-Jhāna obtain in the case of the Four Arūpa-Jhānas. When an adept in the Fifth Rūpa-Jhāna, who has repeatedly induced the same through any one of the ten circles, with the exception of space, erroneously believes that all physical pain and misery are due to the existence of the body, and reflects on the relative grossness of this Jhāna, he wishes to attain the First Arūpa-Jhāna, which he considers to be very calm and serene.

Way to emancipation

A person who wishes to transcend the experience of this conditioned world must first of all cultivate 'purity of views or diṭṭhi-visuddi. Next, he must cultivate in succession, 'purity of transcending doubt' or Kañkhā-vitarāṇa-visuddhi, 'Ten modes of Insight' or Vipassanā-ñāṇas or in other words the contemplative insight, enumerated and explained in the Text. All these ten kinds of insight are collectively termed 'purity of intellectual culture'. The matured insight of equanimity receives the special designation of 'insight of discernment leading to uprising', because it invariably leads to the Path, conceived as a 'Rising out of'. It is also styled as the 'mouth or gate of Emancipation' (Vimokkha-mukha).

Emancipation

Emancipation has a triple designation, namely, the 'Signless' or animitta, the 'Undesired' or appaṇihita, and the 'void' or suññatā. Emancipation itself, whether of the Path, the Fruit, or Nibbāna, also receives the same triad of names, according as it is preceded by the contemplation of things by 'uprising discernment' as either impermanent, or evil, or substantial.

Path consciousness

The purity of insight which is the gateway of Emancipation is also called Path-insight. One who has attained perfect purity of insight cuts off the heritage of the average man and evolves the lineage of the Transcendental. It is followed by a single moment of Path-consciousness by which the first of the Four Noble Truths is clearly discerned. Error and doubt are got rid of, Nibbāna is intuited, and the eightfold Path-constituents are cultivated. These four simultaneous functions correspond to the Four Noble Truths. Just like the Four Noble Truths, there are four stages of the Path, which are called Four Paths. The attainer of the first is termed Soṭāpanna who will have as yet to undergo seven more rebirths in the Kāmaloka; the attainer of the second is termed Sakadāgāmī who will have one more such rebirth. But the complete destruction of these two does not permit of another rebirth in the case of the Anāgāmī or Never returner of the Third Path. The wisdom of the Highest or Supreme Path is the same mental order of intelligence developed into the Perfected view of the highest order and is the last stage of 'purity of insight'.

Death

Death is assigned to one of four causes: (1) the exhaustion of the force of the reproductive (janaka) kamma that has given rise to the existence in question, (2) the expiry of the maximum life-term possible for this particular generation, (3) the combination of both these causes, (4) the action of a stronger arresting kamma that suddenly cuts off the reproductive kamma be-

fore the latter's force is spent of before the expiry of the life-term.

Final Death

The decease of the Arhant is according to Buddhist philosophy, the Final Death. If the Arhant be of the class known as 'dry-visioned' (*sukkha-vipassaka*) who does not practise *Jhāna*, his final death, which takes place on the *kāma* plane, occurs after apperception or retention of impressions. If he be proficient in *Jhāna*, final death may occur (a) after sustained *jhāna* ; or (b) after apperception in subsequent retrospect ; or (c) after the moment of 'super-intellectual' knowledge (*abhiññā*); or finally, (d) after retrospection following the attainment of the Topmost Fruit.

Nāmarūpapericcheda

The *Nāmarūpapericcheda* is another *Abhidhamma* manual written by *Anuruddha Mahāthera*. It consists of 1,885 stanzas dealing with name and form.

Nāmarūpasamāsa

The *Nāmarūpasamāsa* was written by *Thera Khemācariya* mostly in prose. It deals with *citta* and *cetasikakathā*.

Sutta Saṅgaha

The *Sutta Saṅgaha* is a later manual or compendium of select suttas and is primarily intended for those beginners who desire to have a knowledge of the *pāli* scriptural texts in a nut-shell.

Paritta

The *Paritta* or *Mahāparitta*, a small collection of texts gathered from the *Sutta Piṭaka*, is more widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes than any other *Pāli* book. The *Paritta*, learned by heart and recited on appropriate occasions, is to conjure vari-

ous evils, physical and moral. Some of the miscellaneous extracts that make up the collection are of purely religious and ethical character. The use of the Paritta is said to have had the Buddha's sanction. The victory of the holy men was accomplished by the Paritta (Mabel Bode, *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, pp. 3-4).

The Kammavācā³ is a convenient title for the collection of certain set forms of speech followed or to be followed in conducting the business of the Saṅgha either at the time of conferring ordination or at the time of holding a synod or a council. These set forms are but excerpts from the Vinaya Mahāvagga and Cullavagga, the utility of the Kammavācā text being no other than this, namely, that we have in it all put together in a handy and systematic form. There are various manuscripts of this text available in Burma, Ceylon, and Siam ; some of the Mandalay manuscripts being very handsome written as they are in Burmese ritual or tamarind seed letters printed with a thick black resinous gum. There is a collection of Kammavācās made by Herbert Baynes (*vide* J.R.A.S., 1892, Art. III). In Burmese Pāli collections we find no less frequently than the Paritta of the laity, the Kammavācā of the mendicant order. It goes without saying that the text of Kammavācā is a text of a purely Buddhist ecclesiastical use.

Simālaṅkāraṇa karaṇa

In the Kalyāṇī stone inscriptions of Dhamma Bedi of Pegu, we find mention of the Simālaṅkārapakaraṇa amongst the earlier authoritative texts bearing upon the subject of simā or sanctified boundary of the Buddhist ecclesiastical order. It is not quite clear from the reference if the Simālaṅkārapakaraṇa was not the same work as the Simālaṅkārasaṅgha mentioned in the same lithic record or the 15th century A.D. It is evident from these records as well as from a later work, the Simāvivāda-

³ Cf. *A new Kammavācā* by T.W. Rhys Davids and Clauson, F. Spiegel's *Kammavākyā*, Palice et Latine ed. Vgl Ferner Dickson, J.R.A.S., Vol. VII, New Series; *Upasampadā-kammavācā*, a Pāli text with a translation and notes by J.F. Dickson, J.R.A.S., 1875.

vinicchayakathā that the proper erection and the determination of the sanctified boundary came to be considered as an effective means of the purification of the Buddhist holy order.

Khuddakasikkhā and Mūlasikkhā:

The Khuddakasikkhā and the Mūlasikkhā are the two short Vinaya manuals, written mostly in verse, a few passages occurring in prose. The Thera Dhammasiri, evidently a Sinhalese priest, is the author of the Khuddakasikkhā. But in the Burmese history of the piṭakas the Mūlasikkhā is ascribed to Dhammasiri and the Khuddakasikkhā, to another Sinhalese priest, Mahāsāmī by name. The authorship of the Khuddakasikkhā cannot be reasonably ascribed to any other person than Dhammasiri in view of the author's own statement in the following stanza:

“Tena Dhammasirikena Tambapaṇṇiyaketunātherena
racitā Dhammavinayaññupasaṁsitā.”

If we are to give credence to the Burmese tradition, there is no other alternative than regarding the Mūlasikkhā as a work not of Dhammasiri but of Mahāsāmī. It is also difficult to accept the Burmese tradition according to which the two manuals were written about 920 years after the demise of the Buddha.⁴ Judged by the language and general style of the two manuals, these would seem to be literary productions of a much later age. We have already given an idea of their contents (ante p. 79). Only one important point which remains to be noticed is the significance of the Mūlasikkhā used as a title of one of the two manuals. It is suggested in the opening stanza of the Mūlasikkhā that the title has no other significance than this, that the manual presents the necessary lessons on the Vinaya rules and discipline in the language of the original texts, that is to say, in Pāli which is the language of the piṭakas:

“Bhikkhunā navakenādo mūlabhāsāya sikkhitum
yannimittam pavesanto bhikkhu maggattaye cuto.”

⁴ J.P.T.S., 1882, p. 87.

CHAPTER VIII

Pāli literary pieces

Introduction

In the present chapter we have to deal with seven metrical compositions, the *Anāgatavaṃsa*, the *Jinacarita*, the *Telakaṭahagāthā*, the *Pajjamadhu*, the *Rasavāhini*, the *Saddhammopāyana*, and the *Pañcagatidīpana*, which were evidently the literary productions of Ceylon¹ and which belonged mostly to the closing period of Pāli literary activities of Ceylon ranging from the tenth or eleventh to the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D. Amongst them the *Anāgatavaṃsa* stands as a supplement to the canonical work, *Buddhavaṃsa*; the *Jinacarita* occupies the same place in Pāli as the *Buddhacarita* in the Sanskrit Buddhist literature, the *Telakaṭahagāthā* and the *Pajjamadhu* represent two interesting examples of the *Sataka* type of poetry, the *Pañcagatidīpana* and the *Saddhamopāyana* are written for the edification of certain select topics of Buddhism and the *Rasavāhini* is a most charming book of folk-tales narrated in elegant and simple style, in prose and in verse. Most of these works show a tendency towards the sanskritisation of Pāli and display that amount of literary excellence and poetic imagination as may be expected from the people of Ceylon in general and the Buddhist monks in particular.

¹ It is only in the case of the *Anāgatavaṃsa* that opinions may differ.

Anāgatavaṃsa

Anāgatavaṃsa edited by Minayeff for the P.T.S., is based upon four Burmese manuscripts which do not agree in their contents. One manuscript embodies recension of this work in prose and in verse, and in another we have it entirely in verse while in a third we have quite a different work in prose dealing with ten future Buddhas including Metteyya and devoting a chapter to each of them. The possibility of the last mentioned work is suggested in the closing verses of that mixed recension of the Anāgatavaṃsa which is found in prose and in verse:

“Metteyyo, Uttamo, Rāmo, Pasenadi Kosalo’-bhibhū
Dīghasoṇi ca Saṃkacco Subho Todeyya brāhmaṇo
Nālāgiripalaleyyo Bodhisattā ime dasa Anukkamena
sambodhiṃ pāpuṇissanti’ nāgate’ ti”

(*Anāgatavaṃsa*, J.P.T.S., 1886, p. 37).

So far as the mixed recension goes, this text is written in prose style of the suttas in the nikāyas. The prose passages are intervened or followed by certain verses the general tenor of which is some-what different from those generally met with in the nikāyas. The text is composed of a dialogue between Sāriputta and Buddha and deals with the subject of gradual decline and disappearance of Buddhism, its literature, glory, and influence in time to come rather than with the life and career of the future Buddha, Metteyya. Viewed in this light, this text of the Anāgatavaṃsa may justly be regarded as a supplement or sequel to the suttas dealing with Anāgatabhayāni, “future dangers of the faith”, the discourses recommended by King Asoka in his Bhābrū Edict for a constant study by the Buddhists, both monks and laity. Whether such a prose dialogue as this was at any time incorporated in the nikāyas is a question to which no decisive answer may yet be given. It may suffice here to treat as a sequel to the Anāgatabhayasuttas and the texts dealing with the ten future Buddhas.

The text with which we are concerned is a work in verse It is completed in 142 stanzas and which deals with the life and ca-

reer of the future Buddha Metteyya. According to the Gandhavaṃsa the original Anāgatavaṃsa was the work of an elder named Kassapa (presumably the Citrakathi Kumāra Kassapa). The ascription of authorship to Kassapa is not however justified by the text itself, which is set forth as a dialogue between Sāriputta and the Buddha. It is composed apparently in the manner and style of the Buddhavaṃsa to which it was meant to serve, no doubt, as a supplement. A comparison between the following verses quoted from the two works may make their interconnection clear:

1. Buddhavaṃsa. With regard to Buddha Vipassi:

“Nāgaraṃ Bandhumatī nāma Bandhumo nāmakhattiyo
mātā Bandhumatī nāma Vipassissa mahesino.” (xx. v. 23)

2. Anāgatavaṃsa:

“Saṃgho nāma upāsako Saṃghā nāma upāsikā
paccupessanti sambuddhaṃ caturāsītisahassato.”
(v. 61, *J.P.T.S.*, 1886).

Seeing that the account of future Buddha Metteyya is precluded from the extant Buddhavaṃsa scheme of the lives of 26 Buddhas including Metteyya, it will be reasonable to enquire if the Anāgatavaṃsa in its present form was not a later elaboration of a snorter account of Metteyya forming the closing section of the Buddhavaṃsa in its original form.

At the request of Sāriputta who desired to know about the future Buddha, the Buddha Gautama spoke in brief a bout Metteyya Buddha. The future Buddha would be born in India at Ketumati in a brahmin family. He would be named Ajita and would possess immense wealth. He would enjoy worldly life for eight thousand years and then would forsake the world after having seen the four nimit as (Omens). Thousands of men and women would renounce the world with him. On the day of his retirement he would proceed to the great Bodhi tree. He would attain supreme enlightenment and then would set rolling the Wheel of Law. Many would escape worldly miseries by following the Dhamma which would be preached by the Buddha Metteyya.

Jinacarita

Jinacarita is a Pāli Kāvya consisting of more than 470 stanzas composed in different metres, some stanzas being of the atijagatī class, consisting of 13 syllables. It represents a poetic development in Pāli similar to that represented by the Buddhacarita in the Sanskrit Buddhist literature. Its theme, like that of the Buddhacarita, is the life of the Buddha and the narrative is chiefly based upon the Jātaka-nidāna-kathā. The slavish dependence on the prose narrative of the Nidānakathā has proved a handicap to a free expression of the poetic sentiment.

Mon. Duroiselle, to whom we owe the English edition and translation of the text, has aptly remarked that the poet has risen to heights placing him in the foremost rank among poets only in those places where he has broken through the slavish imitation and written from the depths of his own inspiration. In the opinion of Mon. Duroiselle, "the charm of the Jinacarita lies in its lighter style ; in the author's choice of graceful, and sometimes forcible, images; in the art of his descriptions, the richness and, in some passages the delicacy of his expressions; qualities which go to make its reading refreshing and welcome after the laborious reading of heavy didactic poetry". (*Jinacarita*, Introduction, p. ii.)

The influence of the Sanskrit Kāvya poetry of India, particularly of the works of Kālidāsa, cannot be denied. We meet indeed in the Pāli Kāvya with some images and comparisons "which are seldom found in Pāli, but are of frequent occurrence in Sanskrit works (e.g., the Kumārasambhava and Meghadūta). In a few instances Mon. Duroiselle has found also an echo of some of verses of the Mahābhārata :

Jinacarita : "Ko yam Sakko nu kho Brahmā Māro nāgo ti ādinā."

Mahābhārata : "Ko 'yan devo 'thavā yakṣo gandharvo vā bhaviṣyati?"

(III. 6, 52, *Vanaparva*)

Without denying the intimate acquaintance of the author of the *Jinacarita* with classical Sanskrit poetry, we may point out that the type of stanzas quoted from the *Mahābhārata* is not such as not to be frequently met with in the *Jātaka* literature. And as far as the indebtedness of our author to *Kālidāsa* or to *Aśvaghosa* who paved the way for the former is concerned, we may equally maintain that the style of poetry developed either in the *Buddhacarita* of *Aśvaghosa* or in the *Kumārasambhava* of *Kālidāsa*, leads us back to the *gāthās* forming the prologue of the *Nālakasutta* in the *Sutta Nipāta* for its model.

In the *Gandhavaṃsa* and *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* the work has been ascribed to one *Medhaṅkara*. He was called *Vanarataṇa Medhaṅkara*, and was also the author of another Pāli book 'Payogasiddhi' and flourished under *Bhuvaneka Bāhu* 1st (1277-1288 A.D.²).

Its importance

The *Jinacarita*, however, throws no new light on the life of the Master; and we can hardly expect such a thing from a purely devotional work such as this. But what is strikingly surprising is that the *Jinacarita* is unknown both in *Burma* and *Siam*.

The Poem

In the beautiful city of *Amara*, there was a *Brahman* youth, wise and compassionate, handsome and pleasant, by name *Sumedha*. Hankering after wealth and treasures he had none, for this bodily frame he had no attachment. He, therefore, left his pleasant house, went to the *Himalayas*, and there discovered

² Jour. P.T.S., 1904-5, p. iv, *Note on Medhaṅkara* by T.W. Rhys Davids. But Mon. Charles Duroiselle thinks that "the poem was written in the monastery built by *Vijayabāhu* II, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1186 and was the immediate successor of the famous King *Parākramabāhu*". *Jinacarita*, p. iii (edited and translated by C. Duroiselle, Rangoon, 1906). Read also *Jinacarita*, edited and translated by Dr. W.H.D. Rouse in the J.P.T.S., 1904-1905.

the eight implements necessary for an ascetic. He put on the ascetic garb and within a week obtained the five High Powers and the eight Attainments, enjoying the bliss of mystic meditation. One day he came down from the sky, and lay himself down in a muddy portion of a road through which the Dīpaṅkara Buddha with his disciples was to pass. He, the Dīpaṅkara Buddha, was delighted at it, and foretold that the ascetic Sumedha, in times to come, should become a fully enlightened Buddha, by name Gotama. Sumedha did him homage, and then seated in meditation, he investigated those conditions that go to make a Buddha. Sumedha, searching for Nirvāṇa, endured many hardships while going through the continued succession of existences, fulfilling the virtue of charity. He fulfilled, moreover, the Perfections of Morality, of Self-abnegation, of wisdom, and all others, and came to the existence of Vessantara. Passing away thence, he was reborn in the city of Tusita, and afterwards had another rebirth in the city of Kapila through the noble King Subbhodana, and his Queen Māyā. He approached the bosom of Māyā, and at the time of his conception, various wonders took place all over the world. In her tenth month, while she was proceeding to the house of her relative, she brought forth the Sage in the Lumbini garden while she kept standing under a Sāla tree catching hold of a branch. The god Brahmā approached and received the child in a golden net, the child that was orn unsullied as a priceless gem. From the hands of Brahmā and the angels, he stepped on to the ground, and gods and men approached and made offerings to him. Accompanied by a concourse of gods and men, he went to Kapilavastu and there a rejoicing of nature and men ensued for days and nights. In the Tāvatiṃsa heaven the hosts of angels rejoiced and sported and predicted that he, the child, would sit upon the Throne of Wisdom and become a Buddha. The ascetic Kalādeva, the spiritual adviser of King Suddhodana, went to the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, heard the cause of their rejoicings came down to Suddhodana's palace, and wanted to see the child. The child was brought and instantly, the lotus-feet of the prince were fixed on the ascetic's

head. Upon this, both Kalādeva and Suddhodana revered the soft lotus-feet. A second act of reverence was done by Suddhodana and other men and women of the royal house during the sowing festival when the child, the Wise One, had performed a miracle. The prince then began to grow day by day living as he did in three magnificent mansions provided for him. One day as he came out on chariot on the royal road, he saw in succession the representation of an old man, of a diseased man, and of a dead man. He then became free from attachment to the three forms of existence and on the fourth occasion, delighted in seeing pleasant representation of a monk. He then came back home and laid himself down on a costly couch, and nymph-like women surrounded him and performed various kinds of dances and songs. The Sage, however, did not relish them and while the dancers fell asleep he bent upon retirement into solitude and free from attachment to the five worldly pleasures, called his minister and friend Channa to harness his horse. he then went to his wife's apartment and saw the sleeping son and mother and silently took leave of them. Descending from the palace he mounted his horse and silently came out of the gate which was opened up by the gods inhabiting it. Māra then came to thwart him from going by saying that on the seventh day hence, the divine wheel of a universal monarch should appear unto him. But, he, the Wise of the World, did not desire any sovereignty, but wanted to become a Buddha. Upon this Māra disappeared, and he proceeded towards the bank of the river Anomā where he dismounted himself and asked Channa to go back home with the horse and his ornaments. He then cut off his knot of hair with a sword; the hair rose up into the air and Sakra received it with bent head and placed it in a gold casket to worship it. Next he put up the eight requisites of a monk and having spent seven days in the Anupiya mango grove in the joy of having left the world, went to Rājagaha and made his round for alms just enough for his sustenance. Leaving the town he went to the Pāṇḍava mountain and took the food. He was repeatedly approached by King Bimbisāra and offered the

kingdom, but he declined it ; and retiring to a cloister practised unmatched hardships. All this was of no avail; he, therefore, partook of material food and regaining bodily perfection, went to the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree where he sat facing the east. Sujātā, a beautiful woman, mistook him for a sylvan deity and offered him a gold vessel of milk rice. The Sage took it, and having gone to the bank of the Nerañjarā river he ate the food, took his rest, and then in the evening went to the Bo-tree which he circumambulated keeping the tree to his right. To his astonishment, a throne appeared, on which he took his seat facing the east, and promised that he would give up his efforts to attain Supreme Enlightenment even if his flesh, blood, bones, sinews, and skin dried up. On his head the Mahā-Brahmā held an umbrella. Suyāma, the king of gods, fanned a splendid yak's tail, and god Pañcasikha, the snake-king Kāla and thirty-two nymphs all kept standing and serving the Sage. Māra, then, creating unto himself a thousand dreadful arms, and surrounding himself by a manifold faced army, approached the Bo-tree. And at his approach the gods made good their escape. Māra created a terrific wind with a fierce roar, then the terrible torrent of large rocks, and brought on a most dreadful darkness, but each in succession was of little avail. All these turned to good account and the Blessed One did not even show any sign of consternation. The Evil One then threw his disc, hurled rocky peaks, yet the unconquerable sat motionless as before. Baffled in his attempts he approached the All-Merciful and asked him to rise from his seat. The Blessed One enquired of the witness about his seat and Māra, showing his army, told that they were his witnesses and asked in his turn who had been the witness of Siddhārtha. Siddhārtha then stretched his hands towards the earth and called the earth goddess to witness. She gave forth thousands of roars and Māra caught by the fear fled with his army. Having dispersed Māra's hosts, he remained seated still on the immovable seat, and in the first watch of the night he obtained the excellent knowledge of the past, and in the middle watch the Eye Divine. In the last watch, he gained thorough

knowledge of the concatenation of causes and effects, and at dawn he became perfectly Enlightened Buddha yet he did not rise up from his seat, but to remove the doubts of the gods remained seated there for seven days and performed a double miracle. Then after the investigation of the Pure Law, he at the foot of the Mucalinda tree, caused to blossom the mind of the snake-king. And, at last, at the foot of the Rājāyatana tree, he enjoyed the bliss of meditation. Then the king of the Law, entreated by Brahmā Saharīpati, wanted to fill the world with the free gift of the nectar of the Good Law. With this object, he travelled to the splendid Deer Park where the sages and mendicants made him a saint, and came to acknowledge him as the Sanctified, the Perfectly Enlightened, the Tathāgata. To the Elders of the Park, he delivered a discourse on the establishment of the kingdom of Truth, and dispelled their ignorance. He thus set the Wheel of the Law in motion for the good of the world by delivering the people from the mighty bond of transmigration. One his way next to Uruvela, he gave to some thirty Bhaddavaggiya princes the immortal draught of the Three Paths; and conferred on them the gift of ordination. He then went to Latthivana Park and there presented King Bimbisāra with the immortal draught of true doctrine. Thence he proceeded to the Veluvana Park and dwelt there in a hermitage. Then King Suddhodana, having heard that his own son had attained to Supreme Knowledge, sent his minister Udāyi to bring his son back to him. Udāyi came with a thousand followers and hearing the Master preach renounced the world and entered upon the path to sainthood. He then made known to the Master the desire of Suddhodana to see him, and requested to preach the Law to his kith and kin. The Buddha agreed to it and went to Kapilavastu where he was worshipped by Suddhodana and his relatives. But seeing that the young ones did not greet him he performed a miracle at the sight of which Suddhodana was filled with joy. Then he went to the royal palace and preached the sweet doctrines to the king and hundreds of fair royal women. Next he extinguished the great grief in the heart of Bimbā or

Yasodharā, his wife ; and ordained prince Nanda even before the three festivals, marriage, ceremonial sprinkling and entering on the house, had taken place. When his own son Rāhula followed next for the sake of an inheritance, the Wise One ordained him too.

After this he went to Sītāvana at Rājagaha where he preached to a merchant of Sāvattthi, named Sudatta, who attained the fruit of the First Path. Sudatta then went back to Sāvattthī, and there selected a park of Prince Jeta for the residence of the Blessed One. He (better known as Anāthapiṇḍika) bought this for a crore of gold pieces for the Teacher's sake alone, and built there a chamber and a noble monastery for the abode of the Master and his followers. He also beautified it with tanks and gardens, etc., and then inviting the Teacher to the spot dedicated to him the park and the monastery. The Buddha accepted the gift and thanked Sudatta for it, preaching to him the great benefit which lies in the giving of monasteries.

Residing there, he spent his days going here and there and beating the great drum of the Law. In the first season, he dwelt in the Deer Park in the Benares city. In the second, third, and fourth seasons he dwelt in the lovely Veluvana at Rājagaha. In the fifth season, he made his abode in the great wood near Vesālī. In the sixth, he dwelt on the great mountain Makula, and in the seventh in the cool and spacious rocky seat of Indra. In the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth seasons, He dwelt respectively in the delightful wood of Bhesakalā, in the Kosambī silk cotton wood, in goodly Pāraleyya, and in the Brahman villages of Nālā and Verañjā. In the thirteenth season, he lived on the beautiful Cāliya mountain, and in the fourteenth, in fair and lovely Jetavana. In the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth seasons, the Wise One made his abode respectively in the great Nigrodha monastery on a large hill at Kapilavatthu in the city of Ālavaka, in Rājagaha, and twice on the great mount Cāliya. In the twentieth season, he took up his abode in Rājagaha ; and for the rest twenty-five years of his life, he made his abode in Sāvattthī and Jetavana. Thus for forty-five

years, the Blessed One preached his sweet doctrine, bringing happiness to men, and freeing all the world and the gods from the great bond of transmigration.

The book ends with a prayer of the author in which he gives out his pious wishes to be born in the Tusita heaven, to be born contemporaneously with the great being, the future Buddha, to be able to give food, drink, alms, and monasteries to the Wise One and so forth, and to become at least a Buddha himself.

Telakaṭāhagāthā

The Telakaṭāhagāthā is a small poem in 98 stanzas on the variety of human life. It contains some of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. The verses are written in chaste language. They represent the religious meditations and exhortations of a great thera named Kalyāṇiya who was condemned to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil on suspicion of his having been accessory to an intrigue with the Queen-consort of King Kalani Tissa who reigned at Kelaniya in 306-207 B.C.³ A reference to this story can be traced in the Mahāvamsa, the Rasavāhinī and the Sinhalese work, the Saddhammālaṅkāra, which is a compilation from the Rasavāhinī.⁴ The incident on which the poem is based is somewhat differently narrated also in the Kākavaṇṇatissāraññavatthu. The author of this work is unknown. A careful study of the poem shows that the author was well acquainted with the texts and commentaries of the Buddhist scriptures. This work mentions the three refuges, death, impermanence, sorrows, soullessness of beings, evils of committing bad deeds, fourfold protection, and exhorts all to practise dhamma strenuously and attain salvation. It then discusses paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination) and points out that nothing happens in this world without any cause. Avijjā or ignorance is the cause of bad deed which leads to birth and which in turn is the cause of manifold miseries such as old age and death. So every one should practise dhamma by doing good deeds and thus escape from worldly miseries.

³ G.P. Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 162.

⁴ J.P.T.S., 1884, p. 49.

The charm of the style of composition lies in the balanced rhythm of the lines and alliterations, a literary art that may be seen developing itself through the stanzas of such earlier poems as Ratana Sutta in the Khuddakapāṭha and Sutta Nipāta and the Narasiḡagāthā presupposed by the Jātaka commentaries.

(1) Telakaṭāhagāthā, stanza No. 3:

Sopānamālaṃ amalaṃ tidasālayassa
saṃsārasāgarasamuttaranāya setuṃ
Sabbāgatibhayavivajjitakhemamaggaṃ
Dhammaṃ namassatha sadā muninā paṇītaṃ.

(2) Ratana Sutta, v. 222:

Yānīdha bhūtāni samāgatāni
bhummāni vā yāni va antalikkhe,
sabbe va bhūtā sumanā bhavantu,
atho pi sakkacca suṇantu bhāsitaṃ.

Though in Goonaratne's edition published in J.P.T.S., 1884, the poem contains 98 stanzas, it may be presumed from its general style and purpose that it was meant to represent a Pāli sataka consisting of a hundred stanzas. The poem, as we now have it, is divided into nine sections, each section dealing with a particular topic of Buddhism, Ratanattaya, Maraṇānussati, Anicclakklaṇa, Dukkhalakkhaṇa, Anattalakkhaṇa, Asubhalakkhaṇa, Duccarita-ādinavā, Caturārakkha, and Paṭiccasamuppāda. The sataka type of poetry came into vogue with the popularity of the three famous satakas, the Srīngāra, the Vairāgya, and Nirvāṇa, composed by so great a poet as Bhartrihari. Among the Buddhist satakas, the one which may rank as a high class of poetry is no doubt the Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva. Although the aim of the satakas, whether found in Sanskrit or in Pāli is didactic like that of the Pāli Dhammapada or the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata, the characteristic difference of the *Centuries* lies in their conscious attempt to give expression to individual moral or religious experiences. This differential feature of the satakas has been well brought out in the following apology of Śāntideva in the opening verses of his Bodhicaryāvatāra.

“Na me parārtha cintā, samano vāsayingitum kritam mamedam
Mama tāvadanena yāti vridhim, kuśalam bhāvayingitum
prasādavegaḥ
Atha matsamadhātureva paśyed aparo’ pyenamato’pi
sārthako’yam.”

By this one must understand that the object of a sataka is not so much to instruct others as to manifest one’s own self in the hope that those “who are like-natured, like-minded, and like-
visioned will care to look at the (matter as the author has) viewed it and may, perhaps, derive some benefit from it” (Barua’s *Gaya and Buddhagaya*, p. xi). We mean to say that in the satakas, the didactic aim has been subservient to the purpose of self-expression, a feature which is noticeable in certain Psalms of early Buddhist Brethren and Sisters.

Pajjamadhu

The Pajjamadhu is a poem composed of 104 stanzas in praise of the Buddha Buddhappiya, a pupil of Ānanda, is the author of this work. He is also the author of the Pāli grammar known as the Rūpasiddhi. “We may safely premise”, says Goonaratne, “that it was composed at the same time as the Rūpasiddhi to which scholars give 1100 A.D. as the probable date”.⁵ The author has given his name and pupilage in verse 103 of this poem:

“Ānanda rañña ratanādi mahā yatinda
Niccappa buddha padumappiya sevi naṅgi
Buddhappiyena ghana buddha guṇappiyena
Therālinā racita Pajjamadhum pi bantu.”

The language is sanskritised Pāli and some of the verses are puzzling. There is a gloss in Sinhalese on the entire poem but it is verbose and rather diffuse in its explanations. This poem may be regarded as another example of sataka in Pāli with four stanzas in excess. The first 69 verses describe the

⁵ J.P.T.S., 1887, p. 1

beauty of the Buddha and the remaining verses are written in praise of his wisdom concluded with a panegyric on the order and nirvāṇa. It is lacking in the vigour of poetical imagination and its style is laboured and artificial and is far from fulfilling the promise of sweetness of poetry suggested in its title Pajjamadhu.

Rasavāhinī

The Rasavāhinī is a collection of 103 tales written in easy Pāli, the first forty relating to the incidents which happened in Jambudīpa and the rest in Ceylon. A Sinhalese edition of this work has been brought out by M.S. Unnanse. The text with Sinhalese interpretation by B. Devarakkhita has been published in Colombo, 1917. The P.T.S., London, has undertaken to bring out an edition of this work in Roman character. Its date is unknown, but at the conclusion the author gives us a clue which helps us in determining it to be in all probability in the first half of the 14th century A.D. It is considered to be a revision of an old Pāli translation made from an original compilation by Raṭṭhapāla Thera or the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon. Vodeha, the author of the Rasavāhinī, gives us an account of the Vanavāsī School to which he belonged.⁶ The late H. Nevill suggests that the Sahassavathuppakarāṇa still extant in Burma, formed the basis for the Pāli Rasavāhinī.⁷ This work throws much light on the manners, customs, and social conditions of ancient India and Ceylon. It contains materials of historical importance and as such is widely read in Ceylon. This work has been edited and translated by P.E. Pavolini.⁸ There is a glossary on the Rasavāhinī called the Rasavāhinīgaṇṭhi. The verses of this text with a word-for-word Sinhalese translation by Dharmaratna have been published in 1913.

⁶ Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 210.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁸ Societa Asiatica Italiana, 1896.

Literature on the Rasavāhini

Buddhist legends of Asoka and his time translated from the Pāli of the Rasavāhini by Lakṣmaṇa Sāstrī with a prefatory note by H.C. Norman (J.R.A.S., 1910) and *Zwei Erzählungen aus der Rasavāhini*, Von. Sten Kono (Deutsche morgenlandische Gesellschaft, Zeitschrift, Leipzig). *Il settimo capitolo della Rasavāhini* by P.E. Pavolini (Societe Asiatica Italiana, Giornale, Firenze, 1895), should be consulted. *Die Zweite dekade der Rasavāhini* (M. and W. Geiger), Munchen, 1918, with translation deserves mention.

Saddhammopāyana

The Saddhammopāyana edited for the P.T.S. by Richard Morris and published in the J.P.T.S., 1887, is a most notable work on Buddhism. It is written entirely in verse and completed in 629 stanzas. It begins with a prologue and is closed with an epilogue, the author introducing himself in the prologue under the name and designation of Brahmācārī Buddhāsomapiya.⁹ He was undoubtedly a Buddhist teacher of Ceylon. The work, as its title implies, deals with the Way of the Good Faith. We can broadly divide it into two parts, the first of which contains an edification of the dangers or disadvantages of things moral and the second, that the rewards or advantages (ānisaṃsa) of things moral. The author dwells on such topics of the saddhamma as akkhaṇa, dasa akusala, petadukkha, pāpādinava, puññaphala, dānānisaṃsa, and the rest, Though the views of the author are not in any way new, the manner of treatment of each topic is masterly, and his style is at once easy, dignified, and restrained. Such a treatment of the subject cannot be expected from one who had not long pondered over it and thoroughly assimilated the fundamental principles of Buddhism. He has nowhere slavishly followed any earlier authority—a fact which may be clearly brought home to the reader by a comparison between the Praises of sīla (sīlānisaṃsa) in Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga and those in the Saddhammopāyana:

⁹ Nāmato Buddhāsomassa piyasabrahmacārino. *Saddhammopāyana*, verse 3.

(1) Visuddhimagga:

“Na Gaṅgā, Yamunā cāpi, Sarabhū vā Sarasvatī,
ninnagā vā’ ciravati Mahī vā pi mahānadī Sakuṇanti
visodhetum taṃ malaṃ idha paṇinaṃ,
Visodhayati sattānaṃ yaṃ ve silajalaṃ malaṃ.”

(Vol. I, p. 10)

(2) Saddhammopāyana:

Idaṃ hi silaratanaṃ idhaloke parattha ca
ānisaṃsavare datvā pacchā pāpeti nibbutiṃ
Paccakkhaṃ hīnajaccaṃ hi accantoḷāravamsajā
narindā silasampannaṃ namassantiha bhāvato.

(Verses 415-416.)

Pañcagatidīpana

The Pañcagatidīpana has been edited by M. Leon Feer (J.P.T.S., 1884, pp. 152-161). It is written in 114 stanzas. This work tells us of the five destinies which are in store of beings according as they commit good or bad deeds in this world by body, mind, etc. This text furnishes us with an interesting piece of information regarding different hells, namely, Sañjīva, Kālasutta, Saṅghāta, Roruva, Mahāroruva, Tapa, Mahātapa, and Avīci. Those who kill and cause living beings to be killed out of avarice, delusion, fear, and anger must go to the Sañjīva hell. For one thousand years they suffer in this hell being subjected to continual torments without losing life and consciousness. Those who cause injury or do harmful deeds to friends and parents speak falsehood and backbite others must go to the Kālasutta hell. In this hell they are cut to pieces with burning saws. Those who kill goats, sheep, jackals, hares, deer, pigs, etc., are consigned to the Saṅghāta hell, where they are huddled up in one place and then beaten to death. Those who cause mental and bodily pain to others or cheat others or are misers have to go to the Roruva hell where they make terrible noise while being burnt in the terrific fire of hell. Those who steal things belonging to gods, brahmins, and preceptors, those who misap-

propriate the property of others kept in trust with them, and those who destroy things entrusted to their care are cast into the Mahāroruva hell, where they make a more terrible noise while being consumed by a fire fiercer than that in the Roruva hell. Those who cause the death of living beings by throwing them into the Dāvadaha fire, etc., have to go to the Tapa hell, where they have to suffer being burnt in a dreadful fire. Those who cause the death of beings by throwing them into greater Dāvadaha fire must go to the Mahātapa hell, where they have to suffer still more by being burnt in a greater fire. Those who injure men of great virtue and those who kill parents, arahats, or preceptors must sink into the Avīci hell, where they suffer being burnt in such a terrible fire that would consume even the hardest things. In this hell there is not a least wave of happiness, it is therefore called the Avīci or waveless. Besides these hells, mention is made of a hell called the Patāpana, where people suffer by being burnt in fires that are much more terrific than those of the Tapa and Mahātapa hells. Each hell has four ussadanirayas, viz., Miḥhakūpa, Kukkula, Asipattavana, and Nadi. Those who are in the Mahāniraya have to proceed to Miḥhakūpa when released. In this terrible hell they are bitten by a host of worms. Thence they go to Kukkula where they are fried like mustard seeds on a burning pan. Coming out of Kukkula they find before them a beautiful tree of fruits and flowers where they take shelter for relief from torments. As soon as they reach the tree they are attacked by birds of prey such as vultures, owls, etc. They are killed by these animals which they make a repast on their flesh. Those who are traitors must go to the Asipattavana where they are torn and eaten up by bitches, vultures, owls, etc. Those who steal money will also suffer in this hell by being compelled to swallow iron balls and molten brass. Those who kill cows and oxen, suffer in this hell by being eaten up by dogs having large teeth. Those who kill aquatic animals will have to go to the fearful Vaitaraṇī river where the water is as hot as a molten brass. Those who prostitute justice by accepting bribes will be cut to pieces in an iron wheel. Those who destroy paddy

have to suffer in the Kukkula hell. Those who cherish anger in their heart are reborn as swans and pigeons. Those who are haughty and angry are reborn as snakes. Those who are jealous and miserly are reborn as monkeys. Those who are miserly, irritable, and fond of backbiting are reborn as tigers, bears, cats, etc. Those who are charitable but angry at the same time are reborn as big Garuḍas. Those who are deceitful and charitable are reborn as great Asuras. Those who neglect their friends on account of their pride are reborn as dogs and asses. Those who are envious, cherish anger, or become happy at sight of sufferings of others are reborn in yamaloka and the demon world. (Cf. the description of hell in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.)

There is nothing new to be learnt from this poem, new in the sense of that which is different from what we read in some of the Jātakas and suttas and particularly in the canonical text, petavatthu. The real literary value of this poem consists in the simplicity of its diction and the handy form which is peculiar to a later digest of doctrines that are old.

CHAPTER IX

Pāli grammars, lexicographies, and works on prosody, etc.

Vyākaraṇa is the accepted Indian term to denote a book of grammar. This very term was used to denote one of the six Vedāṅgas, or sciences or treatises auxiliary to the four Vedas. We have in the ancient vocabulary another term to denote another amongst the six Vedāṅgas, namely, the Chandas or treatise or treatises on metre or prosody. The treatises on Alaṅkāra or Poetics were later offshoots of the treatises on grammar. The beginnings of lexicography (abhidhāna) can similarly be traced in the Nigraṇṭha sections of the treatises on exegetical etymology—the Nirukta denoting another amongst the six Vedāṅgas. Corresponding to the Sanskrit Vyākaraṇa we have the Pāli Veyyākaraṇa, counted among the nine types of literary texts or compositions (savaṅgaṃ satthu-sāsaṇaṃ). But the Pāli term, as explained by Buddhaghosa and other Buddhist commentators, was far from signifying any treatise on grammar. They have taken it to represent that distinct literary type which is characterised by prose exegeses, the Abhidhamma books being mentioned as chief examples of such a type.¹ There is indeed another Pāli

¹ *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, part I, p. 24. "Sakalaṃ Abhidhamma Piṭakaṃ niggaṭhaka-suttaṃ... tam veyyākaraṇaṃ ti veditabbam."

word, Vyākaraṇa, which is phonetically the exact equivalent of the Sanskrit Vyākaraṇa, but in Buddhist terminology it means 'announcement or prediction'. The term 'Veyyākaraṇa' means 'exposition or explanation, the function of which is to make things explicit or clear'. If this term be applied to a treatise on grammar, we can understand that the main function of grammar is to help expositions of texts by clearing up the connections of letters, words, sentences, their sequence, and the rest. The importance of grammar has been sufficiently emphasized in early Buddhism in a verse of the Dhammapada which reads:

"Vītaṇho anādāno niruttipadakovidō
akkharānaṃ sannipātaṃ jaññā pubbāparāṇica
sa ve antimasārīro mahāpañño (mahāpuriso)
ti² vuccati."

In this important dictum a great man or a man of knowledge is expected to be conversant with the rules of construction of sentences, combination of letters or syllables in words, and determination of sequence or syntax. Here the most important term is nirutti which may be taken to mean 'verbal analysis', 'glossology', 'use or expression of a language', or 'grammatical and logical explanation of the words or text of the Buddhist scriptures' (Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, Subvoce *Nirutti*). Thus we may understand that the need of grammatical analysis and grammatical treatises came to be felt by the exigency of exposition, and this point has been well brought out in the *Nettipakarāṇa* (pp.8-9). Pada, akkara, vyañjana, ākāra, nirutti are the terms that are of use in a treatise on grammar. Saṅkāsanā, pakāsanā, vivaraṇā, and the rest are the terms that are of use in an exegetical treatise. The *Netti* says "Bhagavā akkharehi saṅkāseti, padehi pakāseti, byañjanehi vivarati, ākarehi vibhajati, niruttīhi uttānikaroti, niddesehi paññāpeti: akkharehi ca padehica ugghaṭeti, byañjanehi ca ākārehi ca vipañcayati, niruttīhi niddesehi ca vitthāreti."

² *Dhammapada*, v. 352.

So far as Buddhism is concerned, the development of grammar, lexicography, and works on prosody took place long after the development of literature itself and it appears that no need of a separate book of grammar for the teaching or learning of Pāli was felt so long as India remained the home of the language. There were certainly some codified rules of grammar to which the language of the Pāli piṭakas conformed. It cannot surely be doubted that a wonderful linguistic genius has been displayed in the coinage and manipulation of many new technical terms and expressions which could not have been possible but for a close and intimate acquaintance with the fundamental principles of grammar and phonology. We may venture to suggest that there was no book of Pāli grammar in existence till the time of the three great Pāli commentators, Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dhammapāla. All of them appear to have explained the grammatical construction of Pāli words by the rules of Pāṇini quoted verbatim in Pāli, e.g., Sutta Nipāta commentary, Vol. I, p. 23, vattamānasamipe vattamāna vacanala-kkhaṇa, Pāṇini, III. 3. 131. It appears that Buddhaghosa studied the great grammar of Pāṇini. In the *Visuddhimagga* (P.T.S. Edition, pp. 491-492, 'Indriyasaccaniddeso') we read:

“Ko pana nesam indriyaṭṭho nāmāti ? Indalingaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho ; indadesitaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho; indadiṭṭhaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho; indasiṭṭhaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho; indajuṭṭhaṭṭho indriyaṭṭho: so sabbo pi idha yathāyogaṃ yujjati. Bhagavā hi sammāsambuddho paramissariyabhāvato indo, kusalākusalaṃ ca kammam, kammesu kassaci issariyābhāvato. Ten' ev'ettha kammaṣaṅjanitāni tāva indriyāni kusalākusalakammaṃ ullingenti. Tena ca siṭṭhānīti indalingaṭṭhena indasiṭṭhaṭṭhena ca indriyāni. Sabbān eva pan' etāni Bhagavatā yathābhūtaṃ pakāsītāni abhisambuddhāni cā ti indadesitaṭṭhena indadiṭṭhaṭṭhena ca indriyāni. Ten'eva Bhagavatā munindenā kānici goarāsevanāya, kānici bhāvanāsevanāya sevītānīti indajuṭṭhaṭṭhenāpi etāni indriyani.”

Buddhaghosa goes on to add:

“Api ca ādhipaccasaṅkhātena issariyaṭṭhena pi etāni indriyāni. Cakkhuviññāṇādippavattiyam hi cakkhādinaṃ siddhaṃ

adhipaccam, tasmim tikkhe tikkhattā, mande mandattāti. Ayaṃ tāv'ettha atthato vinicchayo."

These explanations of 'Indriya' are evidently a reminiscence of Pāṇini, V. 2, 93. "Indriyaṃ indraliṅgaṃ indradṛṣṭaṃ indrajuṣṭaṃ indradattaṃ iti vā."

In the grammar of Pāṇini, there is a mention of *āpatti* in the sense of *prāpti* and in this sense too, *āpatti* occurs several times in the *Samantapāsādikā*. This seems also to show that Buddhaghosa knew of and utilised the work of Pāṇini.

If Pāṇini had remained the standard grammatical authority with the Buddhist scholiasts who flourished in the 5th or 6th century A.D., the ascription of the first Pāli grammar to the authorship of Kaccāyana or Mahākaccāyana, and immediate disciple of the Buddha, becomes unjustifiable on account of the anachronism that it involves. If any authoritative book of Pāli grammar were in existence when Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla wrote their commentaries, there is no reason why they should seek guidance from the rules of Pāṇini rather than from those of Kaccāyana. We may indeed maintain that the first Pāli grammar, attributed to Kaccāyana, was a compilation made by some Buddhist teachers of Ceylon and that the ascription of its authorship to Kaccāyana cannot be justified except on the ground that the necessity for grammatical study of the Pāli texts was particularly felt in the tradition of Kaccāyana who even according to Buddha's own estimate was a past master in the art and method of exegesis or analytical exposition. Even as regards Kaccāyana's grammar, the unknown Pāli compiler of Ceylon can hardly claim any originality in view of the fact that barring certain special rules introduced to meet certain exceptional cases the bulk of the treatise is based verbatim on the Sanskrit grammar of Kātantra. The indebtedness of the Pāli grammar to some such Sanskrit authority is frankly admitted in the aphorism, I.1.8 (Parasamaññāpayoge), and clearly brought out in the vutti or gloss of the same :

"Yā ca pana sakkatagandhesu samaññā... pajuññate."

The next standard book of Pāli grammar to be noted is the *Rūpasiddhi* or *Mahārūpasiddhi* based on Kaccāyana's work. The *Bālāvātāra* is the second important work that was produced in

Ceylon on the lines of Kaccāyana's work and its only importance lies in the re-arrangement of the aphorisms of Kaccāyana. Passing over the ṭikās and glosses on Kaccāyana's grammar, the Rūpasiddhi and Bālāvatāra, we have to mention the Saddanīti and the Mukhamatthadīpanī as the two later grammatical works of outstanding merit.

The earliest known Pāli lexicography is the Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā which too must stand to the credit of the Pāli scholars of Ceylon. The plan of this lexicography seems to have been conceived on the model of the Sanskrit koṣa of Amarasingha who is taken, for some good reasons, to be a Buddhist by faith. The Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā just like its Sanskrit prototype is a dictionary of synonyms. It is far from having any alphabetical arrangement of words, which was adopted in some later works, such as Ekakkarakoṣa and the Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā sūci. The beginnings of Pāli lexicography may, however, be clearly traced in the Vevacana-hāra chapter of the Nettipakaraṇa and the Peṭakopadesa. The dictionary method of making the meaning of a term or word clear is indeed extensively used in the Pāli Abhidhamma books and in some portions of the nikāyas.

Pāli literature is conspicuous by the absence of any noteworthy work on Poetics. If there be any such work, we may safely take it to be based on some Sanskrit authority. There are a few Pāli works on metre notably the Vuttodaya and the Subodhā-laṅkāra. With regard to all these works on prosody, it may suffice to say that they are far from being original productions.

Books of grammar

The three principal grammarians are Kaccāyana, Moggallāna, and the author of the Saddanīti.

Kaccāyana's Pāli grammar³ —Kaccāyana is reported to be

³ The oldest and best commentary of Kaccāyana's Pāli grammar is *Mukhattadīpanī* written by Ācārya Vimalabuddhi. This work is commonly known as Nyāsa. There is a paper entitled *Note in the Pāli Grammarian, Kaccāyana* (Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1882). The late Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa edited Kaccāyana's grammar. Mason's edition of this grammar is noteworthy.

the author of the first Pāli grammar called Susandhikappa. There are many suttas in Kaccāyana's grammar which are identical with those of the Kātantravyākaraṇa. This grammar is said to have been carried into Burma early in the fifth century A.D.

As helps to the grammar of Kaccāyana, there are Rūpasiddhi⁴, Bālāvatāra⁵, which consists of 7 chapters, Mahānirutti, Cūlanirutti, Niruttiṭṭhaka, and Mañjūsatiṭṭhaka.

As helps to the grammar of Moggallāna, there are Payogasiddhi, Moggallāyanavutti, Susaddasiddhi and Padasādhana⁶ or Moggallāna Saddattharatnākara which consists of six sections dealing with sadda, sandhi, samāsa, verbs, prefixes, and suffixes.

As helps to the grammar called Saddanīti⁷, there is only

⁴ *Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā* ascribed to Dīpaṅkara should be read along with the text to get a clear idea of the Pāli grammar. Grunwedel's *Rūpasiddhi*, Berlin, 1883, is noteworthy. There are editions containing Burmese interpretations of the Rūpasiddhi (*vide* supplementary catalogue of Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prakrit Books in the British Museum, p. 442, compiled by L.D. Barnett, 1928).

⁵ *Bālāvatāra* by Dharmakitti; *Bālāvatāra*, ed. Sri Dharmārāma; *Bālāvatāra with ṭīkā*, ed. Sumaṅgala, Colombo, 1893. It is a work on Pāli grammar and is the most exhaustively used handbook in Ceylon on the subject. It is the smallest grammar extant and based on Kaccāyana's work.

There is an abridgement of the *Bālāvatāra* with Pāli sūtras and Sinhalese commentary composed by Revd. Sitinamaluwa Dhammajoti and edited by Jinaratana Thera and D.A. DeSilva, Batuwantudava, second edition, Colombo, 1913. There is a word-for-word Burmese interpretation of the *Bālāvatāra*, Rangoon, 1915. The *Bālāvatāra* has been translated into English by Mr. H.T. DeSilve with the co-operation of the Rev. Katane Oopatisa Thera and revised by Woodward, Pegu, 1915.

⁶ There is a commentary on *Padasādhana*, a Pāli grammatical work on the system of Moggallāna, written by Sri Rāhula Thera and discovered by Louis De Zoysa.

⁷ There is a book named *Dhātumatthadīpanī*, by Hīṅgulwala Jinaratana, which contains a re-arrangement in material form of the roots mentioned in Aggavaṁsa's Saddanīti. Saddanīti, *La Grammaire Pāli d'Aggavaṁsa* of Helmer Smith in 3 vols. is worth perusal. The date of this grammar is traditionally given as the 12th century A.D. This grammar consists of three parts, Padamālā, Dhātumālā (root numbers) and Suttamālā (sūtra number). It gives many quotations from the Pāli canon as examples of grammatical rules. It is no doubt a standard work on Pāli grammar and philology. It is undoubtedly a scholarly edition prepared by Helmer Smith.

one work called Culasaddanīti. The Saddanīti is still regarded as a classic in Burma.

Among other treatises on Pāli grammar may be counted the following:

Sambandhacintā, Saddasāratthajālīnī (a good book on Pāli Philology), Kaccāyanabheda, Saddatthabhedacintā, Kārika, Kārikavutt. Vibhattyattha, Gandhatthi Vācakopadesa, Nāyala-kkhanavibhāvanī, Niruttisaṅgha, Kaccāyanasāra, Vibhattyatthadīpanī, Sanvannanayadīpanī, Vaccavācaka, Saddavutti, Balappabodhana⁸, Kārapupphamañjarī, Kaccāyanadīpanī, Guḷhatthadīpanī, Mukhamattasāra, Saddavindu⁹, Saddakalika, Saddaviniccaya, Bijaṅga, Dhātupāṭha, Sudhiramukhamandandana¹⁰, etc., with their commentaries and supplementary commentaries.

Kaccāyana, as we have already pointed out, is the oldest of all Pāli grammarians. Readers are referred to Kaccāyana's Sandhikappa¹¹ (J.P.T.S., 1882).

Nepatikavaṇṇanā is a work on Pāli indeclinable participles. Saddamālā is a comprehensive Pāli grammar based on the grammar of Kaccāyana.

The development of grammar is a comparatively late phase of Pāli literature, as late as the sixth or seventh century A.D., if not later still. Even in the grammar of Kaccāyana, the debt to Sanskrit is freely acknowledged in one of the introductory aphorisms. Uptill the time of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla, the Buddhist teachers as already pointed out, followed the authority of the grammar of Pāṇini. It has only recently been detected that the Pāli commentators have freely quoted the rules of Pāṇini in accounting for grammatical formations of Pāli words.

⁸ It is a grammar for beginners.

⁹ It was written by Nārada Thera.

¹⁰ It is a work on samāsa of Pāli compound nouns written by Attaragāmaṅḍararājaguru.

¹¹ *On sandhi in Pāli* by R.C. Childers, J.R.A.S., new series Vol. II, 1879.

Lexicons

Abhidhānappadīpikā (by Moggallāna Thera, ed. by W. Subhuti, 2nd edition, Colombo, 1883)¹² and *Ekakkharakosa*¹³ are the two well-known Pāli lexicons. The *Abhidhānappadīpikā* was written by Moggallāna in the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great. It is the only ancient Pāli dictionary in Ceylon and it follows the style and method of the Sanskrit *Amarakoṣa* (*vide*, Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, pp. 188-189). This work consists of three parts dealing with celestial, terrestrial, and miscellaneous objects and each part is subdivided into several sections. The whole book is a dictionary of synonyms. The last two sections of the last part are devoted to homonyms and indeclinable particles. This work is held in the highest esteem both in Burma and Ceylon (*Ibid.*, p. 189). Subhuti's edition of this dictionary with English and Sinhalese interpretations together with a complete Index of all the Pāli words giving their meanings in Sinhalese deserves mention. R.C. Childers has published a very useful dictionary of the Pāli language. In 1921, T.W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede brought out a Pāli dictionary compiled mainly from collection by the former for 40 years which is a publication of the P.T.S., London. Quite recently a critical dictionary begun by V. Trenckner and revised, continued, and edited by Dines Anderson and Helmer Smith has appeared in two parts (1924 and 1929).

The beginnings of Indian lexicons are to be traced mainly in the Nighaṇṭu section of Yāśka's *Nirukta*. The *Nettipakaraṇa* stands to the Pāli canon in the same relation in which Yāśka's *Nirukta* stands to the Vedas. And it is in the *Vevacanahāra* of the *Netti*, the chapter on homonyms, that the historians can clearly trace the early model of later lexicons.

¹² Ferner, *A complete Index to the Abhidhānappadīpikā* is a useful publication.

¹³ It is a small work on Pāli lexicography, a vocabulary of words of one letter by Saddhammakitti Thera of Burma.

Works on prosody

*Vuttodaya*¹⁴ written by Saṅgharakkhita Thera, *Kāmaṇḍakī*, and *Chandoviciti* are pāli works on metres. *Subodhālaṅkāra*¹⁵ is a work on rhetoric by Saṅgharakkhita Thera. *Kavisārapakaraṇam* and *Kavisāratikānissaya* are the two good books on prosody.

Modern works

A number of scholars, both European and Indian, have made a study of Pāli grammars and have embodied their researches in their treatises on Pāli grammars. These treatises are named below:

1. E. Burnouf : *Observations grammaticales sur quelques passages de l' Essai sur le Pāli de Burnouf et Lassen*. Paris, 1827.
2. B. Clough : compendious *Pāli grammar* with a copious vocabulary in the same language. Colombo, 1824.
3. J. Minayeff : *Grammaire Pālie*, traduite par St. Guyard. Paris, 1874.
4. J. Minayeff : *Pāli Grammar, a phonetic and morphological sketch of the Pāli language*, with an introductory essay on its form and character by J.M., 1872; translation from Russian into French by M. St. Guyard, 1874, rendered into English by Ch. G. Adams, 1882.
5. E. Kuhn : *Beitrag Zur Pāli Grammatik*. Berlin, 1875.
6. O. Frankfurter : *Handbook of Pāli being an elementary grammar*, 1883.
7. E. Muller : *A simplified grammar of the Pāli language*. London, 1884.
8. V. Henry : *Precis de Grammaire Pālie accompagné d' un choix de textes*. Graduis, Paris, 1894.

¹⁴ *Vuttodaya* (exposition of metre) by Saṅgharakkhita Thera, J.A.S.B., Vol. XLVI, pt. I, (Col. G.E. Fryer).

¹⁵ *Analysis and Text of Subodhālaṅkāra or Easy Rhetoric* by Saṅgharakkhita Thera, J.A.S.B., Vol. XLIV, pt. I, (Col. G.E. Fryer).

9. Geiger : *Pāli Literature und sprache* (Grundriss der Indo Arischen Philologie and Altertumskunde).
10. E. Windisch : *Über den sprachlichen charakter des Pāli*. Paris, 1906.
11. H.H. Tilbe : *Pāli Grammar*. Rangoon, 1899.
12. J. Grey : *Elementary Pāli Grammar*. Calcutta, 1905.
13. Charles Duroiselle : *A Practical Grammar of the Pāli Language*. Rangoon, 1906.
14. Senart : *Kaccāyanappakaranāni* (1868-70).
15. E. Kuhn : *Kaccāyanappakaranae Specimen*. Halle, 1869.
16. Nyanatilaka : *Kleine systematische Pāli Grammatik*. Breslau, 1911.
17. Grunwedel : *Rūpasiddhi*. Berlin, 1883.
18. The Do Oung : *A Grammar of the Pāli language (after Kaccāyana)*, Vols. I, II, III, and IV.
19. Subhuti : *Nāmamālā*.
20. Sri Dharmārāma : *Bālāvatara by Dharmakirti*.
21. H. Sumangala : *Bālāvatāra with ṭikā*, Colombo, 1893.
22. Chakravarty and Ghosh : *Pāli Grammar*.
23. Pe Maung Tin : *Pāli Grammar*.
24. Vidhusekhar Sāstri : *Pāli Prakāsa*.
25. J. Takakusu : *A Pāli Chrestomathy*, Tokyo, 1900.

Of all these works on Pāli grammar, Mr. Tha Do Oung has treated this subject exhaustively. The first volume deals with sandhi, nāma, kāraka, and samāsa; the second volume contains taddhita, kita, uṇādi, ākhyāta, upasagga, and nipāta participles; the third and fourth volumes deal with word roots, ten figures of speech and 40 modes of expression, and prosody. Pāli grammar by Muller and Duroisene are also very useful. Prof. Chakravartty's grammar is worth perusal. Paṇḍit Vidhusekhar Sāstri's work is a compilation and as such it is useful.

The following are the noteworthy publications:

Morris : *Notes and Queries*, J.P.T.S., 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1889, and 1891-93.

E. Muller : *A glossary of Pāli proper names*, J.P.T.S., 1888.

Morris : *Contributions to Pāli Lexicography*, Academy, 1890-91.

J. Takakusu : *A Pāli Chrestomathy with notes and glossary giving Sanskrit and Chinese equivalents*, Tokyo, 1900.

E. Windisch : *Über den Sprachlichen Charakter des Pāli*. Actes du XIVe. Congress Internat des Orientalistes, Paris, 1906.

Mrs. Rhys Davids : *Similes in the Nikāyas*, J.P.T.S., 1907-8 and Mrs. Rhys Davids, Sākya or Buddhist origins, chapter XVII, pp. 314 foll.

Surendranath Majumdar, Shastri

The Dative Plural in Pāli (published in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee volumes*, Vol. III, Orientalia—Pt.2, pp. 31-34). It is a valuable paper and should attract the attention of scholars interested in Pāli grammar and philology. Prof. Majumdar has shown in it that in the inscriptions of Asoka and of his grandson there are ten instances of the use of dative plural in Epigraphic Pāli. These occur not only in one version or at one place but at such distant places as Dhauli, Jaugadhā, Barābar hills, Nāgārjuni hills, Kālsi, Manserā, and Girnār. In Barābar and Nāgārjuni cave inscriptions the dative is the only form in use showing that the old form was better preserved in the Māgadhī. As for the Bock Edicts some versions use the dative and some the genitive. The Shāhbāzgarhi text is the only version which has not used even once the dative form. Majumdar sums up his argument by saying that we find promiscuous use of the dative and genitive plurals in 'Epigraphic Pāli'. If the old Buddhist and Jaina texts be carefully examined in this light, some instances of the dative plural will be found in literary Pāli and Prakrit also. When the genitive plural began to be used for the dative plural, their singular forms also came to be confused in use. This confusion in

the singular was also helped by the fact that in the language of the later Vedic texts the dative singular of feminine nouns was used for the genitive. But as the dative singular Prakritic form had not been confused in shape with any other form, it lingered longer than the dative plural. Dative singular is almost as common in Asokan dialects as in Sanskrit. It lingered in literary Pāli but died out in the Prakrits of the dramas.

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to give a general survey of canonical and non-canonical Pāli literature. Some distinct types of literature came to be developed within a growing collection of texts of traditional authority. This collection came indeed to be closed at a certain date which is undoubtedly pre-Christian. The origin and development of even just one recension of the early corpus of Buddhist literature covered a pretty long period of about five centuries, which is very imperfectly known or understood by the meagre evidence of Sanskrit literature. The Pāli piṭakas coupled with the Jain āgama texts and some of the Sanskrit treatises like Pāṇini's grammar, Kātyāyana's Vārtika, Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, and the contemporary inscriptions and coin-legends fill up a very important gap in the history of ancient Indian humanity. The particular literature with which we are concerned developed under aegis of religion which was destined to be a great civilising influence in the East, highly ethical in tone, dignified in the forms of expression, dramatic in setting, direct in narration, methodical in argument, and mechanical in arrangement. This wealth of literary output was shown forth in its perspicuity and grandeur in the garb of a new literary idiom having a place midway between the Vedic Sanskrit on one hand and classical Sanskrit and Ārdhamāgadhī on the other. In between the closing of the Pāli canon and the beginning of the great commentaries and chronicles we had to take note of an imperfectly known period of transition which became remarkable by the production of so great a work of literary merit and doctrinal importance as the Milinda Pañha occupying, as it does, the foremost place for its lucid, elegant, and rhythmical prose style in the whole range of Sanskrit and Sanskritic literature. The Pāli commentaries, as we have them, were produced at a period far beyond the Mauryan and

Sūnga, the Kāṇva and the Kushāṇa. The Augustan period of Pāli literature began with these commentaries and closed with the earlier epic chronicles of Ceylon. The period which followed was a decadent one, and it became noted only for the compilation of some useful manuals, some books of grammar and lexicography chiefly in imitation of some Sanskrit works of India, and a few metrical compositions exhibiting the wealth of Ceylonese poetical imagination and plagiarism. Pāli literature would have been as dead but for its rejuvenation in Burma, the Buddhist country, which has produced enormous literature of considerable importance during the last three or four centuries. From the geographical allusions it may be deduced that the main bulk of the Pāli canon developed within the territorial limits of the Middle Country and some parts of Western India, notably Mathurā and Ujjain. The Milinda Pañha is full of associations reminiscent of the life, manners, and customs of the north-western region of India, which became the meeting place of Indo-Aryan and Graeco-Bactrian civilisation. The commentaries clearly point to Kāñcipura, Kāveripaṭṭana, Madurā, and Anurādhapura as notable centres of Pāli Buddhism. Along with South India one has got to take Sirikhetta (modern Prome) in Burma as the centre of Pāli Abhidhamma culture. There is reason to believe that Pāli literature developed in one shape or another in Lower Burma giving rise to Pāli law codes, compiled more or less on the model of Manu's code. The inscriptions and sculptures are not without their important bearings on the history of Pāli literature. We can say that the lower limit of the evolution of Pāli literature is represented by the Kalyāṇī stone inscriptions of King Dhammaceti of Pegu. In dealing effectively with Pāli literature, one has got to consider the history of literary development in India, Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. It still remains a problem for modern historian and philologist to find out how far Pāli literature has influenced the vernaculars of these four countries. There is sufficient evidence to prove that Sinhalese developed as a vernacular with its wealth of literature as early as the 2nd century B.C.

Pāli literature is incomplete by itself. It is wanting in many works of secular interest, such as those on mathematics, astronomy, astrology medicine, logic, and royal polity. The few such works that we have are of recent origin and as such, they do not fall within the scope of our present investigation. Even as a pure literature, it has just one work, the *Jinacarita*, which deserves the name of a *Kāvya*. The *Jinacarita* itself is chiefly based upon the *Jātaka Nidāna-kathā* which latter may be regarded as a *Kāvya* in prose, or in prose and verse.

There is hardly a drama or a novel, strictly so called. But there are a great many suttas, particularly those contained in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Brahmajāla*, the *Sāmaññaphala*, the *Sakkapañha*, the *Mahāparinibbāna*, which have a dramatic setting. The literary art employed in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* has been extensively developed in the *Milinda Pañha*. In reading the suttas of the *Sagātha-vagga* or the *Sariyutta Nikāya* one is apt to feel as though there is a stage-action in which one devaputta appears to test the knowledge of the Buddha and retires to make room for the next man waiting. In short, Pāli literature abounds in dramatic elements without having a single book of drama. The literary art employed in the historical narrative of the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* and in those of the *Milinda Pañha*, the *udenavattu* and the *Visākhāvattu* is a novelty.

There are several legendary and historical accounts of the life and career of the Buddha and his disciples and followers — *Theras*, *Therīs*, *Upāsakas*, and *Upāsikās* which are interesting biographical sketches without a rigorous biographical treatment. Even if it be assumed that there are no biographies in the modern sense, there is no getting away from the fact that the Buddhist teachers successfully tried to conceive and develop a universal science of biography in the *Jātaka Nidāna-kathā*.

There is just one story of creation in the *Pāli Aggañña Suttanta*. The way in which it has been introduced goes to show that it was rather a citation for some purpose than an original production.

The early Buddhist attitude towards ornate poetry or imaginative literature was far from appreciative. Such poetry was viewed with disfavour, the super-abundance of it being dreaded as a great future danger of the good faith (anāgatabhaya) uptill the time of Asoka. The development of ornate poetry was sought to be accounted for in early Buddhism by an extraneous influence. A highly imaginative literature developed nevertheless within the four corners of Pāli Buddhism with its wealth of *gāthās* and *akkhānas*, highly ethical or spiritual in tone. We come across an example of song in the Sakkapañha Suttanta, which is said to have been sung by Pañcasikha, the heavenly minstrel. Other pieces described as songs in some of the Birth-stories and Buddhist legend are hardly distinguishable from the main body of *gāthās*. Some of the Psalms of the Early Drethren and Sisters, which are musings of emancipated hearts, e.g., the Tālapuṭa-thera-gāthā and the Ambapāli-gāthā, are truly musical in one. One can say that Pāli literature is sufficiently rich in the wealth of lyrics and reflective poetry. The Dhammapada stands out as a remarkable literature in the field of didactic poetry.

Its richness consists also in the wealth of similes and parables deserving a separate and careful study as elements that apparently influenced the later Kāvya poetry of India and have their parallels in the early Gospels of Christianity.

To counteract the influence of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, particularly that of the former, the Buddhists began to develop the Jātakas, supplying thereby so many interesting themes for artistic delineation and materials for Indian dramas and kāvyas.

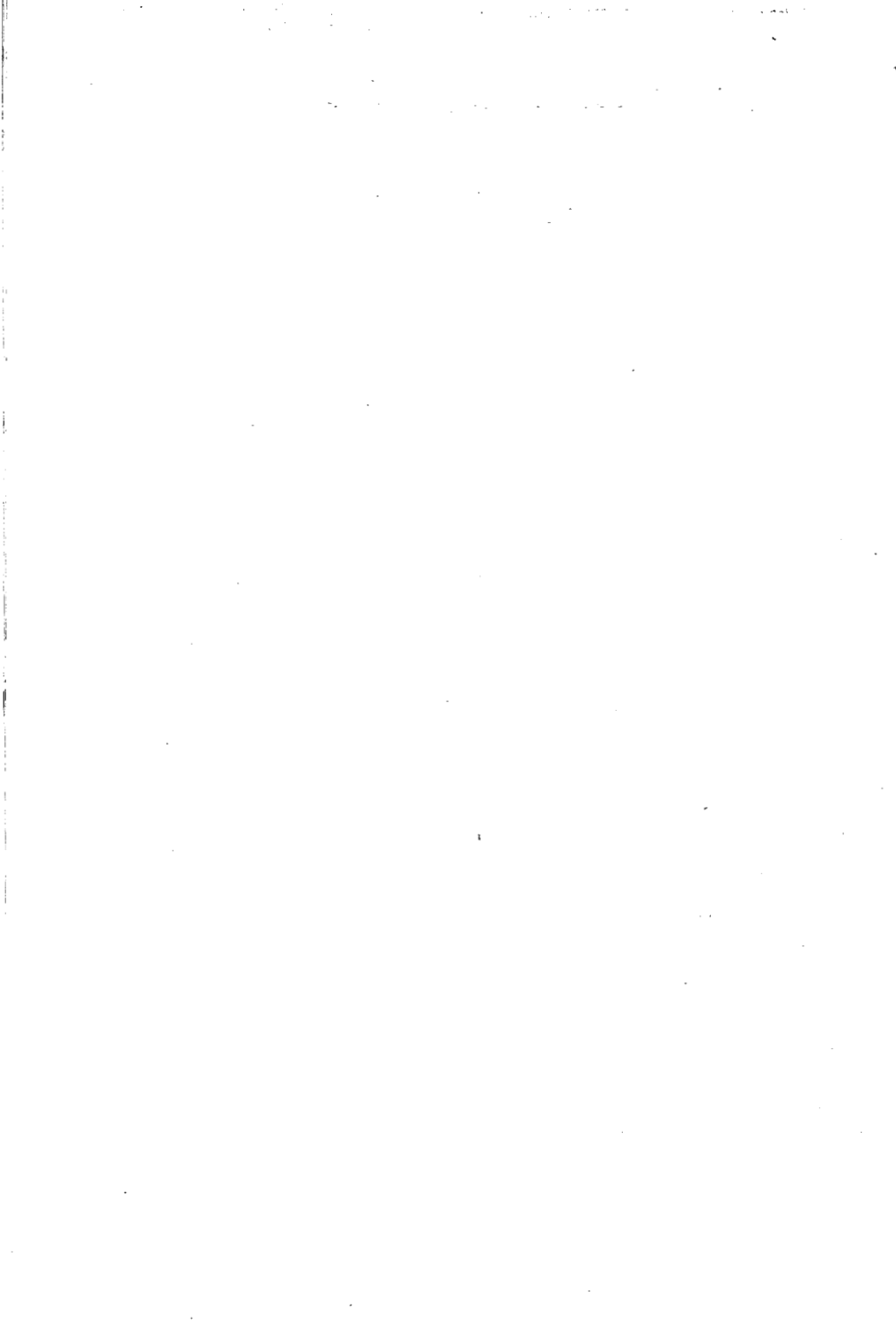
So far as the epic and historical chronicles go, the position of Pāli literature is almes, unique, the mediaeval Kashmere chronicle, Rājatarāṅginī, being the only notable Sanskrit work of their kind.

Pāli literature has no book on logic, but in the Kathāvatthu we have a great book of controversy, which lies at the immediate background of the entire Nyāya literature. Strictly speaking, there is no medical treatise in Pāli, but in the Buddhist study of the 32

parts of the human organism we have something which is of paramount interest to a student of medical science. Prior to the compilation of the Law codes, we meet with in Pāli the definitions of *karma*, murder, theft, and the rest which anticipate many points in modern jurisprudence. There may not be a *Buddhacarita* or a *Kumārasambhava* in Pāli, but there is certainly the *Vatthugāthā* of the *Nālaka Sutta* in the *Sutta Nipāta* to serve as a clear model of them. The manuals of psychological ethics must always be considered as notable contributions to Indian culture.

These and other points of interest and importance are left for future study and investigation. In spite of the fruitful labours of great many scholars, we are still on the threshold of the study of Pāli literature, to evaluate and appreciate which one has to look at it in different aspects, just as one looks at a gem by its facet.

It has still its immense possibilities as a means of developing modern literature, both in the East and the West. The *Amitābha*, the *Jagajjyoti*, the *Buddhadevacarita*, the *Aśoka*, the *Ajātaśatru*, and the *Kinnarī* are but the few works produced yet in modern Bengali utilising the materials of Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist literature. As regards old Bengali literature, Pāli literature has its legacy in the plot of *Vidyāsundara* set forth in the story of the *Mahā-ummagga-Jātaka* and the song composed in praise of the princess *Pañcālacaṇḍī*. The creation of literary types is indeed the most distinctive feature of the literature, a bird's eye view of which is given in the present work.



APPENDIX A

Historical and geographical references in the Pāli Piṭakas

I. In the Vinaya Piṭaka

The Vinaya Piṭaka is an important store-house of interesting geographical and historical information of the time of which it speaks. There is a very important reference to the four boundaries of the Middle Country or the Majjhimadesa as understood by the Buddhists, and to the various sites, towns, and villages included therein, and associated very intimately with the Buddha and Buddhism. Interesting sidelights are also thrown on the political history, and social and economic conditions of the time.

Historical, etc

Bimbisāra is said to have ruled over 80,000 townships (*Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., II, P. 1) and there were 80,000 overseers over the townships (*Ibid.*, H, p. 4). That the Magadha kings were in fear of the Vajjians is testified to by the fact that Sunīdha and Vassakāra are referred to as building a fort at Pāṭaliputta to crush the Vajjians (*Ibid.*, II, p. 101). The Magadha king had a royal physician, Jīvaka by name, who was asked by the king to cure a setṭhi who did good service to the king and to the merchants' guild (*Ibid.*, II, 181). Jīvaka also cured King Pradyota of Avanti

of jaundice (*Ibid.*, II, pp. 187 ff.). His success in operating on the fistula of King Bimbisāra won for him the post of royal physician, and he was afterwards appointed by the king physician to the Buddha and the congregation of bhikkhus that lived with him. Once we are told Magadha was visited by five kinds of diseases (e.g., leprosy, goitre, asthma, dry leprosy, and apamāra), and Jīvaka had to treat the bhikkhu patients only suffering from those diseases (*Vinaya Pitaka*, I, p. 71). Once we are told that King Bimbisāra went to have his bath in the river Tapoda that flew by this ancient city; when he reached the river, he saw the bhikkhus taking their bath. The city gate was closed and so he could not enter the city of Rājagaha. Next morning he came after taking his bath without proper dress to the Buddha who gave him instruction and advised the bhikkhus not to spend so much time in their bath (*Ibid.*, IV, 116-117). Bimbisāra son was Ajātasattu, whose chief ministrey was Vassakāra who began the work of repairing the fort of Rājagaha in the kingdom of Magadha. He needed timber for the purpose and went to the reserved forest, but was informed that the wood was taken by a bhikkhu named Dhaniya. Vassakāra complained to King Bimbisāra about it. It was brought to the notice of the Buddha who ordered the bhikkhus not to take anything not offered or presented to them (*Ibid.*, III, 41-45). There is a reference which suggests that the palace of Bimbisāra should be of gold (*Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., II, p. 65). There was a sugar factory at Rājagaha (*Ibid.*, II, p. 67) ; and the country was rich in molasses (*Vinaya Pitaka*, I, 226).

The town of Vaiśālī too was well provided with food, and was generally prosperous (*Vinaya Texts*, II, 117).

There is a reference to the dancing girls asked to dance and greeted with applause (*Vinaya Texts*, II, 349).

Of the notable bhikkhu disciples of the Master, mention is made of Sāriputta and Moggallāna (*Ibid.*, II, 318, 353), Upālī (*Ibid.*, II, 395) who discussed the mānatta discipline of a bhikkhu with the Master, and Ananda through whose intercession Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī with other Sakya ladies obtained permis-

sion for ordination (III, p. 322). Kakudha, a Koliyan, was an attendant on Moggallāna (*Ibid.*, III 234).

Of the heretical teachers mention is made of Makkhali Gosāla, Ajīta Kesakambalī, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhi-putta, and Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta (*Ibid.*, III, p. 79).

References are made to Devadatta's attempt to create a disunion among the bhikkhus in the Bhikkhu Saṅgha (*Ibid.*, III, p. 251), and also to the two councils of Rājagaha and Vaisālī (*Ibid.*, III, 11th and 12th Khandhakas). When the First, Great Council of the disciples of the Buddha was held after his parinirvāṇa to compile the teachings of the Master, Yasa sent messengers to the bhikkhus of Avanti inviting them to come, and settle what is Dhamma, what is Vinaya, and what is not, and to help the spread of Dhamma and Vinaya (III, p. 394).

Geographical

To the east of the Middle Country or Majjhimadesa lay the town Kajaṅgala, and beyond it Mahāsālā, to the south-east the river Salalavatī, to the south, the town Setakaṇṇika, to the west the brāhmaṇa district of Thuna, and to the north, the mountain range called Usīradhvaja. Beyond these were the border countries and this side of these was the Middle Country (*Vinaya Texts*, II, pp. 38-39). One of the most important towns of the Madhyadeśa was Rājagaha (Rājagriha-Giribraja) where the Gijjhakūṭa was and the Buddha stayed there for some time (*Ibid.*, II, p. 1). From Rājagaha, a road lay to Andhakavinda which was once visited by 500 carts, all full of pots of sugar, (*Ibid.*, II, p. 93). Rājagaha was the capital city of King Bimbisāra, while the court-physician Jivaka is referred to as an inhabitant of this place (*Ibid.*, II, pp. 184-5). But his birth-place was Magadha (*Ibid.*, II, 173). Jivaka was, however, educated at Taxila (*Ibid.*, II, p. 174). Rājagaha had a gate which was closed in the evening, and nobody, not even the king, was allowed to enter the city after the gate was closed (*Ibid.*, IV, 116-17). It was here at Rājagaha that Sāriputta learned Buddha Dhamma from Assaji, one of the Pañcavaggiya bhikkhus. Sāriputta went to Rājagaha with his friend Moggallāna

where the Buddha was, and both of them were converted by the Master (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, pp. 40 ff.). Rājagaha could boast of another physician (vejja) named Ākāśagotta (*Ibid.*, I, p. 215). Veluvana, the bamboo park of Rājagaha, has often been referred to as a residence of the Master. When once the Buddha was here, Devadatta's gain and fame were completely lost (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, IV, p. 71). The Kalandakanivāpa of Rājagaha has also been referred to as another residence of the Master. While he was once there, a party of six bhikkhus (chabbaggiyā bhikkhū) went to attend the Giraggasamajja, a highly popular music of the day (*Ibid.*, II, 107). A seṭṭhi of Rājagaha built a vihāra for the bhikkhus. He had to take consent of the Buddha as to the bhikkhus' dwelling in a vihāra (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, II, p. 146). References are made to a trader of Rājagaha who wanted to go to Patiyāloka (*Ibid.*, IV, pp. 79-80), to a Sākyaputta named Upananda who, while at Rājagaha, was invited by his supporters (*Ibid.*, IV, p. 98), to Upāli, the son of a rich trader of Rājagaha, who was ordained as bhikkhu at the initiative of his parents (*Ibid.*, IV, pp. 128-29). The Mahāvagga tells us of an occasion when the Blessed One on his way to Vesālī noticed bhikkhus with a superfluity of dress, and advised them as to the least quantity of robes a bhikkhus should require (*Ibid.*, II, pp. 210 foll.). The Cullavagga speaks of a seṭṭhi of Rājagaha who acquired a block of sandal wood, and made a bowl out of it for the bhikkhus (*Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 78).

Pāṭaligāma was another important locality which was once visited by the Buddha accompanied by a great number of bhikkhus (*Ibid.*, II, p. 97). Sunīdha and Vassakāra are referred to as building a fort at Pāṭaligāma to crush the Vajjians (*Ibid.*, II, p. 101).

No less important were Vesālī and Sāvattihī. The former was well provided with food, the harvest was good, alms were easy to obtain, one could very well get a living by gleaning or through favour (*Ibid.*, II, p. 117). There at Vesālī was the Gotamaka shrine (*Ibid.*, II, p. 210) where the Buddha stayed for some time. There lay a high road between Vesālī and Rājagaha (*Ibid.*, II, p. 210). The Buddha came to Vesālī from Kapilavastu whence a number

of Sākya ladies came to receive, through the intercession of Ānanda, ordination from the Master who at that time resided at the Kūṭāgāra hall in the Mahāvāna (*Ibid.*, III, pp. 320 foll). The Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka tells us an occasion when the Enlightened One was staying at the peak-roofed hall in the Mahāvāna (*Cullavagga*, VI, S.B.E., XX, p. 189). We are further told of a poor tailor of Vaisālī who was very much bent on building a house for the Saṃgha (*Ibid.*, pp. 190-91). In the 12th Khandhaka, there is the important reference to the Buddhist Council of Vesālī (*Ibid.*, III).

References are often made to the Jetavana of Anāthapiṇḍika at Sāvathī (*Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., I, p. 325) where the Buddha stayed. Another staying place of the Master there was the ārama of Migāramātā (*Ibid.*, pt. III, p. 299).

Kāsī or Bārāṇasī (i.e., Benares) and Kosala (*Vinaya Texts*, I, pp. 226, 312) often find mention in the Vinaya Piṭaka. In course of his religious propaganda tour, the Master first went to Benares, then to Uruvelā and then he visited Gayāsisa, Rājagaha, Kapilavatthu, and Sāvathī (*Ibid.*, I, pp. 116, 136, 210). There lay a road from Sāketa to Sāvathī (*Ibid.*, p. 220). A few bhikkhus travelling on the road in the Kosala country went off the road to a cemetery to get themselves paṃsukūla robes (*Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., II, p. 197). Brahmadata, the legendary king of Benares, is invariably alluded to while introducing a Jātaka. In his time there was a king of Kosala named Dīghīti who was not so wealthy as the king of Kāsī. Brahmadata went to wage war against the king of Kosala, and thus ensued a series of vicissitudes in which the king of Kosala suffered most, though his son Dīghavu ultimately brought the king of Kāsī to his knees, and friendship was restored (*Ibid.*, II, pp. 301 ff.). Yasa, a young nobleman of Benares, son of a seṭṭhi, had three places fixed for three seasons of the year (*Vinaya Texts*, I, pp. 102-108).

Kosambī was another important place where at Ghositārama Buddha stayed from time to time (*Vinaya Texts*, II, p. 285; *Ibid.*, II, p. 376). There is a reference to the quarrelsome bhikkhus of Kosambī who came to Sāvathī (*Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., If, p. 318).

The republican states of Pāvā and Kusinārā are also mentioned (*Vinaya Texts*, III, 370 and *Ibid.*, pt. II, 135) and Roja, a member of the Mallas of Kusinārā, is said to have gone to welcome the Buddha (*Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., pt. II, p. 135).

Of less important places and localities, mention is made of Campā inhabited by a setṭhi's son named Soṇa Koḷivisa (*Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., II, p. 1), Avanti visited by Mahākaccāna, and where there was a hill called Kuraraghara (*Ibid.*, II, 32), Koṭigāma where Buddha resided for some time (*Ibid.*, II, p. 105), and Bhaddiyānagara where lived a householder named Meṇḍaka who was possessed of a miraculous power (*Ibid.*, II, p. 121). Reference is also made to Kiṭāgiri where dwelt the wicked bhikkhus who were the followers of Assaji and Punabbasu (*Ibid.*, II, p. 347), to Anupiyā, a town of the Mallas (*Ibid.*, III, p. 224), to Sāketa where dwelt a banker whose wife was suffering from head disease and who was treated by Jīvaka (*Ibid.*, II, pp. 176 foll), to the Gijjhakūṭa hill in Rājagaha which was visited by the Buddha (*Ibid.*, I, p. 239), and to uttarakuru where Buddha is said to have gone to beg alms (*Ibid.*, I, p. 124).

Of important rivers, mention is made of Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Mahī, and Sarabhu (*Vinaya Texts*, III, pp. 301-302).

II. In the Sutta Piṭaka

Historical

In the Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka

The Sāmaññaphala Suttanta (Dīgha, I.) is important from a historical point of view; for it furnishes us with valuable information about the views of six leading thinkers (titthiyas) of the time: Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosala, Ajitakesakambalī, Pukudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, and Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta. This sutta also gives us a list of crafts and occupations of the time, e.g., Dāsakaṇṭhā (slaves), Kumbhakārā (potters), Mālākārā (garland-makers), Hatthārohā (elephant-riders), Assārohā (cavalry), Rathikā (charioteers), Danuggahā (archers),

Ālārikā (cooks), Kappakā (barbers), Nahāpakā (bath-attendants), Sudā (confectioners), Rajakā (washermen), Pesakārā (weavers), and Nalakārā (basket-makers). Another important historical allusion in this sutta is the fact which refers to Jivaka, the famous physician of the Buddha, and gives us an account of the visit paid to the Buddha by the patricide monarch of Magadha, the terrible Ajātasattu. In the concluding portion of the suttanta there is an allusion to the actual murder of Bimbisāra which his son Ajātasattu committed.

The Ambaṭṭha Suttanta (*Dīgha*, I.) refers to King Pasenadi of Kosala, as well as to some famous sages of the time, e.g. Yamataggi, Aṅgīrasa, Bhāradvāja, Vāseṭṭha, Bhagu, and Vessāmīta. A famous brahmin teacher of Kosala and the teacher of Ambaṭṭha, Pokkharasādi, is said to have enjoyed the property given by King Pasenadi, the contemporary of the Buddha.

The Sonadaṇḍa Suttanta (*Dīgha*, I.) refers to Campā visited by the Buddha with 500 monks, to Gaggarā, a famous tank in Campā, and to King Bimbisāra of Magadha and King Pasenadi of Kosala. This suttanta also tells us how the Aṅga kingdom with its capital Campā was included in the Magadhan empire. While the Buddha was sojourning at Campā in the kingdom of Aṅga, a brahmin named Sonadaṇḍa was in the enjoyment of the revenues of the town as it was given to him by Bimbisāra of Magadha. Brahmin householders of Campā went to the Buddha. Sonadaṇḍa also accompanied them, and eventually all of them became lay supporters of the Buddha.

The Mahāli Suttanta (*Dīgha*, I.) refers to Buddha's dwelling at Vesāli in a Kūtāgārasālā in Mahāvana.

The Lohicca Suttanta (*Dīgha*, I.) refers to king of Kosala, to Sālavatika inhabited by a brahmin named Lohicea, and to Pasenadi, king of Kāśī-Kosala, who used to collect taxes from the inhabitants of Kāśī-Kosala and to enjoy the income not alone but with his subordinates.

The Mahāpadāna Suttanta (*Dīgha*, II.) refers to the two famous disciples of the Buddha, Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

The Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta (*Dīgha*, II) has a dramatic

setting inasmuch as it represents King Ajātasattu of Magadha as appearing on a stage and indulging in a soliloquy giving an expression of his grim determination to annihilate his Vajjian rivals. It further relates that when the Buddha heard of this determination of the king, he remarked that so long as the Vajjians fulfilled the seven conditions of welfare, there would not be any danger for them. But afterwards Ajātasattu is stated to have succeeded in annihilating the Vajjians with the help of his two ministers, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, when dissensions arose among the Vajjians. The *suttanta* also refers to some incidents of Buddha's life, e.g., the visit of Subhadda to Buddha, and his conversation with the Lord the passing away of the Lord, the homage of the Mallas, cremation of Buddha's dead body, quarrel over the relics, the amicable distribution of relics by Doṇa, and erection of stūpas over them.

The Janavasabha *Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, II) refers to King Bimbisāra of Magadha as a righteous king.

The Pāsādika *Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, III) refers to the news of the demise of Mahāvīra to Ānanda at Sāmagāma in the Malla country.

The Ātānāṭiya *Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, III) states that the Blessed One dwelt in the Gijjhakūṭa mountain at Rājagaha.

The Sangīti *Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, III) informs us that Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, died at Pāvā. It further tells us that the Mallas of Pāvā are addressed as the Vāseṭṭhas by the Buddha. This shows that the Mallas belonged to the Vaśiṣṭha gotra.

Geographical

The Ambaṭṭha *Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, I) refers to a brahmin village of Kosala named Icchānaṅgala or Icchānaṅkala which was visited by the Buddha with a large retinue of 500 monks. It also refers to the Himalayan region.

The Kūṭadanta *Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, I.) refers to a brahmin village named Khānumata visited by the Buddha with 500 monks.

The Mahāli *Suttanta* (*Dīgha*, I) refers to Vesālī inhabited by

the brahmin messengers of Kosala and Magadha, and to a hermitage called Ghositārāma at Kosambī.

The Kevaddha Suttanta (*Dīgha*, I) refers to Pāvārika mango grove at Nālandā where the Buddha dwelt. It speaks of the prosperity of Nālandā which was inhabited by many people.

The Tevijja Suttanta (*Dīgha*, I) refers to a brahmin village in Kosala named Manasākaṭa which was visited by the Buddha with 500 monks, and to the north of which flowed the river Aciravatī. On the banks of this river there was a mango grove.

The Mahānidāna Suttanta (*Dīgha*, II) refers to a Kuru country named Kammāssdhamma where the Buddha dwelt for some time.

The Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta (*Dīgha*, II) states that the Exalted One went from Nālandā to Pāṭaligāma where Sunīdha and Vassakāra built a fort to crush the Vajjians. From Pāṭaligāma he went to Magadha where he had accepted the invitation of the two ministers, Sunīdha and Vassakāra. Thence he went to Koṭigāma ; and further he proceeded to Nādikā where he dwelt at the Giṅjaka abode. He then went to Vesālī where he had accepted the invitation of the famous courtesan, Ambapālī. The same suttanta refers to the Gijjhakūṭa-pabbata at Rājagaha where the Blessed One dwelt, to the river Gaṅgā where the Buddha approached at the time when it was over flowing, to Ajapāla banyan tree on the banks of the river Nerañjarā where the Buddha obtained Enlightenment, to Isigili, Sītavana, and Veluvana at Rājagaha. This sutta also speaks of Gotamakanigrodha, Corapapāta, Vebhārapassa, Sattapaṅṅiguhā, Kalaudakanivāpa, and of Jīvaka's mango grove as beautiful. It further refers to the river Kakutthā, Upavattana the Sālavana of the Mallas at Kusīnarā, and to the river named Hiraññavati. This suttanta mentions Sāvattihī as a great city which was the resort of many wealthy nobles, brahmins, heads of houses, and believers in the Tathāgata. Great cities such as Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvattihī, Sāketa, Kosambī, and Bārāṇasī are suggested as the places where the Blessed One should obtain parinibbāṇa.

The Mahāsudassana Suttanta (*Dīgha*, II) refers to the Sālavana of the Mallas called Upavattana at Kusīnarā and to Campā,

Rājagaha, Sāketa, Sāvattihī, Kosambī, and Bārāṇasī. Kusīnārā was also named as Kusāvati, the capital of the King Mahāsudassana. Kusāvati was rich, prosperous, and full of many men. Alms could profusely be obtained there.

The Janavasabha Suttanta (*Dīgha*, II) refers to Kāsī Rosala, Vajji-Malla, Cedi-Vaṁsa ; Kuru-Pañcāla, and Maccha Sūrasena kingdoms.

The Mahāgovinda Suttanta (*Dīgha*, II) refers to a number of great cities built by Govinda. They are : Dantapura of the Kaliṅgas, Potana of the Assakas, Māhissatī of the Avantis, Roruka of the Sovīras, Mithilā of the Videhas, Campā of the Aṅgas, and Bārāṇasī of the Kāsīs.

The Sakkapaṇha Suttanta (*Dīgha*, II) points out that to the east of Rājagaha there was a brahmin village called Ambasaṇḍa, and to the north there was a cave called Indasāla in the Vedyaka mountain.

The Mahāsatiṭṭhana Suttanta (*Dīgha*, II) refers to the Buddha's dwelling among the Kurus. It mentions the Kammāssa-dhamma, a village of the Kurus.

The Pāyāsi Suttanta (*Dīgha*, II) refers to King Pasenadi of Kosala, and to a forest called Simsapāvana which lay to the north of the city, Setavya.

The Pāṭika Suttanta (*Dīgha*, III) refers to Anupiya as the country of the Mallas where the Buddha went for alms. It also refers to Buddha's stay at Kūṭāgārasālā or the pinnacled house in the Mahāvana at Vesālī.

The Udumbarika Sihanāda Suttanta (*Dīgha*, III) refers to the Gijjhakūṭa-pabbata at Rājagaha visited by the Buddha.

The Cakkavattī Sihanāda Suttanta (*Dīgha*, III) mentions that the Blessed One dwelt at Mātula in the kingdom of Magadha. It refers to the capital called Ketumatī of King Saṁkha, and to Jambudīpa.

The Dasuttara Suttanta (*Dīgha*, III) states that the Blessed One dwelt at Campā on the side of tank called Gaggarā with 500 bhikkhus.

In the Majjhima Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka

Historical

Important historical references in the Majjhima Nikāya are mainly concerned with the life and itinerary of the Buddha and some of his disciples. Thus we are told that the Blessed One once stayed at the foot of a big Sāla tree in the Subhaga forest at Ukkaṭṭha (Vol. I, 1), at another time in the Jetavana hermitage of Anāthapiṇḍika at Sāvattī (I, 12; II, 22), at Ukkācelā on the banks of the Ganges (I, 225), at Vesālī in the Kūṭāgarasālā at Mahāvana (I, 227), at Sāvattī in the palace of Migāramāṭā at Pubbārāma (I, 251), at Veluvana at Rājagaha (I, 299) at Campā by the side of the tank Gaggarā (I, 339) at Nālandā in the mango grove of Pāvārika (I, 371), at Rājagaha in the Kalandakanivāpa at Veluvana, a hermitage of the paribbājakas called Moranivāpa (II, 1), at Mithilā in the mango grove of Makhādeva (II, 74), at Sāvattī (II, 190; III, 1, 15, 20), at Kusinārā in the thicket known as Baliharaṇa (II, 238), at Mahāvana in a pinnacled house (II, 252), at Kapilavatthu among the Sakkas in the Nigrodhārāona (III, 109), at Ghositārāma at Kosambī (III, 152), at Tapodārāna at Rājagaha (III, 192), at Nagaravinda, a brahmin village of the Kosalans where the Blessed One went with a large assembly of bhikkhus (III, 290) as well as at Mukheluvana at Kajaṅgala (III, 298). Of the places visited by the Buddha, mention is made of Mahāvana (I, 108). The Master also went to the Kosalans for alms with a large retinue of monks (II, 45), to the Kurus for the same purpose with a retinue of monks and to the Kuru country called Thullakoṭṭhita (II, 54), to Devadaha, a country of the Sakkas (II, 214), and to Kammassadhamma or Kammāssadhamma, a country of the Kurus (II, 261, 1, 55). Of his disciples and other prominent individuals, reference is made to Sāriputta and Moggallāna (I, 24-25), Kumārakassapa dwelling at Andhavana (I, 142), Ānanda living at Vesālī in the Veluva village (I, 349), Kassapa Buddha dwelling at Benares in the Deer Park at Isipatana where King Kiki of Benares came to see him (II, 49),

Mahākaccāna dwelling at Gundāvana at Madhurā (II, 83), Aṅgulimāla, a bandit, dwelling in the kingdom of King Pasenadi of Kosala (II, 97) and entering Savatthī for alms (II, 103), Brahmāyu, an old brahmin of Mithilā (II, 133), Ānanda residing in the Kalandakanivāpa at Veluvana in Rājagaha shortly after the parinibbāna of the Buddha (III, 7), Ajātasattu, king of Magadha (III, 7), Mahāpajāpati Gotamī who approached the place where the Buddha was, saluted him, and entreated him to instruct and give a religious discourse to the bhikkhūṇis (III, 270), Sunakkhatta, a Licchavi (I, 68), and Mahānāma, a Sakka (I, 91).

Of other historical references, mention may be made of the allusions to the Vajjis and Mallas (I, 231), the Sākyas of Kapilavatthu (I, 353), the Kāsīs of Bārānasī (I, 473), the Aṅgas and the Magadhas (II, 2), to the heretical teacher, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajitakesakambalī, Pakudha Kaccāyana; Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, and Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta (II, 2), and to Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta's death at Pāvā (II, 243).

Geographical

Important geographical references in the Majjhima Nikāya are few, and are already well known from other sources. Thus we have references to Bāhuka, Adhikakka, Gayā, Sundarikā, Sarassatī, Payāga, and Bāhumatī (I, 39), to Gosīṅgasālavana which was beautiful (I, 213), Vejayanta palace (I, 253), Assapura, a country of the Aṅgas (I, 271), Sālā, a brahmin village of the Kosalans (I, 285), Naḷakapāna, a palāsa forest (I, 462), Haliddavasana, a country of the Koliyas (I, 387), Suṃsumara mountain in the Deer Park of Bhesakaḷāvana of the Bhaggas (II, 91), Meaḷumpa, a country of the Sākyas (II, 118), Opasāda, a brahmin village of the Kosalans visited by the Buddha along with the bhikkhus (II, 164), and to Sāmagāma of the Sakkas (II, 243).

In the Saṃyutta Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka

Historical references

The Saṃyutta Nikāya refers to King Pasenadi of Kosala, the capital of which was Sāvathī. The whole of the Kosala-Saṃyutta is devoted to him. We are told that a war broke out between Ajātasattu, king of Magadha, and Pasenadi. Each claimed the possession of the township of Kāsī. At first Ajātasattu was victorious, but later on he was defeated and taken prisoner by Pasenadi. Pasenadi, however, married his daughter, Vajirā, to him and granted to him the township of Kāsī (I, 82-85). We are also told of the death of Pasenadi's grandmother (I, 97). The venerable Piṇḍolabhāradvāja who dwelt at Kosambī in the Ghositārāma gave answer to King Udena's questions. Udena was highly pleased with his answers and declared his faith in the Buddhist Triad (IV, 110).

Geographical references

When the Master attained Supreme Enlightenment at Uruvelā under the Banyan tree on the bank of the river Nerañjarā, he was unwilling to preach the doctrine. Brahmā requested him to set rolling the Wheel of Law for the good of all. The Blessed One after much deliberation consented to the proposal (I, 136-137).

The Lord, while dwelling at Rājagaha in Veluvana in the Kalandakanivāpa, converted the brāhmaṇa Bhāradvāja and many other brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvājagotta (I, 160-163).

The Blessed One once dwelt in the country of the Bhaggas at the Suṃsumāragiri in the Deer Park of Bhesakalāvana where he gave to the householder Nakulapitā religious discourses (III, 1).

The Blessed One dwelt at the city of Devadaha of the Sākyas (III, 5).

Mahākaccāna dwelt at Avanti on the mountain called Kuraraghara (III, 12). When the Lord was residing in Vesālī at Mahāvana in the Kūṭāgārasālā, he refuted the heretical views of

Pūraṇa Kassapa which had been put to him by Mahāli, a Licchavi (III, 68-69).

The Lord once dwelt at Kapilavatthu in the Nigrodhārāma (III, 91).

At Sāvattī Vacchagotta, a wanderer, put to the Buddha some heretical questions (whether the world is eternal or non-eternal, etc). The Buddha explained the origin of wrong views (III, 258).

Sāriputta while dwelling at the village of Nālaka in Magadha explained to the wanderer Jambukhādaka the Eightfold Path leading to the attainment of nibbāna (IV, 251).

Sāriputta while dwelling in the country of the Vajjis in Ukkavelā on the bank of the river Gaṅgā addressed a religious discourse to the wanderer Sāmaṇḍaka (IV, 261).

The Blessed One once went to Nālandā from Kosala and converted Gāmani, Asibandhakaputto (IV, 323).

Once the Lord dwelt at the Deer Park of Añcanavana at Sāketa (V, 73).

The Lord resided at the city of Setaka in Sumbha (V, 89).

The Lord dwelt at the city of Haliddavasana in the country of the Koliyas (V, 115).

The Blessed One visited the brāhmaṇa village of Sālā in Kosala (V, 144).

The Lord visited with a company of the bhikkhus the brāhmaṇa village of Veḷudvāra in Kosala (V, 352).

The Blessed One visited Koṭṭigāma in the Vajji country (V, 431). Ānanda and Bhadda lived at the Kukkutārāma in Pāṭaliputta (V, 171).

In the Aṅguttara Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka

Historical references

There were sixteen Mahājanapadas, viz., Aṅga, Magadha, Kāsī, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Cetī, Vaiśa Kuru, Pañcāla, Maccha, Sūrasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhāra, and Kamboja. It is worthy of notice that the names are names of people and not of countries (I, 213 ; IV, 252).

We are also told of King Pasenadi of Kosala and his Queen Mallikādevi (III, 57).

While the Lord was staying at Rājagaha on the Gijjhakūtapabbata, Vassakāra the brahmin minister of King Ajātasattu of Magadha, as directed by his royal master, came to the Buddha for advice concerning the king's desire for leading an expedition to the Vajji country. After a talk with the Buddha Vassakāra realised that the only means of subjugating the Vajjis lay in sowing the seeds of mutual jealousy among them (IV, 17-21)

Geographical references

Mahākaccāna while dwelling at Madhurā in the Gundāvana explained the evils of sensual pleasures to the Brāhmaṇa Kaṇḍarāyana who professed his faith in the Buddhist Triad (I, 87).

Once the Blessed One went to the brāhmaṇa village of Venāgapura in Kosala where he addressed a religious discourse to the brāhmaṇas who took their refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha (I, 180)

The Master once visited the township of Kesaputta of the Kālāma who were converted by him (I, 188).

The Buddha visited the township of Paṅkadhā in Kosala and from Paṅkadhā went to Rājagaha and dwelt at the Gijjhakūta (I, 236, 237).

There are references in the Aṅguttara Nikāya to Bhaṇḍagāma in the kingdom of the Vajjis visited by the Buddha (II, 1), Ajapālanigrodha (*Ibid.*, 22), Madhurā and Verañji (*Ibid.*, 57), the Master dwelling among the Bhaggas in the Deer Park of Bhesakalāvana (*Ibid.* 61), Kusīnārā where the Buddha dwelt between the twin sāla trees of the Mallas at Upavattana (*Ibid.*, 79), the hermitage of Anāthapiṇḍika at Jetavana in Sāvattihī (III, 1), a brahmin village of the Kosalans called the Icchanaṅgala visited by the Buddha (*Ibid.* 30), the Blessed One dwelling among the Bhaddiyas (*Ibid.*, 36), the Master dwelling at the pinnacled house in the Mahāvana in Vesālī (*Ibid.*, 38), Nārada dwelling at

the Kukkuṭārāma in Pāṭaliputta (*Ibid.*, 57), the young Licchavi roaming about in the Mahāvana armed with bows and arrows accompanied by dogs. (*Ibid.*, 75), Sārandaḍaciya (*Ibid.*, 168) the bhikkhus dwelling in the Deer Park at Benares (*Ibid.*, 320), the Buddha dwelling at Rājagaha on the Gijjhakūṭa mountain (*Ibid.*, 366).

While dwelling at Vesālī in the Sārandaḍa Cetiya the Blessed One spoke to the Licchavis on the seven conditions, by following which, they were sure to thrive (IV, 16).

The Venerable Uttara is said to have dwelt at Mahisavatthu on the mount Saṃkheyyaka (IV, 162).

The Blessed One while dwelling at Verañjā under Naḷerupucimandamūla converted the Brāhmaṇa Verañja (IV, 172).

There were five great rivers, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhu, and Mahī (IV, 202).

The Lord dwelt at the Aggāḷava Cetiya in Āḷaviya (IV, 218).

The Buddha once visited the township of Kakkarapatta of the Koliyas (IV, 281).

The Lord also went to the brahmin village of Icchānaṅgala in Kosala and there he converted the brahmin householders (IV, 340), to the township of Uruvelakappa of the Mallas (IV, 438), to Kammāsadhamma in the Kuru country (V, 29-30), to Sahajāti in the Cetī country (V, 41), to Kajaṅgala and dwelt there at the Veḷuvana (V, 54).

The township of Kāsī was in the possession of Pasenadi, king of Kosala (V, 59).

The Lord once went to the township of Naḷakapāna in Kosala and dwelt at the Palāsavana (V, 122).

A certain householder, Dasama by name, came to Pāṭaliputta from Aṭṭhakanagara on some business. He went to Kukkuṭārāma, which was in Pāṭaliputta, in order to see the Thera Ānanda. But he was informed that Ānanda was then dwelling at Vesālī in Vehivagāma. He then after finishing his business went to Veluvagāma (V, 342).

Historical and geographical references in the Khuddaka Nihāya

Historical

Devadatta was destined to go to Hell (Itivuttaka, p. 85). King Bimbisāra of Magadha and King Pasenadi of Kosala have been referred to in the Udāna (p. 11) and there is a mention in it of Suppavāsā, a daughter of the Koliyas (p. 15). There are references in the Udāna to Pasenadi and his wife Mallikā (p. 47), Cunda (p. 81), and King Udena who went to a garden. When he went there, a harem was built and 500 women headed by Sāmāvati died (p. 79). The Udāna further refers to Visākhā, mother of Migāra (p. 91), and Dabba, a Mallian (p. 93).

The Sutta Nipāta refers to the Buddha dwelling among the Magadhas in a brahmin village named Ekanālā at Lakkhināgiri (p. 13) and to the Master dwelling at Āḷavī in the abode of the Yakkha Āḷavaka (p. 31). There are references in the Petavatthu to King Brahmadata of Pancāla (p. 32) and King Piṅgalaka of the kingdom of Suratttha and the Moriyas (p. 57).

We shall briefly state some facts from the Jātakas regarding the political history of ancient India. From the Jātakas we know that Aṅga was once a powerful kingdom. Magadha was once under the sway of Aṅgarājā (*Jātaka*, Fausboll, VI, p. 272). It is said (*Jātaka*, V, pp. 312-316) that King Manoja of Brahmavardhana (another name of Benares) conquered Aṅga and Magadha. It appears from the Jātakas (*Jātaka*, III, pp. 115 foll.; *Jātaka*, I, pp. 262 foll.) that before the Buddha's time Kāsī was the most powerful kingdom in the whole of Northern India. In the Jātakas (Vol. II, p. 237; IV, pp. 342 foll.) we find that Mahākosala, father of King Pasenadi of Kosala, gave his daughter in marriage to King Bimbisāra of Magadha. The pin-money was the village of Kāsī yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume. We are also told that there took place many a fierce fight between the sons of Mahākosala and Bimbisāra, Pasenadi, and Ajātasattu respectively. In one of the Jātakas (*Jāt.*, IV, pp. 144ff.) we are told that Viḍudabha, in order to crush the Sakiyas who deceived his father Pasenadi by giving him a daughter of a

slave girl to marry, deposed his father and became king. He marched out with a large army and succeeded in annihilating the Sakiyas. But he with his army met also with destruction. The river Rohiṇī was the boundary between the Sākya and Koliya countries. A quarrel broke out among the Sakiyas and Koliyas regarding the possession of the river. But the Buddha succeeded in restoring peace among his kinsfolk (*Jāt.*, I, pp. 327 foll.: Rukkhadhamma Jātaka; *Jāt.*, IV, pp. 207 foll.: Phandana Jātaka). A king of Benares attacked the kingdom of Kosala and took the king prisoner. The king of Kosala had a son named Chatta who fled while his father was taken prisoner. Afterwards Chatta recovered his kingdom (*Jātaka*, III, pp. 115 foll.). The kingdom of Benares was seized by a king of Sāvattihī named Vaṅka. But it was soon restored to the king of Benares (*Jātaka*, III, pp. 168-69).

Besides there are other historical references. A king of Benares had a gardener who could make sweet mangoes bitter and bitter mangoes sweet (*Jātaka*, V, p. 3). Fine cloths widely known as Kāsī cloths were manufactured (*Jātaka*, V, p. 377). There was a great town of carpenters in Benares containing a thousand families (*Jātaka*, III, p. 198). Slaughter of deer, swine, and other animals for making offerings to goblins was in vogue in Benares (*Jātaka*, IV, p. 115). There was a king named Assaka in Potali. He was instructed by a Bodhisatta (*Jātaka*, II, pp. 155 foll.). There was a festival at Rājagaha where people drank wine, ate flesh, danced, and sang (*Jātaka* I, p. 489). Pilindiyavaccha turned the palace of Rājagaha into gold with the result that he was given an abundant supply of the five eatables, e.g., sugar, butter, ghee, honey, and oil (*Jātaka*, III, pp. 363-364). A meeting was held in a Saṅhāgāra at Rājagaha where the people met and discussed the means of welfare but they could not arrive at any definite conclusion and the matter was referred to the Buddha who settled it finally by preaching the Maṅgala Sutta of the Khuddakapāṭha (*Ibid.*, IV, pp. 72 foll.). In the Vepulla mountain surrounding Rājagaha there was a gem used by an universal monarch by which Dhanañjaya, the Kaurava king, might be defeated in playing dice (*Ibid.*, VI, p. 271).

Geographical

The Gijjhakūṭa-pabbata has been described as a big mountain in Giribbaja of the Magadhas (*Itivuttaka*, p. 17). The Udāna mentions the Bo-tree at the foot of which the Buddha first obtained enlightenment on the bank of the river Nerañjarā at Uruvelā (p. 1), Jetayana where the Buddha dwelt (p. 3), Gayāsisa at Gayā where the Master dwelt (p. 6), Pippali cave where Mahākassapa dwelt (p. 29), Upavattana, the sāla forest of the Mallas (p. 37), Kalandakanivāpa at Veluvana at Rājagaha visited by the Buddha (p. 39), and Kosambī visited by the Buddha (p. 41). There are references in it to Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, and Mahī (pp. 53, 55), Mahāvana where the Master dwelt (p. 62), and to the five Cetiya, Cāpāla, Udena, Gotamaka, Sattambaka, Bahuputta, and Sārandada (p. 62). Kusinārā and Pāṭaligāma are also referred to in it (pp. 82 and 85).

The Sutta Nipāta refers to the Gijjhakūṭa-pabbata (p. 86), Rājagaha (p. 86) visited by the Buddha, Veluvana, and Kalandakanivāpa (p. 91), Icchānaṅkala (p. 115), Sāvathī (p. 18), Pubbārāma where there was the palace of Migāramatā (p. 139), Dakkhināpatha (p. 190), Kapilavatthu (p. 192) visited by the Buddha, Patiṭṭhāna, Māhissati, Ujjeni, Vedisā, Kosambī, Setavya, Kusinārā, Magadha, and the Cetiya pāsānaka (p. 194) This work refers to the rivers Godāvarī (p. 190), Gaṅgā (p. 32), and Sunda-rikā (p. 79).

The Vimānavatthu refers to Cittalatāvana which was beautiful (p. 16) and the Petavatthu refers to Gaṅga, (pp. 28 and 29) and to two famous cities of Vesālī and Sāvathī (pp. 45 and 63).

There are many geographical allusions in the Jātakas. It is said that Campā, the capital of the kingdom of Aṅga, was at a distance of 60 yojanas from Mithilā (*Jāt.*, VI, p. 32). In the Assaka Jātaka (*Jāt.*, II, p. 155) we are told of the Assaka territory, the capital city of which was Potali. In the Bhīmasena Jātaka (*Jāt.*, I, pp. 356 ff.) Takkasilā is referred to as a great centre of learning. In the Cetiya Jātaka (*Jāt.*, III, p. 460) we are told that the four sons of the king of Ceti built five cities: Hatthipura, Assapura, Sihapura, Uttara-Paṅcāla, and Daddarapura. From the Sivi Jātaka

(*Jāt.*, IV, p. 401) we know that Ariṭṭhapura was the capital of the Sivi kingdom. The kingdom of Bāveru is referred to in the Bāveru Jātaka (*Jāt.*, III, p. 126). Bharukaccha, a seaport town, is referred to in the Sussondi Jātaka (*Jāt.*, III, pp. 187 ff.). In the Cetiya Jātaka (*Jāt.*, III, p. 454) it is said that Soththivatinagara was the capital of the kingdom of Ceti. In the Gandhāra Jātaka (*Jāt.*, III, pp. 363-369) the Kasmīr-Gandhāra kingdom and the Videha kingdom are also mentioned. The kingdom of Kāsī is also referred to in the Jātakas. Its capital was Bārāṇasī. The extent of the city is mentioned as 12 yojanas (*Jāt.*, IV, p. 160). There are also references to the Kosala kingdom (*Jāt.*, III, p. 237 ; *Jāt.*, III, pp. 211-213). The Kamboja kingdom is also referred to in the Jātakas (*Jāt.*, IV, p. 208). There are innumerable references to the Magadha kingdom (*Jāt.*, IV, pp. 454-455 ; *Jāt.*, V, p. 316 ; *Jāt.*, VI, p. 272). The city of Mithilā, the capital of the Videhas, was 7 leagues and the kingdom of Vedeha 300 leagues in extent (Cowell's *Jāt.*, III, p. 222). We find a reference to the Maddaraṭṭha in the Kāliṅga-Bodhi Jātaka (Cowell's *Jāt.*, IV, pp. 144-145). In the Kumbhakāra Jātaka (Cowell's *Jāt.*, III, p. 230) we read that the capital of Uttara-Pañcāla was Kampilla. The city of Saṁkassa is referred to in the Kaṇha Jātaka (*Jāt.*, Fausboll, I, p. 193). The country of Surarṭṭha is referred to in the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka (*Jāt.*, V, p. 133). In the Sālittaka Jātaka (*Jāt.*, I, p. 418) and in the Kurudhamma Jātaka (*Jāt.*, II, p. 366) we find that the river Aciravatī was near Sāvattṭhī. In the Baka-Brahma Jātaka (*Jāt.*, III, p. 361) the river Eṇī is referred to. The river Campā formed the boundary between Aṅga and Magadha (Campeyya Jātaka —*Jāt.*, IV, p. 454). The river Godāvārī is near the Kaviṭṭha forest (Sarabhaṅga Jātaka —*Jāt.*, V, p. 132). The Arañjara, a chain of mountains, is referred to in the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka (*Jāt.*, V, p. 134). The Candaka mountain is referred to in the Saṁkhapāla Jātaka (*Jāt.*, V, p. 162). In the Gaṅgamāla Jātaka (*Jāt.*, III, p. 452) the Gandhamadana is mentioned. The Hīṅgula-pabbata is in the Himavanta-padesa (*Jāt.*, V, p. 415).

The Niddesa contains some geographical information. It refers to Gumba, Takkola, Takkasīlā, Kālamukha, Maraṇapāra,

Vesuṅga, Verāpatha, Java, Tamali, Vaṅga¹ Eḷavaddana, Suvanna-kūṭa, Suvannaḥhūmi², Tambapaṇṇi³, Suppāra⁴, Bharukaccha⁵, Surattṭha⁶, Aṅgaṅka, Gaṅgaṅa, Paramagaṅgaṅa, Yona⁷, Parama-yona, Allasanda⁸, Marukantāra, Jaṇṇupatha, Ajapatha, Meṇḍa-patha, Saṅkupatha, Chattapatha, Vaṃsapatha, Sakuṇa patha, Mūsikapatha, Daripatha, Vettādhāra (*Niddesa*, I, pp. 154-155).

In the *Niddesa* (II, p. I) we are told that once a certain brahmin named Bāyari desirous of akiṅcannaṃ (salvation) went to Dakkhiṇāpatha from the beautiful city of the Kosalans. He lived on the banks of the river Godāvāri in the kingdom of Assaka near Mūlaka. In the same book (*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5) we find that there was a route, probably a trade route, from Patitṭhāna to Magadha. There are references to Mūlaka⁹, Patitṭhāna¹⁰, Māhissati¹¹, Ujjeni¹², Gonadham, Vedisā, Kosambī¹³, Sāketa, Sāvattṭhī¹⁴, Setavyam, Kapilavattu¹⁵, Kusinārā, Pāvā¹⁶, Bhoganagara, Vesālī¹⁷, and Magadha.¹⁸

¹ Bengal.

² Burma.

³ Ceylon.

⁴ Souppara (Pāli: Suppāraka), once a great seaport town.

⁵ Broach.

⁶ Surat.

⁷ Between the rivers Kophen and the Indus.

⁸ Alexandria.

⁹ According to the Buddhists, Mūlaka was a different town from Assaka.

The countries of Mūlaka and Assaka were separated by the river Godāvāri.

¹⁰ Paiṭhān, the capital of Assaka or Mahārāshtra on the Godāvāri.

¹¹ Mahesvara or Mahesh, on the right bank of the Nerbuda, 40 miles to the south of Indore. During the Buddhist period it was the capital of Avanti-Dakshināpatha.

¹² Capital of Mālava or Avanti on the Sīprā.

¹³ Kosam, an old village on the Jumna, 30 miles S.W. of Allahabad.

¹⁴ Sahet-Mahet on the border of the Bhraich and Gonda districts of the Fyzabad division, U.P.

¹⁵ The village of Piprāwā (Basti district, marks the site of Kapilavattu).

¹⁶ Between Pāvā (Fazilpur-Gorakhpur district) and Kusinagara (Kasia) was the river Kukultha or Kuku.

¹⁷ Vesali has been identified with the rums at and near Besarhar Bazar (Muzaffarpur district, Bihar).

¹⁸ The districts of Patna and Gaya formed this territory proper.

The Paṭisambhidāmagga mentions Sāvattthī as the place visited by the Master (Vol. II, pt. I, p. 177), Kosambī visited by Ānanda (Vol. II, p. 92), and Isipatana Migadāva at Benares visited by the Buddha (Vol. II, pp. 147, 159).

The Buddhavaṃsa refers to the city of Amarāvati where lived a brahmin, Sumedha (p. 6), the city of Rammavati (p. 17), the Himalayas (p. 49), Kusīnārā, Vesālī, Kapilavatthu, Allakappa Rāmagāma, Pāṭaliputta, Avantipura, and Mithila (p. 68).

The Cariyāpiṭaka mentions the following cities—Indapatta ruled by Dhanañjaya, some brahmins from Kalinga came to him (p. 74), Kusāvati (p. 75), Campeyya where the Bodhiṣatta was born as a snake king (p. 85), and Pañcāla where there was a king named Jayadissa in the city of Kappila (p. 90), and there is a reference to Gaṅgā in the Cariyāpiṭaka (p. 87).

The Apadāna refers to the cities of Hamsavati famous for good flowers (p. 124), Bandhumati (pp. 270, 295), Aruṇavati (p. 282), and Ketumati (II, p. 354). This work also refers to the following rivers:

(1) Sindhu (p. 325), Candabhāgā (pp. 277, 291), Gaṅga, Yamunā, Sarabhu, Mahī, Saraswati (p. 27), and it mentions the following cetiyas—Buddha-cetiya (p. 71) and Sikhi-cetiya (p. 255). The Himalayan mountain has been mentioned in the Apadāna (pp. 15, 20, 50, 58, 160, 278, 279, 336, 411).

APPENDIX B

Pāli tracts in the inscriptions

Asoka's Bhābrū Edict

Much light is thrown on the development of Pāli canonical literature by the lithic records of Asoka.

The first inscription that deserves notice in this connection is the Bhābrū Edict. It opens with a declaration of Asoka's deep and extensive faith in the Buddhist Triad and of his firm conviction that the utterances of Buddha are gospel truth. It then enumerates certain Dhammapariyāyas or canonical texts selected out of the Buddhist scriptures then known to him for the constant study and meditation not by the clericals only, but also by the laity and that with a view to making the good faith long endure. The texts referred to by Asoka are as follows :

(1) *Vinaya Samukase* or the exaltation of discipline, Pātimokkha (Rhys Davids, J.R.A.S., 1898).

Prof. Bhandarkar	Tuvaṭṭhaka Sutta (Sutta Nipāta).
Mr. Mitra	Sappurisa Sutta (Majjhima) and later, A Vinaya tract in the Aṅguttara, Vol. I.
Prof. Oldenberg	The Pātimokkha.
" Barua	Siṅgālovāda Sutta (Dīgha) called Gihivinaya and Anumāṇa Sutta (Majjhima) called Bhikkhuvīnaya.

A History of Pāli Literature

(2) *Aliya-Vasāni*

- Prof. Kosambī Ariyavaṃsa (Aṅguttara), Vol. II, p. 27.
" Rhys Davids Ten Ariyavasāni enumerated in the Saṅgīti Suttanta (Dīgha), J.R.A.S., 1898.

(3) *Anāgata bhayāni*

- " Rhys Davids Anāgata bhayāni (Aṅguttara).

(4) *Munigāthā*

- " Rhys Davids Muni Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), I, 12, p. 36.

(5) *Moneya Sūte*

- " Kosambī Nālaka Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), iii, II, pp. 131-134.
" Barua Nālaka Sutta *minus* the Frologue.
" Rhys Davids Moneyya Sutta, J.R.A.S., 1898.

(6) *Upatisa Pasine*

- " Kosambī and Barua Sāriputta Sutta (Sutta Nipāla), iv, 16, pp. 176-9.
" Neuman The questions of Upatissa in the Rathavinīta Sutta (Majjhima).

(7) *Lāghulovāde*

- " Rhys Davids Rāhulovāda Sutta (Majjhima), ii, 2, 1, Vol. I, p. 414.
" M. Senart The Ambalaṭṭhika Rāhulovāda Sutta (Majjhima).

These are the Dhammapariyāyas or canonical texts which have been identified differently with suttas of the Pāli canonical literature.

At the time of Asoka there was a Buddhist literature. Asoka selected out of this body of Buddhist literature seven Dhammapariyāyas which, in his opinion, would serve his purpose, that is, making the good faith long endure.

It is generally accepted by scholars that Buddhism is the basis and source of inspiration in regard to Asoka's Dhamma. The *Siṅgālovāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipata* enumerate just those courses of conduct which Asoka was never tired of inculcating on the minds of his people and it is easy to understand how greatly the texts of the Rock Edicts, 9 and 11, were inspired by the *Maṅgala Sutta*. Now there are the two scriptural texts which have been particularly reserved by Buddhism for the lay people to read, contemplate, and practise.

The style of composition and the subject of discussion in the last portion of the *Kālsī*, *Shāhbāzgarhi*, and *Mansherāh* versions of R.E. IX are almost similar to those in the *Kathāvattu* (composed by *Moggaliputta Tissa* in the third council held under the patronage of Asoka), and the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* respectively. (*Bhandarkar and Majumdar, Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 34-36).

M. Senart points out that the use of the phrase "Dhammādāna" must have been suggested to Asoka by a verse from the *Dhammapada*: "Sabbadānam dhammadānam Jināti."

References to Buddhist canonical literature

On the monuments of the 2nd century B.C. the names of donors of different parts of the buildings are inscribed and in many cases with their titles. Some of these titles are very important because they have been derived from the well-known divisions of the Buddhist canonical literature. Among these epithets have been found the following: *Dhamma kathika*, *Pavakin*, *Suttantika*, *Suttantakinī*, and *Pañcanekāyika* which refer to the Buddhist books. They conclusively prove the existence of a Buddhist literature before the date of the inscriptions. This Buddhist literature had divisions known by the technical names of *Piṭaka*, *Nikāya*, *Suttanta*, and *Jātaka*. Again the *Nikāya* is said to have five divisions. There were not only the *Piṭaka*, the five *Nikāyas* and the *Jātakas* but also distinct groups of reciters known as the *bhāṅakas*.

Barhut Inscriptions

The inscriptions on the Inner Railings and Gateways of the Buddhist Stūpa at Barhut in Central Indīa throw interesting light on the development of Pāli literature. Barua and Sinha in their *Barhut Inscriptions* have broadly distinguished the inscriptions as Votive Labels and Jātaka Labels, grouping the former as they occur on the Gateway-pillars, the Rail-pillars, the Rail-bars, the Coping stones and the isolated Fragments and grouping the latter as they are attached to different scenes in accordance with the accepted Jātaka-outlines of the Buddha's life.

That the bas-reliefs on the Barhut Tope illustrate several scenes from the Jātaka stories can be shown by the fact that the titles of the Jātakas inscribed on the bas-reliefs correspond to those in Pāli literature. The titles inscribed on the bas-reliefs, e.g., Vitura Punakiya, Miga, Nāga, Yavamajhakiya, Mugapakaya, Latuvā, Chandantiya, Isisingiya, Yaṁ bamaṇo avayesi, Hansa, Kinara, Isimigo, Janoko rājā, Sivalā devī, Uda, Secha, Sujato gahuto, Biḍala Jātaka, Kukuta Jātaka, Maghādeviya and Bhisā Haraniya, correspond to those found in the Pāli Jātaka books, e.g., Vidhūra Paṇḍita, Nigrodha, Kakkāṭa, Episode in Mahā Ummagga, Mūgapakkha, Latukikā, Chaddanta, Alambusa, Andha-bhūta, Nacca, Caṇḍa Kinnara, Miga-potaka, Mahā-Janaka, Dabbha-Puppha, Dūbhiya-Makkāṭa, Sujāta, Kukkuṭa, Makhādeva, and Bhisā. Again, in the Barhut Stūpa we find some scenes which have got no title inscribed on the bas-relief. But a close examination of the pictures engraved on the railing enables us to identify some of the scenes with those in the Pāli Jātaka stories. The names of such Pāli Jātaka stories are, e.g., Kuruṅga-Miga, Sandhi-bheda, Asadisa, Dasaratha, Mahā-Kapi, Camma-Sataka, Ārāma-Dūsaka, and Kapota.

Pāli inscriptions at the Sārṇāth Museum

The Museum at Sārṇāth shelters a huge, more than life size image of a standing Bodhisattva. At the front and back of the pedestal of the image, as well as on the umbrella over his

head, there are three Pāli inscriptions inscribed in the 3rd year of the reign of Kaniska, the great Kuṣāṇa king. The text of the inscription relates itself to the subject of the first sermon delivered by the Buddha to the five brāhmaṇas immediately after the sambodhi at Sārnāth. It is not exactly a quotation but is neither of the character of an abstract of the original subject from the Mahāvagga (1, 7, 6).

(a) "Chattār=imāni bhikkhave ar (i) ya-saccāni, (b) Katamāni (ca) ttāri dukkha (m) di (bhi) kkhave arā (i) ya-saccaṃ, (c) dukkha-samuday (o) ariyasaccāni dukkha-nirodho ariyasaccaṃ, (d) dukkhanirodho-gāminī (cha) paṭipadā.

Translation: "Four are the Noble Axioms, ye monks! And what are these four? The Noble Axiom about suffering, ye monks, the Noble Axiom about the origin of suffering, the Noble Axiom about the cessation of suffering, and the Noble Axiom about the way leading to the cessation of suffering [*Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth*. No. D, (c) 11].

Maunggan Gold plates

Inscriptions found in Burma

Two gold plates bearing inscription in Pāli, very closely allied to the Kadamba script of the 5th century A.D., of Southern India, were discovered at Maunggan, a village near old Prome, Burma. These two plates begin each with the well known Buddhist formula: Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṃ hetu, etc., which is followed in the first, by 19 categories from the *Abhidhamma in numerical order* and, in the second, by the no less well-known praise of the Triratana. (An. R.A.S. Burma, 1924, p. 21.)

Bawbawgyi pagoda stone fragments

In 1910-11, while clearing a small portion of the debris round the Bawbawgyi pagoda of Hmawza (old Prome) three fragments of a stone inscription were discovered. Their charac-

ters are the same as those of the Maunggan plates ; and the script may be referred to the 6th century A.D. It contains an extract from the *Vibhaṅga*, a book of the *Abhidhamma*, and corresponds to page 144 of Mrs. Rhys Davids' edition. (An. R.A.S.,) Burma, 1924, p. 21.)

The two gold plates and the stone fragments have been elaborately treated by Mon. Finot in his article "*Un nouveau document sur le bouddhisme birman*" — a new document of Burmese Buddhism— published in the *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. XX. Juillet-Aout, 1912, pages 121 ff.

Text of the two gold plates

I. (1) Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesāṃ hetu tathāgato āha tesāṃ ca yo nirodho evaṃvādi mahāsamano ti (2) Catvaro sammappadhānā catvāro satipaṭṭhānā catvāri ariyasaccāni cutuvesarajjāni pañcindriyāni pañca cakkhuni cha (3) asaddhāraṇāni satta bojjhaṅga ariyo aṭṭhangiko maggo navalokuttari dhammā dasa balāni cuddasa buddhañānāni atthārasa buddha dhammā ti.

II. (1) Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā (te) sa (ṃ) hetu tathāgato āha tesāṃ ca yo nirodho evambādi mahāsamano ti iti pi so bhagavā araham (2) Sammā sambuddho vijjācaraca-sampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadhamma sārathī satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavā ti (3) Sākhyaṭo bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanāyiko paccattam veditavo viññuhīti.

The first plaque begins with the well-known formula. After that it enumerates 19 categories in a progressively numerical order: 4 Iddhipādas, bases of magical power, 4 Sammappadhānas, good deeds 4 Satipaṭṭhānā, subjects of meditation, 4 ariyasaccāni, holy truths, 4 Vesārajjāni, confidences, 5 indriyāni, senses, 5 Oakkhuni, eyes, 6 asādhāraṇāni, special knowledges of Buddhism, 7 bojjhaṅgā, elements of the Bodhi, the noble way of the 8 elements, 9 lokuttarā dhammā, supernatural states, 10 balāni, powers, 14 Buddhañānāni, knowledges of the Buddha, and 18 Buddha dhammas.

The 2nd plaque begins in the same manner. It is followed by the well-known hymn (praise) of Triratna. See for example the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, II, 56.

The script may at first sight be said to belong to Southern India — 'Kanara-Telegu' script of Bühler, more particularly Kadamba.

Text of the fragmentary stone inscription

(1) ...nā samphus (i) tattam vedanākkhando saññākkhando sañkkhārahando...

(2) diṭṭhivipphanditam diṭṭhi ayam vuccati chaḷāyatana paccayo phasso tatha katam (ā) (pha) ssa paccāya vedanā I yañ ceta (s) i...

(3) Saññojanaṃ gā (ho) paṭilāho abhiniveso paṃamaso kummaggo.

Translation:

(1) ... (the contact), the fact of coming into contact, the Vedanākkhandha, the Saññākkhandha, the sañkkhārahanda — constituent elements of sensation, perception, and confessions; (2) quarrels of opinion, this is what people call opinion. (Diṭṭhi) Touch comes from the six organs of sense. What is the sensation which is derived from touching. That which in thought... (3) Chain, inclination, contagion, bad path...

This text is probably an extract from a canon, which is difficult to be traced. It presents considerable similarities with certain passages of the *Dhammasaṅgāni*. It could therefore, be found in a treatise of the *Abhidhamma*, and perhaps one of those which are still unpublished.

A gold-leaf manuscript discovered at Hmawza, Prome

A manuscript in every way similar to the palm-leaf manuscript so common in India and Barma but with leaves of gold, twenty in number with writing incised on one side, has been discovered within a relic chamber unearthed at Hmawza, a small village five miles north of Prome.

The manuscript contains extracts from the Vinaya and Abhidhamma Piṭakas, together with these mentioned above, the earliest proofs of Pāli Buddhism in Burma. The MS. begins on the first page with an extract giving the chain of causation (Paṭiccasamuppada) and ends on the last page with 'Itipi so Bhagavā araham̃ Sammāsambuddho, etc.' enumerating the qualities of the Buddha. This manuscript may be assigned to the VI-VIIIth century A.D. (Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1926-27, p. 200)

An inscription of A.D. 1442

The inscription of B.E. 804 (1442 A.D.) is among those collected by Forchhammer at Pagan. The Governor of Tanngdwin and his wife made various gifts to the Buddhist Order and this inscription commemorates this memorable event. The pious donors not only made gifts of monastery, garden paddy-lands, and slaves but also offered to the bhikkhus a collection of texts. The importance of the list of texts lies in the fact that it not only helps us in fixing the chronology of many Pāli works but also enables us to form some notion of the point reached by the Sanskrit scholars in Burma in the 15th century for the list contains a number of titles of Sanskrit works.

The list of texts contained in the inscription may be given here:

1. Pārājikakaṇḍa
2. Pācittiya
3. Bikkhuṇṇivibhaṅga
4. Vinayamahāvagga
5. Vinayacūlavagga
6. Vinayaparivāra
7. Pārājikakaṇḍa-ṭīkā
10. Terasakaṇḍa-ṭākā
11. Vinayasangraha-aṭṭhakathā (the greater)
12. Vinayasangraha-aṭṭha kathā (the less)
13. Kaṅkhāvitarāṇi-aṭṭhakathā
14. Khuddasikkhā-ṭīkā (ancient)
15. Khuddasikkhā-ṭīkā (new)
16. Kankhā-ṭīkā (new)
17. Vinayaṅṭhipada
18. Vinayauttarasiṅcaya-aṭṭhakathā
19. Vinayasiṅcaya-ṭīkā (later)
20. Vinayakandhaniddesa
21. Dhammasaṅgani
22. Vibhaṅga
23. Dhatukathā
24. Puggalapaṇṇatti
25. Kathāvatthu
26. Mūlayamaka
27. Indriyamaka
28. Tikāpaṭṭhāna
29. Dukaṭīkapaṭṭhāna
30. Dukapaṭṭhāna
31. Atthasālini-aṭṭha kathā
32. Sammoha-

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The Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Pegu-introduction

The Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Pegu (Burma)²⁰ were erected c. 1476 A.D. by Dhammaceti king of Rāmaññadesa or ancient Pegu, and record the history of the establishment of Buddhism in Burma, and its gradual evolution through many vicissitudes of fortune. The main object in founding the Kalyāṇī-sīmā appears to have been to afford to the priesthood of Rāmaññadesa a duly consecrated place for the purpose of performing the uposatha, upasampadā, and other ecclesiastical ceremonies, and indirectly to secure continuity in their apostolic succession from Mahinda, the Buddhist apostle of Ceylon. The object of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions is to give an authoritative ruling on the varied opinions of scholars with regard to ordination, and to prescribe a ceremonial for the consecration of a sīmā.

The Kalyāṇī inscriptions are situated at the western suburbs of the town of Pegu. They comprise ten stone slabs, more or less broken to pieces and scattered about. The language of the first three stones is Pāli, and that of the rest is Talaing, being a translation of the Pāli text.

Interpretations of Pāli texts

Owing to the want of a large number of priests well versed in Tripiṭaka, learned, wise and able, and who could after meeting and consulting together, investigate as to what was proper or not, disputations arose amongst the Buddhist Order of Pegu with regard to the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, such

¹⁹ For details, readers are referred to M.H. Bode's *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, pp. 101-109.

²⁰ Taw Seim ko: *A preliminary study of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, Pegu*, I.A., Vol. XXIII, 1893.

as the consecration of a *sīmā* and the *upasampadā* ordination. Each *thera* gave his own interpretation, and the king himself joined in the disputations. In course of these disputations citations were made from various Buddhist authorities most important of which was the *Aṭṭhakathā*. The following tracts collected here were incidentally made use of by the *theras* and the king in their discussion as to the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies of consecrating a *sīmā* and *upasampadā* ordination.

1. '*Anvaddhamāsaṃ anudasāham anupañcāhanti*'
Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ

Some *theras* could not rightly interpret these words mentioned in the *Aṭṭhakathā*, and would like in the excessively rainy region of *Rāmaññadesa* to perform the *upasampadā* ordination in an *udakukkhepasīmā* consecrated on a river or lake, which was devoid of its respective characteristics.

2. *Dhammaceti*, the king, in repeatedly investigating and considering the rule of the *Vinaya* as regards the consecration of a *sīmā*, as interpreted by the authors of the *Aṭṭhakathās*, *ṭikās*, and *pakaraṇas*, consulted both the spirit and the letter of the following works, controlling the *Aṭṭhakathā* by means of the *Pāli*, the *ṭikā* by means of the *Aṭṭhakathā*, and the *pakaraṇa* by one another, and at the same time, by collecting what was gone before, and what came after: the *Vinayapāli*, the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, the *vinayaṭikā* called the *Sāratthadīpaṇī*, the *Vinayaṭikā* called the *Vimativinodanī*, the *Vinayaṭikā* written by *Vajirabuddhi-thera*, the *Mātikaṭṭhakathā* called the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* together with its *ṭikā*, the *Vinayaviniccaya-pakaraṇa* together with its *ṭikā*, the *Vinayaṅgahapakarana*, the *Sīmālaṅkārapakaraṇa*, and the *Simalaṅkarasaṅgaha*. To the king who repeatedly investigated and considered the question and interpreted the ruling of the *Vinaya* according to his light and knowledge.

3. "*Yasmā hi vassaṅnassa catūsu māsesu*" *iti aṭṭhakathāyaṃ*. comprises four months, during which lakes and rivers become filled with water and during which season the under-robe of a *bhikkhuṇi* crossing a stream of such description at any place, is

wetted. On such a mahānādī such a udakukkhepasimā may be consecrated, and the upasampadā ordination performed in it will be valid and inviolable.

4. There existed an old sīmā whereon the Kalyāṇī-sīmā came to be built and consecrated later on. It was, therefore, necessary to desecrate the old sīmā, for otherwise the new sīmā would be null and void, because of the doubtful defeat of the junction and overlapping of sīmās. The king accordingly had preparations made for performing the ceremony of desecrating the existing sīmā in accordance with the procedure expressly laid down in the Aṭṭhakathā. He then proceeds to interpret the passage of the Aṭṭhakathā in question.

5. With regard to this subject of desecration of an existing sīmā, and consequent consecration of a new one a question is made from the Vimativinodaṇī :

“Keci pana īdisesu pi vihāresu chapañcamatte bhikkhu gahetsa, vihārakoṭṭito paṭṭhāya vihāraparikkhepassa anto ca bahi ca samantā leḍḍupāte tattha sabbattha mañcapamāne okāse niraṇṭaraṃ thatvā, paṭhamaṃ avippavāsasimaṃ tatosamānasaṃvāsakasīman ca samuhananavasena sīmāsamugghate kate, tasmīṃ majjhagatā te bhikkhu tā samūhaneyyūṃ. Tato gāmasimā eva avasisseyya. Na hettha sīmāya vā paricchedassa vā jānanam aṅgam hoti. Sīmāya paṇa anto thānaṃ samuhanessāmāti, kammavācākaraṇaṅc’ettha aṅgaṃ. Aṭṭhakathāyāṃ khaṇḍasīmaṃ pana jānantā avippavāsaṃ ajānantāpi samūhatāya vuttatā gāmasimā’ eva ca avasitthāya tettha yathārucilakaṇḍuvidhaṃ pi sīmaṃ bandhitaṃ c’eva upasampadādi-kammaṃ kātuṃ ca vaṭṭatiti vadanti. Taṃ yuttaṃ viya dissati vimaṃsitvā gahetabban ti”.

Translation: “There are some theras, who, in the case of such vihārasīmās, would convene a chapter of five or six priests, would station them in a continuous row of places, which are each about the size of a bedstead, and whose distances are determined by the fall, all round, of stones thrown, first from the extremity

of a vihārasīmā, and then towards the inside and outside of its limits, and would successively desecrate an avippavāsasīmā, and a samānasamvāsakasīmā. If either a khaṇḍa-sīmā or a mahāsīmā exists on that vihāra, the priests standing, as they do, in the midst of these sīmās, would, from a mañcatthāna, certainly desecrate the sīmā, and the gāmasīmā would remain. In this manner it is not essential to know the sīmā on its extent. But it is necessary for the reciters of the kammavācā to say: 'We shall desecrate the inside of a sīmā (and act accordingly)'. It is stated in the Aṭṭhakathā that those who are aware of the existence of a khaṇḍasīmā, but not that of an avippavāsasīmā, are qualified to effect both desecration and consecration, and then thus, although the extent of a mahāsīmā is unknown, desecration may be effected. On the authority of this statement, they say that at any selected spot on the remaining gāmasīmā, it is appropriate to consecrate the two kinds of sīmās, and to perform the upasampadā ordination and such other ceremonies. This dictum appears to be correct ; but it should be accepted after due enquiry."

6. When the existence of an old sīmā is not known, it is said in the Aṭṭhakathā:

"Aṭṭhakathāyañca purāṇa-sīmāya vijjamānattam vā paricchedaṃ vā ajānantānaṃ sīmāsanugghātassa dukkarattā mahantam vāyāmam akatvā yena vā tena vā vāyāmena samūhananavasena sīmāsamugghātāṃ sandhāya ye pana ubho pi na jānanti ; te n'eva samūhanituṃ ca labhantīti vuttaṃ".

Purport: 'If both classes of sīmā are not known, the sīmā should not be desecrated or consecrated.' This dictum of the Aṭṭhakathā does not, however, mean to indicate that, although the existence of the sīmā to be desecrated may not be known, if great exertion is put forth that sīmā will not be desecrated.

References to Pāli texts

Besides these quotations from and interpretations of Pāli texts, there are a good number of references to Pāli texts in the

Kalyāṇī inscriptions in the way of adducing arguments or citing authorities. The three piṭakas are more than once mentioned the Vinaya having the honour of being mentioned most. But most often referred to is the Aṭṭhakathā of the Vinaya-Piṭaka. Other texts are the Pātimokkha, the Khuddakasikkhā, the Vimativinodaṇī, the Vinayapāli, the Vinayaṭikā called the Sāratthadīpaṇī, the Vinayaṭikā written by Vajirabuddhi-thera, the Mātikaṭṭhakathā called the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī together with its ṭikā, the Vinayavinicchayapakaraṇa, the Sīmālaṅkārapakaraṇa, the Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgaha, and other texts relating to the Vinaya-piṭaka.

*Pāli texts referred to in the inscription
of Parākramabāhu at Galvihāra, Ceylon*

1. The Vinaya books, 2. The Khuddakasikkhā, 3. The Pātimokkha, 4. The Dasadhammasutta, 5. The three Anumānasuttas, 6. The Mūlasikkhā, 7. The Herapasikkhā, and 8. The Sekhiya.

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