

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES

PART II

By

Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph. D., (Calcutta),
D. Litt. (Lucknow), Hon. D. Litt. (Allahabad)

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P R E F A C E

This book is a collection of some of my published and unpublished articles dealing with various aspects of ancient Indian culture and civilisation. The published articles have been duly revised. This collection will, I believe, be found useful by those interested in ancient India.

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Bimala Churn Law

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INDOLOGICAL STUDIES

Chapter I

EARLY BUDDHIST MONKS AND NUNS

The early history of Buddhism, like that of Jainism or Christianity, centres round a supreme human personality with a band of devoted disciples. Gautama Buddha was the supreme personality in the case of Buddhism with his inner circle of followers, male and female. Many among his lay worshippers and supporters, the Upāsakas and the Upasikās, became prominent, although their relationship with the Master, in so far as their modes and habits of life were concerned, was not so intimate as that of those men and women who renounced the world and became monks and nuns.

The early Buddhist monks and nuns belonged to a distinct religious order and school of thought in respect of which the position of the Buddha was that of a founder of an order (saṃghī), leader of a following (gaṇī) and teacher of a band of followers (gaṇācariya).¹ The different religious orders and schools of thought were mainly represented by the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, all of whom were ascetics and recluses leading the life of wanderers (paribbājakā).² The Brāhmaṇas admitted into their order none but those who belonged to Brahmin families or were

1. All these epithets are usually applied to the contemporary founders of different orders and leaders of different schools of thought. *Dīgha*, I, 48; *Suttanipāta*, p. 91.

2. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 141 ff.

at least of the twice-born castes, while the Śramaṇas kept the door of admission open to recruits from all social grades.¹ The institution of the Śramaṇas or the recluses were really based upon the principle of democracy.

The religious order founded by the Buddha was that of the Śramaṇas, and precisely like the Jainas and others, the early Buddhist monks passed as puttās or sons of the Master. They became known to the members of other orders as Sākyaputtiya-samaṇas, i. e., recluses belonging to the Order founded by Gautama the Buddha. They represented themselves as Buddhaputtā or sons of the Buddha. They are sometimes simply called Śākyas,² while in the later Indian inscriptions they have been introduced as Śākyā-bhikṣus and in the case of nuns as Śākyā-bhikṣuṇīs.

The Vinaya Mahāvagga and Cullavagga seek to present a connected ecclesiastical history of the early Buddhists from the Buddhahood of the Master down to the session of the Second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī. It shows that the nucleus of the Saṅgha was formed after the conversion of the first group of five disciples—the pañcavaggiyas—at the Deer Park of Isipatana (Sarnath), near the city of Benares. This was rapidly followed by the conversion of Yasa the banker's son, and his fifty-four comrades. No formality was yet needed to be gone through. Just as Jesus of Nazareth addressed his first disciples five centuries later, so also did Gautama the Buddha, who addressed his first sixty disciples thus : 'Come ye ! (ehi, etha), the Law is well expounded, lead the holy life to make an end of all pain.' The attainment of saintship and salvation as implied by the term arahatta was not at all a remote ideal ; it was

1. B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, p. 12 ; Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, 191 ff.

2. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 420.

attained and attainable here and now where human nature was mature for the reception of the truth and the acceptance of the norm (dhamma). There were just sixty Arahants at the time, we are told, besides himself, when the newly Enlightened One addressed his worthy followers in these inspiring words: 'Freed am I; O mendicants, from all nooses, whether divine or human, and you too are thus freed. Go ye forth, O mendicants and wander about for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the advantage, good and happiness of gods and men. Go not two by the same road. Address, O mendicants, the doctrine which is beneficial in the beginning, beneficial in the middle, beneficial in the end, pregnant with meaning, well-worded, complete in form, and reveals the pure life of holiness. There are individuals who, in spite of their little proneness to sin, fall away from the truth and norm for want of preaching, but may be the future expounders of the Law, and I, too, will proceed to the Senānigāma at Uruvelā for preaching the Law.'¹

Thus the Enlightened One and his first disciples enthusiastically started the work of preaching the message under the fervour of a new-born faith. They stayed during the rainy season at the same Deer Park, during which the mendicants brought to the Master ardent applicants for initiation and ordination from various quarters and various

1. Vinaya Piṭaka, I, pp. 20-21 :

Atha kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi : muttāhaṃ bhikkhave sabbapāsehi ye dībhā ye ca mānusa. Tumhe pi bhikkhave muttā sabbapāsehi ye dībhā ye ca mānusa. Caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ. Mā ekena dve āgamittha. Desetha bhikkhave dhammaṃ ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhakalyāṇaṃ pariyosānakalyāṇaṃ sātthaṃ savyañjanaṃ kevalaparipuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāsetha. Santi sattā appaṇājakkha-jātikā assavaṇatā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññatāro. Ahaṃ pi bhikkhave yena Uruvelā yena Senānigāmo ten'upasaṅkamissāmi dhammadesanāyā' ti.

localities (nānādisā nānājanapadā), which proved to be a tedious job for them as well as for the applicants. This impelled the Master to think and, risen up from trance at dusk, he called his followers in his presence and addressed them, saying, "I enjoin, O Brethren ! Henceforth do you yourselves initiate and ordain (persons as you find yourselves) in this or that quarter, in this or that locality. And thus are they to be initiated and ordained : Causing them, at first to be shaven clean of hair and beard, clad in yellow garments, with the upper robe donned on one shoulder, making them bow down at the feet of the brethren and sit on their heels with joined hands, say unto them. Thus do thou declare the faith : I recourse to the Enlightened One as my Refuge, I recourse to the Doctrine as my Refuge, I recourse to the Order as my Refuge. For the second time and for the third time do I declare the same " The rule thus introduced and enforced was the same for initiation (pabbajjā) and ordination (upasampadā).

At the end of the rainy season, the Master again addressed the mendicants in these words : 'By me verily, O Brethren, hath the highest form of salvation been attained and realized through the rightly directed mind, through the rightly directed effort ; you, too, O Brethren, attain and realize it thereby.'

After this they parted company for the time being and each went his way to preach salvation. The Master himself wended his way back to Uruvelā where he ordained in the first instance a band of thirty comrades. But the real triumph was not achieved until he succeeded in converting the three Jaṭila brothers with their thousand followers. With all of them he came down to Rājagṛha the capital of Magadha, where king Bimbisāra and all the

citizens found that it should be so. Twelve millions of citizens of Magadha assembled in the capital, to whom the erstwhile Jāṭila leaders bore their personal testimony to the Master's powers and faithfully stated how the change came over them. The Master preached to them a discourse embracing the topics suited to their temperament and holding before them the stern realities of life and the means of escape therefrom. Their hearts were so ripe for the reception of the truth that eleven millions of them, headed by king Bimbisāra, acquired at that very sitting the eye of clear insight into the Law, while one million only declared their position as mere lay worshippers.

The next great triumph was achieved when Sāriputta and Mahā-Moggallāna of the school of Sañjaya were converted to the new faith together with the half of the other followers of the same famous wandering teacher through the instrumentality of Assaji (Aśvajit) who belonged to the first band of five disciples. In presenting the Buddha's doctrine to Sāriputta, the Venerable Assaji (Aśvajit) gave a terse but significant expression to the fundamental axiom of Buddhist thought.

This amazing initial success of his preaching mission in Magadha produced a hubbub among the citizens of Rājagṛha, who expressed their sentiment in the following couplet :

‘Āgato kho mahāsamaṇo Magadhānam Giribbajam,
sabbe Sañjaye netvāna, kaṃ su dāni nayissatī ti.’

‘Verily the great recluse has come to Magadhan Girivraja, lo ! carrying all the Sañjayakas away, whom will he carry now’ ?¹

The Buddha's first visit to Kapilavastu was a notable event as it was followed by the conversion of all of the Sakyans to the new faith and the ordination of Siddhārtha's

1. Vinaya Piṭaka, I, p. 43.

son Rāhula and half-brother Nanda, as well as of such gifted Śākya youths as Bhaddiya, Anuruddha, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila, and Devadatta who came along with their barber attendant Upāli. They requested the Master to initiate the barber Upāli first and others afterwards so that after paying due homage to their attendant they might get rid of their racial pride.¹

The Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu was all the more important for the reason that the Śākya ladies headed by Siddhārtha's aunt, step and foster-mother Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī and including his wife Yasodharā left the city in a body in right earnest and travelled on foot as far as Vaiśālī to seek admission into the Saṅgha. Ānanda pleaded their cause and the Master granted the prayer. His reluctance caused by fear lest the duration of the Good Faith be shortened, if women were admitted into it, was not without its effect. The nuns were 'made juniors' to the monks. However, with their admission, there grew up a nunhood, the Saṅgha of the bhikkhunīs side by side with that of the bhikkhus, and both existed and flourished through centuries that followed. Thereafter the Buddhist community came to be composed of the monks, the nuns, and the lay worshippers, male and female.

The admission of women into the Śākya Order was no novelty in the history of the religions of ancient India, inasmuch as women had not only gained admission into the various earlier and contemporary religious Orders of the Hermits (Tāpasas), the Wanderers (Paribbājakas), the Ājīvikas and the Jains (Niggaṇṭhas) but also enjoyed an equal status with men. Here the novelty consisted rather in certain restrictions placed on the nuns which went to make them subordinate to the monks in monastic life. The result was that the nuns were found to be the

1. Ibid. II, pp. 182-183.

antevāsinīs or pupils of the elderly monks or nuns but no monk was known to have been the antevāsī of any nun, however spiritually advanced she might be.

The admission into the Order of boys like Rāhula, who were below the age of twenty, necessitated the creation of a rank of the Sāmaṇeras (novices), and that of girls under that age to that of the Sāmaṇerīs, and the Sāmaṇeras and Sāmaṇerīs came to be treated as probationers (sikkhamānas, sikkhamānās) for ordination under a competent monk or nun.

The dedication of the Venuvana (Bamboo grove) to the Master and his followers by king Bimbisāra led to the foundation of the first Buddhist Vihāra in India which was followed in quick succession and in other parts of the Buddhist midland as well by numerous other vihāras or ārāmas that served as permanent places of retreat, fixed abodes or monasteries for the monks and nuns and the probationers under them. The ruling princes and the rich bankers vied with one another in erecting and endowing them.

There was yet no shrine attached to those vihāras to serve as a sanctum sanctorum or fixed place of worship. The lay worshippers who were in the role of devotees needed a caitya or shrine for the purpose of worship of a tangible substitute in the absence of the Master, as we are told in the Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka, and the first shrine suggested and introduced within the precincts of a vihāra was a Bo-tree grown from the grafts or seed or sapling from the Bo-tree under which the Master attained to Buddhahood.¹ This was followed since the Master's demise by other objects used by the Master and by the stūpas or relic-shrines,²

1. Jātaka. IV, pp. 228 foll

2. The Peta and Vimāna vatthus, the Thera-Therīgāthā and the Apadāna are full of allusions to these objects of worship.

all redolent with personal associations of the Master and memories of his living presence on earth ; and long afterwards, by the images that were the creation of imaginative art and emotional religious sentiment. With the introduction of images came the temples into existence, and Buddhism became thoroughly Hinduized.¹

The number of followers and lay worshippers multiplied year after year during the forty-five years of the Master's ministration and preaching career. The new centres of activity grew up in the countries around Magadha, although, on the whole, the movement remained confined to the Buddhist Midland. Many new vihāras were erected and dedicated to the fraternity of all times and quarters. The rules and formalities increased, the laws were formulated and enforced and amended from time to time, many forms of speech and conventions were introduced, all having a restrictive effect on the conduct of his followers. And yet nothing was enacted or promulgated in advance. The Master proceeded in the light of changing circumstances. As occasions demanded, the rules were either suggested by him or by others, but before they were enforced or held binding on the fraternity, they needed his formal approval. Thus behind them all was his personal authority ; he was the source of the law and the person to set the seal of supreme authority. The guiding principles were being enunciated and clearly held before his followers, and the ideals and standards of conduct were set up. The disciplinary rules were being viewed from the first only as a means to an end and not as ends in themselves. He had all along the dread of the mischief of the law. So, inspite of the fact that a fairly large body of rules, conventions and forms of procedure grew up along with a Pātimokkha code with

1. Barua's *Gaṇḍa and Buddhagayā*, Vol I, pp. 190ff. for the history of the building of the Bodhgayā temple.

penal sections laid down in it, he did not forget to authorize his followers on the eve of his demise to dispense with all the minor and lesser rules of conduct, if they so desired or found expedient.

One distinctive feature of the organization launched forth by the Buddha was that it was designed to be an autonomous body guided by the principles and ideals, and the rules and conventions, in short, by the traditions of the Elect. Thus did he relinquish the right of nominating a successor chosen from among his followers,

Indeed, from the beginning to the end the position taken up by the Buddha with regard to the fraternity was at first sight anomalous and irreconcilable. As he expressly stated, his position in respect of his disciples and followers was no more than that of a pubbaṅgama or pioneer—an inciter to holy life, an inspirer, a path-finder or leader.¹ He disclaimed either that he was the leader of the Saṅgha or that the Saṅgha waited for his leadership.² At the same time he was all along alive to his responsibility for the well-being and welfare of his followers, inasmuch as they joined him under his inspiration and persuasion. But how far was this feeling or mental attitude, wishful thinking or expressed opinion consistent with the authority actually exercised in ushering the disciplinary rules and penal laws into existence? How could he make it consistently possible that he was at one and the same time both in and out of it? Was he to be counted as a member of the fraternity or was he like a benevolent despot who was above the Law? Whatever may be the views expressed by him, did he not function *ipso facto* as an overwhelming and all-engulfing human personality? Amongst hundreds and thousands of his earnest followers, how many of them had the chance

1. Majjhima, I, p. 16.

2. Digha, II, p. 100.

of getting self-expression or figured as originators of new thoughts? Even if in point of fact the early Buddhist tradition was the fruitful result of a corporate body of monks and nuns, was it not the outcome of his sole and supreme injunctions as their teacher and leader?

These are some of the most important questions that demand satisfactory answers.

The account in the Vinaya Mahāvagga goes to show that the Buddha adhered to his own method of ordaining his followers, namely, by his imperious call, *Ehi, Etha*, 'Come Ye', without having recourse to the formal method gradually introduced by him and enforced in the case of others. Thus the early band of his followers passed as *ehi-pabbajakā bhikkhū*.¹ There is no evidence on record to indicate that he had subsequently made any deviation from his old practice. If the affair of initiation or ordination conducted by him were a question of baptism (*sināna*), it was sought to be effected as a process of the inner purification of human nature (*antara sināna*).²

It was enjoined on his followers that they should and must, as a rule, meet together on the fourteenth or the fifteenth day of the lunar half month to recite the *Pātimokkha* (better, *Pārimokkha*) rules and test their unity, integrity and moral purity in the light thereof, but the Pali and other canonical texts keep us entirely in the dark as to whether he himself had ever taken part in these periodical ecclesiastical functions. On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence to prove that he was vigilantly keeping watch over the affairs of his followers and their individual and collective interests and took the miscreants to task for their rectitude.

1. Vinaya Piṭaka I, pp. 12-13.

2. Majjhima, I, p. 99.

Nevertheless, the role assumed by the Buddha was that of a maggadesaka, (a guide, one who points out the way). Accordingly his constant exhortation to his followers was—
Tumhehi kiccaṃ ātappam, akkhātāro Tathāgatā.

“The duty on your part is to make the effort, the Truth-finders just point out the way.”

As the attainment of salvation lay in one's own hands and did not depend on the favour of others, one of his dying instructions to his personal attendant Ānanda was :

‘Attadīpā viharatha, attasaraṇā, amaññasaraṇā,’

‘Dwell making yourselves your own island, making yourselves your own refuge, not making others your refuge.’

This was urged consistently with the truth previously expounded by him :

“Attā hi attano nātho, ko hi nātho paro siyā ? ।

attanā hi sudantena nāthaṃ labhati dullabhaṃ ॥

Attanā va kataṃ pāpaṃ, attajaṃ, attasambhavaṃ ।

abhimanthati dummedhaṃ vajiraṃ v'asmamayaṃ

maṇiṃ ॥”

“Self verily is the reliance of self, who else could be the reliance ? Having trained oneself well indeed, one gets the reliance difficult otherwise to obtain. The sin committed by oneself, the sin that originates in or springs from oneself, that crushes the sinner of evil design as the diamond cuts a crystal gem”

The way was shown by the Buddha, and his followers were to play well the part of the ‘wayfarers’. This way (the Magga), Upanisā (Upaniṣad)) was the best conceivable way to Nirvāṇa but not to any worldly gain.

The total number of persons representing the male wayfarers in the Buddha's lifetime is not known. The Pali Chronicles give the number of bhikkhus who were present

at a conference shortly after the Buddha's demise as 700,000,¹ which, however exaggerated, cannot be regarded as the total number of bhikkhus of the time since all of them were not able to attend the conference (samāgama). The Apadāna,² on the other hand, mentions 18,000 as the total number of bhikkhunīs headed by Yasodharā, who waited upon the Buddha. But this, too, cannot be treated as the total number of bhikkhunīs of the time. The same authority speaks of 10,000 bhikkhunīs headed by Yasovatī,³ of 18,000 bhikkhunīs from Khattiya families headed by Yasavatī,⁴ and of 84,000 bhikkhunīs from Brahmin families.⁵ The Buddha was generally accompanied by 500 bhikkhus when he wandered about in the country, and only in a solitary instance he is said to have a company of 1,250 bhikkhus.⁶

The traditional figure denoting the total number of bhikkhus who assembled at the conference held before the Second Buddhist Council is 90,000.⁷ The Pali Chronicles preserve a tradition according to which 60,000 bhikkhus belonging to the Theravada sect resided in the Aśokārāma at Pāṭaliputra,⁸ while at a congregation held at Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Aśoka assembled 80 crores of bhikkhus, one hundred thousand of whom were Arahants, and 90 hundred thousand bhikkhunīs, among whom one thousand were Arahants, all belonging to the Orthodox Church.⁹ We may leave out of account the overwhelming number of new converts made by the Buddhist missionaries sent to

1. Mahāvamsa, Chap. 3, verse 4—Sattasatasaḥassāni.

2. Apadāna, ii, p. 592.

3. Ibid., II, p. 591.

4. Ibid., II, p. 597.

5. Ibid., II, p. 598.

6. Dīgha, i, p. 47.

7. Mahāvamsa, IV, v. 20.

8. Ibid., Chap. V, v. 75.

9. Ibid., Chap. V, vv. 186-87.

different places in India in Aśoka's time. No census was evidently taken and the population suggested is incredible. Even assuming that a very large number of persons, men and women, became 'wayfarers' in the Master's lifetime, the question arises, how many of them did truly attain Arahatsip, and how many among the Arhats themselves did come to self-expression or attain real distinction ?

When the Buddha was found seated surrounded by his followers, he appeared to onlookers as the moon surrounded by a galaxy of stars (*tārāgaṇapariveṭṭhito cando*). To his own disciples, he was the Lord of righteousness and the illuminator (*dhammarājā pabhaṅkaro*). If he were thus the true source of light like the sun, the rest of the luminaries were just the satellites. Such was indeed the view taken of the situation by a powerful section of later followers of the Buddha when they seriously doubted and challenged the infallibility of the Arahants¹

It is true that the disciples of the Buddha played the second fiddle or that they sought to merge their individuality in the overpowering personality of the Master. And yet it behoves us to inquire as to which part was actually played by them.

The *Etadaggavagga* of the *Anguttara Nikāya* offers us two lists, one of only 38 Theras and the other of only 13 Therīs who were declared foremost by the Master himself in the rank of those noted for some special attainments.

Among the early Buddhist monks and nuns the pre-eminence of *Aññakondañña* among the Theras and of *Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī* among the Therīs was historical. They were the first to recognize the intrinsic worth of the Good Faith and to display the moral courage of forsaking everything for it. With the conversion of one started the history of formation of the Buddhist monkhood, just as with that

1. *Kathāvatthu*, 1, 2.

of the other started the history of formation of the Buddhist nunhood.

Sāriputta among the Theras and Khemā among the Therīs attained pre-eminence as persons of great wisdom and understanding, with rare capacity to grasp and unveil the true significance of the Buddha's doctrine. But it would seem that Mahākaccāna surpassed them both in the power of elucidation and elaboration in prose of a point of the doctrine stated in brief; Vaṅgīsa excelled all in the power of elucidation and elaboration in verse. Mahākotṭhita excelled others in grammatical analysis and logical way of understanding things. Puṇṇa Mantāniputta among the Theras and Dhammadinnā among the Therīs attained pre-eminence by their ability to return satisfactory answers to the questions on any aspect of the doctrine. Kumāra Kassapa excelled others as a popular preacher. Ānanda's pre-eminence lay in his accurate information, and in his sharp memory and power of faithfully reproducing what he had heard or known.

Upāli among the Theras and Paṭācārā among the Therīs attained pre-eminence as repositories of the Vinaya tradition and specialists in the Vinaya lore.

Among the Theras Mahākappina excelled in the art of instructing the monks and Nandā in that of instructing the nuns, while Rādha's distinction consisted in making others speak. Rāhula became an example before the learners.

Kaṅkhā-Revata among the Theras and Nandā among the Therīs ranked foremost as meditatives. Bāhiya Dāruciriya and Bhaddā Kaccānā were pre-eminent among those who excelled in quick perception of the truth. Anuruddha and Sakulā excelled in the possession of the divine eye, a psychical power to witness the rise and fall of beings according to their deeds and destinies. Sobhita and Bhaddā-

kapilāni were singled out as the best of those gifted with the psychical power of recollecting the past. Koḷavīsa Soṇa and Soṇā surpassed others in their energetic efforts. Mahāmoggallāna and Uppalavaṇṇā occupied the foremost rank among those who excelled in supernormal faculties of a higher kind, while Devadatta, as we are told in the Vinaya Cullavagga, in those of a lower order. Sāgata gained perfect mastery over the element of heat.

Vakkali and Sigālamātā were the most profound in their faith, while Nanda stood first as an example of those who were able to keep their senses well under their control.

Uruvela-Kassapa's pre-eminence was due to his great personality and Bhaddiya's prominence was due to his social status.

Mahākassapa set the highest example of the ascetic mode of life, while Magharāja and Kisā-Gotamī held the notable example of wearing a beggarly dress. Vakkula became prominent as the best living example of health and Upasena Vaṅgantaputta as that of charming nature. Kāludāyi came to represent the best type of a messenger. Pilindavaccha's prominence was ascribable to his power of inspiring the householders to lead a pious and virtuous life entitling them to a happy and glorious life in heaven hereafter.

Sivali figured as the exceptionally lucky person. Dabba Mallaputta made his mark as the arranger of seats and accommodations. Kuṇḍadhāna's great aptitude consisted in the wisdom of living on rations.

Thus the first-place-holders among the early Buddhist monks and nuns may be reduced to the following few types :

1. Those historically important as pioneers.
2. Those as personalities.
3. Those as men of intelligence and understanding.
4. Those as mystics, contemplatives and miracle-workers.

5. Those as preachers and instructors.
6. Those as chanters.
7. Those as learners and probationers.
8. Those as inspirers and missionaries.
9. Those as ascetics.
10. Those as believers.
11. Those as intuitionists.
12. Those as self-controlled ones
13. Those as exponents.
14. Those as popularizers.
15. Those as versifiers.
16. Those as messengers.
17. Those as rationers.
18. Those as household-managers.

The Theras and Therīs may be shown to have played the following parts in the history of the formulation of Buddha's words, the development of the early Buddhist literary tradition and the textual settings in the Canon :

1. That of the most interested listeners, memorizers and transmitters.
2. That of the most interested interrogators or interlocutors.
3. That of the capable elaborators, elucidators, expositors, expounders, analyzers, crystallizers and upholders.
4. That of the formulators, codifiers, instructors, disseminators, propounders, propagators, and popularizers.
5. That of the versifiers, composers, compilers, chanters and inspirers.
6. That of the standard-bearers and testifiers.

The part played by them as interested listeners, memorizers and transmitters was of no mean importance at that period of Indian history and civilization when the

system of writing could not be utilized for recording literature. The method of chanting according to the laws of rhythm and cadence had to be adopted and adhered to as well as the phrases and idioms, i. e., the entire style of composition had to be adapted to it. Those who were endowed with good memory had to be trained up as Bhāṇakas or chanters and reciters of texts. Devices and formulas had to be invented and utilized as aids to memory and transmission.¹

The part played by them as interlocutors and interrogators is not, however, very praiseworthy. Although the ideal set before them was that of 'an eternal school where everyone is a teacher and everyone a learner and where all are to profit by mutual discussions',² there is not a single instance where things and problems were discussed in a true philosophic spirit. The questions put were just meant to get the answers to their hearts' liking without ever pressing any argument and counter-argument in order to arrive at the best possible solution of a problem. The Kathāvatthu, which tradition assigns to the reign of Aśoka, is undoubtedly a book of debates held between the different schools of Buddhist thought. But the underlying spirit of them is utterly unphilosophical. To refute anyhow the thesis put forward by the opponent is the sole aim. The import of the proposition advanced by the opponent is generally missed, misunderstood and misinterpreted. How difficult it is indeed to discuss matters with persons already committed to certain beliefs.

The remaining parts played by them were highly commendable. They were not, however, the originators of any new thought. The credit of originality for the vision and the first expression of thought was entirely due to the

1. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 110 foll.; Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, *subvoce*, Bhāṇaka (p. 8) and Peṭaki (p. 24).

2. *Apadāna*, I, vv. 28-29 p. 3.

Buddha himself. He was the true seer of the truth, the bringer of the new light, and the awakener of the new conscience. While presenting the Master's doctrine to others and their own position as his beloved sons and daughters and no less as his disciples and ardent followers, many of the Theras and a few among the Therīs expressed themselves in certain forms which became classical and guided the subsequent Buddhist thought.

The fundamental position of the Buddha's thought was represented by Assaji, who figured among the first five disciples in the following couplet, which went to serve as the universally accepted formula of the Buddhist creed of all times to come :

Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesam̐ hetu Tathāgato āha ।
tesañ ca yo nirodho,—evamvādī Mahāsamaṇo' ti. ॥

"The states that arise from cause, the Truth-finder has declared their cause and the mode of their cessation as well, thus said the great Recluse."

As for the Buddhist conception of the self or biological entity as distinguished from the notion of soul, the nun Vajirā is reported to have expressed her opinion in the following couplet which has guided and determined the structure of Buddhist philosophy through several centuries :

Yathā hi aṅgasam̐bhārā hoti saddo ratho iti ।
evam̐ khandhesu santesu hoti satto ti sammuti ॥¹

'Just as the word "chariot" comes verily into use to denote a harmonious aggregate of parts, so does the conventional term "being" (individual), where an organic combination of constituent factors exists.'

Vaṅgīsa or Vāgīsa played well his part as an improviser of verses to put the utterances of the Buddha and others in attractive forms by way of expansion and elucidation. The Vaṅgīsa-Thera-Saṃyutta of the Saṃyutta Nikāya

1, Saṃyutta, I, p. 135 ; Milinda Pañho (Trenckner) 28.

contains instances of such performances on the part of Vaṅḡisa.

On a certain occasion the Master happened to make a statement in the following four clauses :

Subhāsitam uttamam āhu santo
Dhammam bhaṇe nādhammam, tam dutiyam
Piyam bhaṇe nāppiyam tam tatiyam
Saccam bhaṇe nālikam tam catutthanti.¹

Vaṅḡisa is said to have improvised a verse to expand each of these clauses, making up the 2nd, 3rd and 4th clauses in order and the first clause as the last of all. The verses extemporized in the very presence of the Master ran as follows :

2. Tam eva vācam bhāseyya yāyattānam na tāpaye
pare ca na vihiṃseyya,—sā ve vācā subhāsītā
3. Piyavācam va bhāseyya yā vācā paṭinanditā
yam anādāya pāpāni paresam bhāsate piyam
4. Saccam ve amatā vācā—esa dhammo sanantano
sacce atthe ca dhamme ca āhu santo paṭiṭṭhitā
- 1 Yam Buddhō bhāsate vācam khemam nibbānapattiyā
dukkhassantakiriyāya sā ve vācanam uttamā' ti.¹

Here the credit of the formulation of ideas is due to the Buddha and that of putting the same in proper verses belongs to Vaṅḡisa. It is not difficult, however, to understand that the utterances of the Buddha have a versical rhythm of their own.

From the instances given in the above Saṃyutta, one may be led to doubt if the stanzas or metrical discourses put in the mouth of the Master were at all his compositions.

Among the leading Theras of the time Sāriputta's genius was more catechetical than exegetical.² The Saṅgīti

1. Saṃyutta Nikāya, I, p. 189.

2. Cf. Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, ii, pp. 1103 foll.

Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, the Sanskrit counter-part of which found its place among the six Abhidharmaparakaraṇas of the Sarvāstivāda sect, is nothing but a manual containing numerical groupings of Buddhist concepts. The Saccavibhaṅga Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya gives credit to Sāriputta for the exegetical definition of the terms employed in the Dhammacakka-pavattana Sutta and the analytical method of exposition of the Discourse as a whole. But to give him any credit for this is to deprive the Buddha of the credit due to him, according to the Dhammacakka-pavattana Sutta itself, for having delivered the Discourse along with the exegetical definition of all the terms. If Sāriputta had, on the other hand, just reproduced his Master's voice, he must have acted only as a living reproducer and not as a powerful exponent of the Buddha's words. Moggallāna asked Sāriputta regarding the 'undefiled' (their conversation forms the Anaṅga Sutta, Majjhima i, 25 ff.), and at the conclusion of the Gulissāni Sutta, enquired whether the states of consciousness mentioned in that Sutta were incumbent only on monks from the wilds or also on those from the villages.¹ Sāriputta questioned Upavāna about the bojjhaṅgas² and also enquired as to why some beings were set free in this very life while others were not,³ Ānanda also questioned Sāriputta⁴ on the speedy knowledge of aptness in things. In both these cases Sāriputta asked Ānanda to answer the questions himself, and at the end of his discourse praised him. The instances need not be multiplied. From the general career of Sāriputta as an interpreter of the Buddha's doctrine and as a catechizer, it is clear that his was a prosaic mind and not

1. Majjhima N., i, 472 f.

2. Samyutta N., V, p. 76.

3. Anguttara N., ii, 167.

4. Ibid., iii, 201 f.

a poetical talent. In his case, too, it is to be doubted if the stanzas or metrical utterances attributed to Sāriputta were his own compositions. Luckily, however, Vaṅṅīsa has paid the following compliment to Sāriputta testifying to his power of improvisation and poetical gift :

Gambhīrapañño medhāvī maggamaggassa kovido |
 Sāriputto mahāpañño dhammam deseti bhikkhunam ||
 saṃkhittena pi deseti vitthārena pi bhāsati |
 sālikāyiva nigghoso patibhānam udīrayi |
 tassa taṃ desayantassa suṇanti madhuram giram |
 sarena rajanīyena savanīyena vaggunā ||
 udaggacittā muditā sotam odhenti bhikkhavo ti ¹ ||

Mahākaccāyana truly surpassed all the monks in his power of elucidating anything stated tersely and concisely by the Master, as exemplified by the Bhaddekaratta² and other Suttas in which the Master himself referred his disciples to Mahākaccāyana for the elucidation of the meaning of what he had stated in a terse form. Indeed, he may be singled out as the most talented exponent on the model of whose exegesis developed such exegetical works in the Pali Canon as the Mahāniddeśa, the Vibhaṅgas or Niddesas in the Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma Piṭakas.

The Thera and Therīgāthā, Apadāna and Kathāvatthu are the four Pali texts, the first two of which embody the religious experiences of Buddhist monks and nuns, the third, the legends of their pious deeds, and the fourth, the different theological and philosophical views held by the early Buddhist sects and schools. The Thera and Therīgāthā together with the Vaṅṅīsa and Bhikkhūṇī Samyuttas constitute the most important documents recording religious experiences of many early monks and nuns who acquired self-expression. Here I am concerned to consider the

1. Cf. Theragāthā, vv. 1281-1283.

2. Majjhima, III, pp. 187 foll.

textual position of the various psalms ascribed to the Theras and Therīs and to show in which respects their utterances bear the stamp of individuality and originality.

In the background of the psalms of the early monks and nuns, were the Song of the Hermit (Munigāthā) included in Asoka's list of seven select texts, the traditional utterances of the Paccekabuddhas in the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta and the Paccekabuddhāpadāna and the entire teaching of the Buddha himself. The main interest of the study of these psalms lies in ascertaining how the Theras and Therīs made the Buddha's teachings their own and crystallized them into their highest religious experiences. It is true that many of their utterances are impersonal and may therefore be left out of account. But those which are full of personal note, are of paramount interest. I need not raise here the vexed question as to whether the psalms attributed to different Theras and Therīs were their own compositions, or they were composed for them by persons amongst them who had the poetical gift of Vaṅgīsa. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that the psalms of the nuns which appear in the form of ballads or animated dialogues in verse or in the form of legendary narrations, cannot be supposed to have been the actual compositions of the Therīs to whom these are attributed. But whoever might be the actual composer or composers of the psalms of the nuns, their ways of expression are peculiarly womanly, and their interest and environments befit the lives of women.

The present text of the Thera-Therīgāthā is precisely that which was before the Pali commentator Dhammapāla. But, as pointed out by Oldenberg and subsequently noted by Trenckner, the authoritative stanzas cited in the Milinda-Pañho, particularly those in the name of Sāriputta, are not traceable in the extant Thera-Therīgāthā. Putting together the stanzas cited in the Milinda-Pañho as remarkable

utterances of Sāriputta, one can get a complete poem of the leading disciple of the Buddha which is different altogether in text from that contained in the Theragāthā or in any other work of the Canon.

The stanza of Vajirā is quoted in the same work evidently from the Bhikkhuṇī Saṃyutta and not from the the Therīgāthā collection in which this bhikkhuṇī has no place.

Among the bhikkhuṇīs who find place in the Therīgāthā the stanzas of one of them are cited in the Milinda-Pañho.¹

The Apadāna may be supposed to have contained the legends of those Theras and Therīs whose lives and utterances were important in history. But comparing the two works we find that the number of the Theras whose legends are narrated in the Apadāna is far more than the number of those who figure in the Theragāthā, and that the number of the Therīs in the Apadāna is far less than that of those in the Therīgāthā. The omission of Yasodharā's stanzas in the Therīgāthā is rather very strange. The gāthās of Sumedhā in the Therīgāthā deserve to be included in the Apadāna, while the gāthās of Yasodharā occurring in the Apadāna should be accorded a place in the Therīgāthā.

It is interesting to know something about the Buddhist Bhikṣuṇī Order in India from the Indian inscriptions. It may be observed at the outset that the term Bhikṣuṇī²

1. Trenckner's Ed., pp. 383, 387—Gāthās of Cullasubhaddā :

Ekan c'evāham vāsiyā tacoheyya kupitamānasā,
 ekan c'evāham gandhena ālimpeyya pamoditā,
 Amusmim paṭigho n'atthi, rāgo asmim na vijjati,
 paṭhavīsamacittā te, tādisā samaṇā mamāti.
 Lābhena unnato loko, alābhena ca oṇato ;
 lābhālābhena ekaṭṭhā, tādisā samaṇā mamā ti.

2. Luder's List. no 38 (Vol. X Appendix)

(Bhikhunī¹, Bhichunī²) is nowhere employed in Indian inscriptions to denote a religious woman other than a Buddhist female mendicant, sister or nun. In rare instances Samanikā or Pavajitikā is used as the epithet of a Buddhist nun³.

The Bhābru and Schism Pillar Edicts of Aśoka prove that the Buddhist community as constituted in the third century B. C., precisely as in the Buddha's time, was composed of Bhikṣus and Bhikṣuṇīs, Upāsakas and Upāsikās. The text of Aśoka's ordinance provides against schisms in the Saṃgha fomented by Bhikṣus and Bhikṣuṇīs.⁴ Hence the Bhikṣuṇīs had at that time to be reckoned with as equally powerful factors in the matter of union or disunion in the Buddhist Fraternity.

Whatever information we get about the Bhikṣuṇīs from the edicts of Aśoka may be supplemented by the account of Saṃghamittā's mission to Ceylon as found in the two Ceylonese chronicles, the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa.

The Dīpavaṃsa informs us that Aśoka's son and daughter, Mahendra and Saṃghamitrā, received the ordination as Buddhist monk and nun in the sixth year of his reign.⁵ The renowned Dharmapālā was, according to the Mahāvaṃsa, Saṃghamitrā's preceptress (upajjhāyā), and Āyupālā her teacher (ācariyā).⁶ The brother and the sister, Bhikṣu Mahendra and Bhikṣuṇī Saṃghamitrā, both of whom belonged to the Theravāda school of Buddhism, were destined to illumine the doctrine of the Buddha even like

1. Aśoka's Bhābru and Schism Pillar Edicts ; Luder's List, nos. 175, 292, 341, 344 etc.

2. Luder's list, nos. 163, 168, 183, 187 etc.

3. Luder's list, nos. 1240, 1242, 1315.

4. Sarnath Pillar Edict ; also cf Sānchī and Kauśāmbī Pillar Edicts. E cum kho bhikhū vābhikhunī vā saṃgham bhākhati.

5. Dīpavaṃsa (ed. Oldenberg), VII, 22 ; Mahāvaṃsa (Ed. P. T. S.), V, 209.

6. Mahāvaṃsa, V, 208.

the sun and the moon.¹ In about the 19th or 20th year of Aśoka's reign, after his coronation, the wise Saṅghamitrā with ten other capable bhikṣuṇīs went from India to Ceylon during the reign of King Devānaṃpiya Tissa and taught the three Piṭakas in Anurādhapura. They succeeded in founding the Bhikṣuṇī Order in the island of Laṅkā, Princess Anulā with her following having received the ordination from Saṅghamitrā.² The Dīpavaṃsa immortalises the names of a few other bhikṣuṇīs who had then received the Upasampadā Ordination in Ceylon.³ The nunnery (bhikṣuṇī-upassaya) in which Saṅghamitrā dwelt with her company of bhikṣuṇīs was known as the Upāsikā-vihāra consisting of twelve buildings.⁴ King Devānaṃpiya Tissa caused to be erected a suitable nunnery for Saṅghamitrā and other bhikṣuṇīs round about the Thūpārāma, which came to be known by the name of Hatthāḷhakavihāra.⁵

The state of things which prevailed in India regarding the bhikṣuṇīs after the reign of Aśoka, both before and during the Śuṅga-Mitra period, may be easily inferred from some of the donative inscriptions on the Sānchī Stūpa, the Bhārhut Stūpa, and the Bodh-Gayā railings. These epigraphic records reveal the following facts concerning the Buddhist nuns, each of importance :—

- (1) That the nuns are mentioned generally as bhikṣuṇīs or bhicuṇīs, while the monks are honoured with such epithets as bhadamta, bhayamta, aya (ārya) and bhadamtaya, a fact which may not be unreason-

1. Ibid., V., 211.

2. Dīpavaṃsa, XVIII, 11-13, also XV, 79-80 ; Mahāvaṃsa, XIX, 64-65 Samantapāsādikā, Pt. I. p. 101.

3. Dīpavaṃsa, XVIII, 14-16.

4. Mahāvaṃsa, XIX, 68-71.

5. Ibid., XIX, 82-83.

nably taken to indicate the inferior position accorded to the nuns as compared with the monks ;¹

(2) that there are instances where a senior nun had junior nuns as female pupils under her² or a nun was a female pupil of a monk,³ but none where a monk was a pupil under a nun ;

(3) that the nuns, precisely as the monks, either received Buddhistic names at the time of initiation and ordination⁴ or were allowed to retain their quondam names, the names given by their parents or guardians ;⁵

(4) that the following localities are the various places or centres with which the nuns are associated ; Ujenī (Ujjayinī), Kākandī, Kāchupatha (Kañchupatha, Kāñchipatha) Kāpāsīgāma, Kurama, Kurara, Kuraraghara, Chudathīla, Tumbavana, Nandinagara, Pemuta, Bhojakāṭa, Maḍalachikāṭa (Maṇḍalākshikāṭa), Māhimsati (Māhiṣmatī), Moragiri, Vāghumata, Vāḍivahana, and Vidiśā.⁶

In the two surviving inscriptions on the coping of the Bodh-Gayā railing Kuraṅgī is introduced as the elderly wife of King Indrāgnimitra,⁷ while in all the fifteen shorter inscriptions on the uprights of the same railing she is honoured as Ayā Kuraṅgī (Āryā Kuraṅgī).⁸ Having regard to the

1. Barua, Barhut, BK. I, p. 45.

2. Luders' List, Nos. 573 (Dhamadeva, antevāsini of Mitasiri), 589 (Mūlā, antevāsini of Gaḍā).

3. Ibid., No. 38.

4. Such names as Arahadāsī (Arhaddāsī) Arahadinā (Arhaddattā), Isidatā, Isidinā (Rishidattā), Isidāsī, Gotamī, Jitamitā (Jitamitrā), Diganāgā, (Dinnāgā), Dhamarakhitā, Dhamasirī, Budharakhitā, Sagharakhitā, Samghapālītā.

5. Such names as Devabhāgā, Chaṇḍā, Kādī, Chirātī (Kirāti), Yakhī, Sagarinā, Girigutā, Pusā (Pushyā), Asabhā (Rishabhā), Gaḍā (Gaṇḍā), Vāsavā, Ratini, Sirī, Sīhā, Suriyā.

6. Almost all the places were situated near about Sānchī and Bharhut.

7. Luders' List, Nos. 943, 944.

8. Ibid., Nos. 939-42.

fact that in both Buddhist literature and inscriptions the epithet ayya or ayira (ārya) is applied to the name of a person who has attained Arhatship, it may be presumed that Kuraṅgī passed a retired life as a bhikṣuṇī in her old age and that she was found to be in an advanced state of spirituality.¹

Coming to such later period of Indian history as the Kushāṇa we shall expect in vain to come across many references to the bhikṣuṇīs in inscriptions. There is definitely one inscription only at Junnār Buddhist cave which records the erection of a nunnery (bhikṣuṇī-upasaya) in the town for the residence of the bhikṣuṇīs of the Dharmottariya sect.² So far as Mathurā is concerned, we know of one inscription only, assigned to the reign of Huvishka, in which the Bhikṣuṇī Dhanavatī, the sister's daughter of the Bhikṣuṇī Buddhāmitrā, is said to have set up a Bodhisattva image at Mādhuravanaka (Māthuravana). This bhikṣuṇī is praised as one who knew the Tripiṭaka (Trepitika) and introduced as the female pupil (antevāsinā) of the Bhikṣu Bala who himself was a master of the three Piṭakas (Trepitaka).³ It needs no mention that the sphere of influence of the Bhikṣu Bala was not confined to Mathurā but extended to Śrāvastī and Śārnāth. At Amarāvati, however, one may obtain as many as eight inscriptions which, too, go to prove that the Buddhist community continued to be constituted of bhikṣus, bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakas and upāsikas. In all of them the bhikṣuṇīs, otherwise called samanikā and pavajitikā, figure as female donors.⁴ In one instance a bhikṣuṇī called Budhā, is described as the sister of the Thera Cetiavandaka

1. Barua, *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya*, Vol. II, p. 67.

2. Lüders' List, No. 1152.

3. Ibid., No. 38.

4. Ibid. Nos. 1223, 1240, 1242, 1252, 1257, 1264, 1280, 1315.

Bhadanta Budhi,¹ and in two records the bhikshuṇīs are introduced as the resident female pupils of two saintly theras, Budharakhitā of the Thera Bhadanta Budharakhita,² and Nandā of the Arahata Ayira Budharakhita.³ One inscription speaks of Vasyā (Vaśā) as a pavajitikā (pravrajitā) resident in Kevurura.⁴

The continuance of the Bhikshuṇī Order at Mathurā up till the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era is clearly attested by the testimony of Fa-Hien and that of a Sanskrit inscription. In speaking of Mo-tu-lo (Mathurā) Fa-Hien observes : "The bhikshuṇīs principally honour the tower of Ānanda, because it was Ānanda who requested the Lord of the world to let women take orders ; śrāmaṇeras mostly offer to Rāhula,"⁵

A Sanskrit inscription, dated in the (Gupta) year 230 (= A. D. 549-50), records the religious gift of the Śākya-bhikshuṇī (Buddhist nun) Jayabhaṭṭā at a monastery called Yaśovihāra.⁶

So far as our present knowledge goes, this is the latest epigraphic record having either mention of or any reference to the bhikshuṇīs.

Hiuen Tsang who visited India during the reign of Harshavardhana has nothing whatever to say about the bhikshuṇīs in his Si-yu-ki. But Bāṇa in his Harshacharita puts the following words in the mouth of Rājyaśrī and Harshavardhana, which may be taken to testify to the existence of the Bhikshuṇī Order, however lingering it might be :

1. Ibid. No. 1223.

2. Ibid., No. 1250.

3. Ibid., No. 1284.

4. Ibid., No. 1240.

5. Beal, Buddhist Records of the W. World, I, xxxix.

6. Fleet, C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 273-74.

Rājyaśrī : "Let me therefore in my misfortunes be allowed to assume the red robe".¹

Harshavardhana : "At the end, when I have accomplished my design she and I will assume the red garments (*kāshāyāni*) together".²

Even apart from the evidence of Bāṇa's Harshacharita it cannot be doubted that the Bhikṣhunī Order continued to exist, in some form or other, in India, though not among all Buddhist sects. The continuance of this Order is unmistakably proved by the following observation of I-tsing whose visit may be assigned to the last quarter of the 7th century A. D. :

"Nuns in India are very different from those of China. They support themselves by begging food, and live a poor and simple life."³

At about this time, or a little later flourished Bhavabhūti who included the Saugata-Parivrājikā Kāmaṇḍakī among the female characters in his famous drama Mālatī-Mādhava, together with her three female pupils, Avalokitā, Buddharakṣitā, and Saudāminī. Subandhu who in his Vāsavadattā, spoke of a bhikṣukī as devoted to Tārā and as wearing red garments (*bhikṣukīva Tār-ānurāga-rakt-āmbara-dhāriṇī*). Bhavabhūti, be it noted, associates these Buddhist nuns with the Śrīparvata in South India, and describes them as female ascetics who put on yellow robes (*cīra-cīvara-paricchadā*) and lived on piṇḍapāta only.

Tatakaragupta of unknown but late date is the Buddhist author, who, while speaking of Vajrayāna or Agranaya Mahāyāna, observes that this school of Buddhism provided religious training for the bhikṣus, the bhikṣuṇīs, the

1. Harshacharita (ed. S. D. Gajendragadkar), p. 274 : *atah kāshāya-grahaṇ-ābhyānujñāyānugrihyatām*. Translation by Cowell & Thomas, p. 254.

2. Ibid. (translation), p. 258.

3. Takakusu, A Record of the Buddhist Practices, p. 80.

śrāmaṇeras, the śrāmaṇerīs, the upāsakas, and the upāsikās.¹ I do not know of any Indian work, Brahmanical or Buddhist, containing references to the bhikṣuṇīs in the 9th or 10th century A. D. It would seem that by that time the Bhikṣuṇī Order became extinct in India, or that even if it had continued, it was just dragging its existence here and there among certain sects of the Buddhists.² Eventually it ceased to be in India proper even prior to the Muslim conquest.

1. Quoted by Haraprasād Śāstrī in the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā* 1331 B. S. p. 62 from Tatakara Gupta's *Ādikarma-racanā*: *tatra upāsaka-upāsikā-śrāmaṇera-bhikṣu-śrāmaṇerī-śikṣamānā-bhikṣuṇī-tri-saptānām stri-purush-āśraya-bhedāt-sapta-samvarāḥ*.

2. This surmise is well borne out by the evidence of the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Cūlavamsa*. These two Pali chronicles (*Mahāvamsa*, Ch. 18, v. 12 ; Ch. 19, v. 68 ; Ch. 20, vv. 21, 22, 49 ; Ch. 34, v. 36 ; Ch. 37, v. 43 ; *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 39, v. 43 ; Ch. 46, v. 27 ; Ch. 48, vv. 36, 139 ; Ch. 49, v. 25 ; Ch. 54, v. 47) mention the pious work of erection of nunneries (*bhikkhuṇi-upassayā*) in Ceylon from the time of Devānampiya Tissa to that of King Bhūmicanda³ (7th century A. D.), and nothing of the kind after that.

Chapter II

BUDDHA'S FIRST DISCOURSE

The Dhammacakka-pavattana Sutta is traditionally known as the Paṭhama Dhamma-desanā—the First Preaching of the Doctrine, the First Sermon, the First Discourse.¹ The main text of this Discourse shows a complete agreement in all its various recensions.² Its main subject-matter is the Middle Path (Majjhimā Paṭipadā) which is just another name for the Noble Eightfold Path consisting of Right faith, Right aspiration, Right speech, Right action, Right livelihood, Right effort, Right mindfulness, and Right concentration. It is called Middle Path because it seeks to avoid these two extremes (dve antā): (1) the habitual pursuit of the pleasures of senses which is a low and vulgar way of seeking satisfaction, unworthy, unprofitable, and fit only for the worldly-minded ; and (2) the (accredited) practice of self-mortification which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable. It formulates and expounds the Four Noble Truths that are usually enumerated thus : (1) the Noble Truth concerning suffering, (2) that concerning the origin of suffering, and (4) that concerning the way which leads to the cessation of suffering.³

It is well observed by the late lamented Professor Rhys Davids : 'It would be difficult to estimate too highly the historical value of this Sutta. There can be no reasonable doubt that the very ancient tradition accepted by all

1. Milinda-pañha, p. 350.

2. Leon Feer, Textes tires du Kandjour.

3. Samyutta, V, 420 ff.; Vinaya-Mahāvagga, 10 ff.

Buddhists as to the substance of the discourse is correct, and that we really have in it a summary of the words in which the great Indian thinker and reformer for the first time successfully promulgated his new ideas. And it presents to us in a few short and pithy sentences the very essence of that remarkable system which has had so profound an influence on the religious history of so large a portion of the human race.¹

It is claimed in the *Petākopadesa* that all that the Buddha had taught or promulgated for the attainment of Buddhahood till his demise were epitomized in the *Dhammacakka-pavattana Sutta*, and nothing fell outside its scope.²

According to Vasumitra, such was precisely the view of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism.³ The *Petākopadesa* really wants us to understand that the Four Noble Truths constitute the main subject-matter of the so-called First Discourse instead of the Middle Path considered *per se*. The topic of the Four Aryan Truths seems to have been introduced rather irrelevantly. After speaking of the two Extreme Paths of worldly life and ascetic life, the discourse has got to bring in the topic of Middle Path. After this, the question naturally arises—what is the Middle Path? The *Sutta* has consistently sought to answer this question. As for the Four Aryan Truths there was no justification whatsoever for introducing them as a separate topic save and except to show how the Middle Path formed

1. *Buddhist Suttas*, 140.

2. *Petākopadesa*, Ariyasaccappakāsaṇa-paṭhamabhūmi.

'Yaṇ ca rattim Bhagavā abhisambuddho yaṇ ca rattim anupādāya parinibbuto etthantare yaṃ kiñci Bhagavatā bhāsitaṃ suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ gāthā udānaṃ itivuttakam jātakam abbhuta-dhammam vedallam sabbam taṃ dhammacakkam pavattitaṃ. Na kiñci buddhānaṃ bhagavantānaṃ dhammadesanāya dhammacakkato bahiddhā ; tassa sabbam suttaṃ ariyadhammesu pariyesitabbam.'

3. *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcuttā University*, Vol. I, 6.

just an item in the agenda of Four Truths. The fact, however, remains that the discourse, as we now have it in its various versions, is mainly concerned with the formulation of the Noble Middle Path whatever it is, which a person seeking to attain Nirvāṇa might profitably follow.

The presentation of the Path Formula without any reference to the formula of Four Noble Truths was quite possible, and it would have been more consistent and welcome in the First Discourse if the Middle Path were its main subject-matter. In that case the Path would have been rather tenfold than eightfold in order to contain an independent and complete process of thought. Fortunately there are texts¹ in the Pāli Canon itself enlightening us on the subject of the Tenfold Path enumerated as : Sammā-ditṭhi, Sammāsaṃkappo, Sammā-vācā, Sammā-kammanto, Sammā-ājīvo, Sammā-vāyāmo, Sammā-sati, Sammā-samādhī, Sammā-ñāṇaṃ, Sammā-vimutti : Right faith, Right resolution, Right speech, Right action, Right livelihood, Right effort, Right mindfulness, Right concentration, Right intuition, and Right deliverance.

In going to reduce the Tenfold Path to the Eightfold, one has to read a twofold meaning of Faith and Intuition in the first term and to shift the last term to figure as the third item, dukkhanirodha, in the agenda of Four Truths,—which is obviously a complicated and misleading procedure of later systematization.

The traditional First Discourse, as we now have it, would seem to be a later got-up thing with some romantic appendages. We get it in that form in which it might be treated, and, as a matter of fact, was used in the Buddhist community as a Paritta or Samāgama, i.e. as a sacred text fit to be chanted in the presence of a concourse of the gods

1. Dīgha Nikāya, III, 271 ; B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, 36.

invoked for the well-being of the audience. The very title of the Discourse, Dharmacakrapravartana, variously rendered in English—"Turning of the Wheel of the Law", "Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness", resulted from a poetical imagery which the early Buddhists so often borrowed from the previous poets of Vedic literature.¹

M. Senart drew his readers' attention to a fact which might well indicate how the earlier word Dhammatakka or Dharmatarka was transformed into Dhammacakka or Dharmacakra to make the idea fit in with the poetical imagery representing Buddhism as a well-equipped and spacious vehicle to carry men and women, asectics and householders, to Nirvāṇa.²

The First Discourse in which the Buddha was to have fully stated his position as a thinker and teacher ought to have borne the title of Dhammatakka rather than that of Dhammacakka. In this discourse he was expected to dwell directly upon the two topics of Nirvāṇa and Causal genesis before introducing to his audience—the first band of Five Disciples—the topic of the path, tenfold or eightfold.

As proved by other Buddhist canonical texts, the two extremes (dve antā) mentioned in the traditional First Discourse, were not the only pair of extremes that were to be avoided by the Buddha's disciples. The Buddha spoke of three other pairs of extremes that were to be met by the golden mean (majjha, madhya) supplied in the well-known formula of Causal genesis, while the Noble Tenfold or Eightfold Path supplied the golden mean to

1. Buddhist Suttas, 141.

2. Sutta-nipāta, 214, verse 1107 ; Senart, Le manuscrit Kharoṣṭhī du Dhmma-pada in J. A., 1897, English translation in the Prākṛit Dhammapada by Barua and Mitra, 19.

bridge up the gulf between the pair of extremes introduced in the accepted First Discourse.¹

Had the Sutta been known in its present form to the early Saṅgītikāraṅkas and considered so important as the very First Discourse of the Buddha, it is not easily accountable why it had not found its place in the Dīgha and the Majjhima Nikāyas, specially in the latter. The Sutta which was considered most important by the rehearsers of the Majjhima Nikāya was the Mūlapariyāya and not the Dhammacakka-pavattana.

The Ariyapariyesana Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, while giving an account of the Buddha's marvellous performance at the Deer Park of R̥ṣipatana, does not introduce the famous discourse on the topic of the Middle Path and Four Noble Truths. It has nothing to say about the two extremes. According to this Sutta, the Buddha had expounded his doctrine to the five monks in the following words : 'Fivefold are the pleasures of sense, almsmen, namely, visible shapes apparent to the eye, sounds apparent to the ear, odours apparent to the nostrils, tastes apparent to the tongue, touch apparent to the body ;—all of them pleasant, agreeable, and delightful, all of them bound up with passion and lusts. All recluses or brahmins who partake of these pleasures with greed and blind appetite, without seeing the perils which dog them, and without realizing that they afford no refuge—all such people are to be conceived of as having fallen into misery and into calamity, and as being at the mercy of the Evil One. But all those other recluses or brahmins who partake of the fivefold pleasures of sense without greed and blind appetite, but with discernment of the perils which dog them and with a realization that these things afford no

1. Samyutta, II, 77 ; III, 15 ; Aṅguttara, I, 173 ; III, 440 ; Law, Concepts of Buddhism, 48.

refuge,—all these are to be conceived of as not having fallen into misery or into calamity and as not being at the mercy of the Evil One.¹

The Buddha concluded his discourse by giving an account of the nine successive trances (*samāpattis*) by means of which the highest state of consciousness experiencing the peace of *Nirvāṇa* might be realized.²

The above account of the Buddha's discourse at the Deer Park of *Rṣipatana* would seem one-sided and incomplete as it has nothing to say about Causal genesis, which was accepted by the Buddhists of all schools and sects as a universal creed. If we are to believe a very early Buddhist tradition in the *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, the Venerable *Assaji* who was one of the first five disciples, when asked to point out the central thought in the Buddha's doctrine, held out nothing but Causal genesis.

The *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* definitely mentions, however, that the noble quest on the part of the *Bodhisatta* led ultimately to the discovery of Causal genesis and the blissful experience of *Nirvāṇa*.³ Other accounts, whether earlier or later, purport to be the same. If so, the Buddha in the first statement of his position as a thinker and teacher was expected to have introduced and dealt with these two topics : the Causal genesis and the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*, along with the idea of the path leading to the goal.

The question still arises—had the Buddha presented his doctrine in the form of the Four Noble Truths or differently ? I have so far maintained that the very opening statement in the traditional First discourse would warrant us to reject the first alternative. In his first address, the Buddha was required not only to state his own doctrine

1. *Majjhima* Vol. I, 174-5.

2. *Vinaya, Mahāvagga*, 40.

3. *Majjhima*, Vol. I, 167-8.

but to contrast it with those of others that held the field. As contrasted with the positions held by other teachers of the age, his was that of a golden mean (majjha, madhya). As regards the thought, the mean was represented by Pratītyasamutpāda or Formula of Causal genesis. As regards the path the mean was represented by the Noble Tenfold Path.

Chapter III

DEPENDENT ORIGATION

(Pratītyasamutpāda)

Pratītyasamutpāda (Pali Paṭiccasamuppāda) is a fundamental concept of Buddhism. Some have explained it either as a doctrine of causation or that of dependent origination or that of becoming by the way of a cause, by the usual formula of 12 nidānas.

The Ariyapariyesana-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya specifically mentions these two as the main points of Buddhism : (1) Paṭiccasamuppāda and (2) Nibbāna. The first point is the basic idea of Buddhism as a system of thought, and the second, the goal of Buddhism as a religion. The former is introduced as idappaccayatā, “causal relations.” The latter is introduced as sabbasaṅkhāra-samatho sabbūpadhipaṭinissaggo taṇhākkhayo virāgo nirodho, “the stilling of all plastic forces or the renunciation of all worldly ties, the extirpation of craving, passionlessness, peace.”¹ The Sutta does not, however, offer any formula to interconnect the two.²

The formula of Paṭiccasamuppāda is met with in other texts, both in literature and in inscriptions, in some, to account only for dukkha-samudaya, in some, for dukkha-nirodha, and in some, for both. In some are found the bare formula (desanā), and the formula with an exegesis (vibhaṅga). If it is presented in a form only to account for dukkha-samudaya, the formulation is called anuloma

1. Chalmer, Further Dialogues of the Buddha, i, p. 118.

2. Majjhima, i, pp. 167-8.

(in the genetic order) ;¹ if it is presented in a form only to account for dukkha-nirodha, the formulation is called paṭiloma (in the order of cessation) ;² and if it is presented in a form to account for both, the formulation is called anuloma-paṭiloma (in both the order of genesis and of cessation).³ 'Positive' and 'negative' are certainly not correct English interpretations of anuloma and paṭiloma.⁴

This is not again always the meaning of the two terms anuloma and paṭiloma as applied to the formula of Paṭiccasamuppāda. There may be anuloma and paṭiloma presentation in what is termed either anuloma-paṭiccasamuppāda or paṭiloma in the text of the Udāna. As to the anuloma-paṭiccasamuppāda alone, there may be four different modes of presentation of the formula to suit the occasion and the needs of the hearer or person to whom the desanā is addressed : (1) anuloma (in the usual order, from beginning to end, the causal links being introduced in the form of a chain of thought from avijjā to upāyāsā) ;⁵ (2) paṭiloma (in the inverse or reverse order, from end to beginning, step by step) ;⁶ (3) majjhānuloma (in the usual order, from middle to end, step by step) ; and (4) majjhapaṭiloma (in the reverse order, from middle to beginning, step by step).⁷ The third series opens with vedanā and ends in upāyāsā,⁸ while the fourth one opens with āhāra and ends in avijjā.⁹

1. Udāna, i, 1.

2. Ibid., i, 2.

3. Ibid., i, 3 ; Vinaya Mahāvagga, i, 1.

4. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti freely speaks of "the positive and the negative arrangements of the propositions of the Theory of Causes" (E. I., xxi. part v, p. 195).

5. Majjhima, i, p. 261.

6. Ibid. pp. 26 ff.

7. Visuddhimagga, ii, pp. 523-4 ; Sammohavinodanī, pp. 131-2.

8. Majjhima, i, pp. 266 ff. ; Samyutta, iii, p. 14.

9. Samyutta, ii, pp. 11 ff.

The basic formula of Paṭiccasamuppāda as met with in some of the texts of the Pali Canon, explaining idappaccayatā (causal relations), is as follows ;—

(1) In anuloma-desanā—

Imasmim sati idaṃ hoti, imass'uppādā idaṃ uppajjati.¹

“That having been, this comes to be, from the rise of that, this arises.”

(2) In paṭiloma-desanā—

Imasmim asati idaṃ na hoti, imassa nirodhā idaṃ nirujjhati.²

“That having not been, this does not come to be, from the cessation of that, this ceases to be.”

(3) In anuloma-paṭiloma-desanā—

One has just a co-ordination of the above two formulas.³

The basic formula is presented in the Udāna, in each of the three above modes, together with the corresponding illustrative appendage, introduced with the usual phrase yadidaṃ. But there are texts in which the formula alone is offered without the appendage.⁴ Similarly there are texts in which the appendage itself, avijjā-paccayā saṅkhārā, etc., appears as the formal expression of the Buddhist doctrine of Paṭiccasamuppāda.⁵

One may notice an important point of difference between the Mahātaṇhāsāṅkhaya-Sutta in the Majjhima-Nikāya, on the one hand, and the three Bodhi-suttas in the Udāna, on the other. In the former, both the Nidāna formulas, one accounting for dukkha-samudaya and the other for dukkha-nirodha, are appended only to one basic

1. Udāna, i, 1 ; Majjhima, i, pp. 262-3.

2. Ibid., i, 2.

3. Udāna, i, 3.

4. Majjhima, ii, p. 32.

5. Samyutta, ii, pp. 1-2

formula in its anuloma mode,¹ while in the latter, a correspondence is maintained between anuloma and anuloma, and between paṭiloma and paṭiloma. The want of such correspondence in the Majjhima text may be either due to some lacuna or due to the fact that in an earlier formulation just the anuloma mode was adopted. Buddhaghosa has nothing to say in his commentary on this point².

It is conceivable that in some instances the doctrine was formulated mainly with a view to accounting for the samudaya, pabhava or ācaya aspect of dukkha, leaving the nirodha aspect out of account. The existence of such instances in the growing corpus of the texts of the Pali Canon gave rise to an interpretation maintaining that Paṭiccasamuppāda was as much a reality as Nibbāna—a philosophical view which has been mooted for criticism in the Kathāvatthu.³ The text cited by the Paravādin⁴ is, of course, no other than that which is embodied in the Saṃyutta-Nikāya⁵ as a Paccaya-Sutta, and which Buddhaghosa quotes under the title of Paṭiccasamuppāda-paṭicca-samuppanna-dhamma-desanā-Sutta.⁶

Turning to the inscriptions, one must note that the Kurram Casket inscription (dated circa A. D. 100) presents a text of the Sarvāstivāda sect in which the Nidāna formula explains only the samudaya aspect of dukkha, while both the samudaya and nirodha aspects are brought out in the text of the Pratītyasamutpāda-Sūtra on the Gopalpur bricks and the Kasia copper-plate (circa A. D. 450-475).⁷ Now,

1. Majjhima, i, pp. 262-3.

2. Papañcasūdanī, ii, p. 303.

3. P. T. S. edition, 319.

4. Kathāvatthu, p. 321.

5. ii, pp. 25 foll.

6. Visuddhimagga, ii, p. 518.

7. Epigraphia Indica, Vol, xxi, part V, p. 195.

in the two brick inscriptions from Nālandā,¹ one has an interesting Sanskrit text containing both the ādi (desanā) as well as the Vibhaṅga of Pratītyasamutpāda.

Two brick inscriptions have been found at Nālandā. Based on them a Sanskrit text of what is presumably the Pratītyasamutpādavibhaṅga-sūtra has been edited.² This is found to be the same work as one on which Vasubandhu wrote a commentary, the title of which, as preserved in Tibetan, is Pratītyasamutpāda-vibhaṅganirdeśa. Vasubandhu's commentary, only a few fragments of which have been published by Professor Tucci from a manuscript found in Nepal,³ was popularly known as Pratītyasamutpāda-vyākhyā.⁴ A Sanskrit text similar to that found at Nālandā was translated into Chinese by Yuan Chwang in 661 A. D. The title of the Sanskrit original, as restored by Nanjio from the Chinese, is Nidāna-sūtra.⁵ What is now wanted is a Pali counterpart of the Nālandā text⁶

Though the actual title of the text is not recorded in any of the two brick inscriptions, there can be hardly any doubt that the text presented in them is a Pratītya-samutpāda-vibhaṅga-sūtra, a sūtra of the Vibhaṅga or Niddesa class, of which several examples are to be found in the Majjhima-nikāya, particularly in its Vibhaṅga-vagga. As a sūtra, the text bears all the main characteristics of a discourse, viz., an introduction, a statement of the subject-matter, elucidation of the points raised, and a fitting conclusion.

1. Ibid., pp. 193 foll.

2. E. I., Vol. XXI, pp. 193-199.

3. J. R. A. S., 1930, pp. 611-623.

4. E. I., Vol. XXI, p. 200.

5. Nanjio's Catalogue No. 628.

6. Vide B. C. Law's article published in the EI (XXIII, 241-242) entitled "A Pali Counterpart of the Nalanda text of Pratītya-samutpādavibhaṅga."

The Vibhaṅga is, ofcourse, the same Buddhist term as niddesa, e. g., sacca-niddesa¹, sacca-vibhaṅga.² The Vibhaṅga-suttas developed and contained in the Five Nikāyas, i. e., in the Sutta-piṭaka, represent the earlier stage or form of exegesis in the second book of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka, called the Vibhaṅga. The earlier or sutta form of each Vibhaṅga or exegesis has been distinguished in it as Suttantabhājanīya from Abhidhamma-bhājanīya. In the Suttanta-bhājanīya portion of each of the Vibhaṅgas, sacca, satipaṭṭhāna, dhātu, indriya, and the rest, the unnecessary sūtra characteristics have been done away with and only the relevant points have been concisely stated, nothing of doctrinal importance being left out of consideration. The Suttanta-bhājanīyas presuppose each a full text somewhere in the Sutta-piṭaka, but unfortunately all such texts cannot be traced in the extant Pali canon. The only reasonable inference to draw from this would be that the text of the Pali canon as it comes down to us is not complete in all respects, and accordingly it needs to be supplemented

It is historically important to note that there is a Pali counterpart of the Sanskrit Pratītyasamutpāda-vibhaṅgasūtra, which is contained in the Suttanta-bhājanīya section of a Vibhaṅga called Paṭiccasamuppāda-vibhaṅga. The title adopted in the P. T. S. edition of the Abhidhamma text is Paccayākāra-vibhaṅga.³ But Paṭiccasamuppāda-vibhaṅga is precisely the title under which the chapter was known to Buddhaghosa.⁴ Besides the correspondence between the titles in Sanskrit and Pali, there are other points in which

1. Dīgha, II, pp. 304-313.

2. Majjhima, III, pp. 248-252.

3. Vibhaṅga, pp. 135 ff

4. Sammoha-vinodanī, p. 130 : Idāni.....Paṭiccasamuppāda-vibhaṅge yā
ayam avijjāpaccayā saṅkhārāti ādinā nayena tanti nikkhattā.

the two texts show an agreement. First, in both, only the anuloma mode of formulation of the law of causal genesis has been adopted to explain the samudaya, ācaya or prabhava aspect of duḥkha. Secondly, in both, the uddeśa or deśanā is followed by a Vibhaṅga or exegesis. Comparing the two texts, item by item, one may notice only slight differences here and there. The definition of avidyā, for instance, combines two definitions in the Abhidhamma text, namely that of moha and that of avijjā.¹ But on the whole there is nothing in excess and of importance in the Sanskrit version of the Vibhaṅga-sutta which is not included either in the Pali Paṭiccasamuppāda-vibhaṅga or in the text of the Vibhaṅga as a whole. Further, the Abhidhamma chapter has a purely Abhidhamma section without its counterpart in the Sanskrit text. One has to regret the loss of the full text of the Pali Paṭiccasamuppāda-Vibhaṅga-sutta which is presupposed by the Suttanta-bhājanīya in the Abhidhamma treatise.

The discovery of the Pali counterpart of the Nālandā text of the Pratītyasamutpāda sets at rest the question of chronological bearing of the Nālandā text on the Pali Nikāyas and canon as a whole. But the existence of texts presenting only the anuloma deśanā of the law of causal genesis with or without the Vibhaṅga was not without its effects. It led some of the Buddhist schools, notably the Mahīśāsakas and Pūrvaśailas, to treat Paṭiccasamuppāda as asaṃkhata or unconditioned (Kathāvatthu, VI, 2; Points of Controversy (PTS), p. 186; Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā, JPTS, 1889; B.C. Law, The Debates Commentary (PTS), pp. 111-112. As informed by Buddhaghosa it led some of the Buddhist teachers to interpret Paṭiccasamuppāda as a theory of uppāda (genesis, evolution other than that

1. Vibhaṅga, p. 362; *ibid.*, p. 135.

which was contemplated by the Sāṃkhya doctrine of Puruṣa and Prakṛti (Visuddhimagga, II, 518-19). The Pali scholiast has advanced four arguments in refuting this, the first two of which are really important. (1) That there is no such Sutta to lend support to this view. (2) That the view goes against the purport of the authoritative texts, e. g., those stating that when the Buddha had revolved the law of causal genesis in his mind for the first time, he did it in both anuloma and paṭiloma modes, embracing the samudaya and nirodha aspects of Dukkha, and those (the Kaccāna Sutta for instance) presenting the law in the very same two modes with a view to meeting the two extreme positions of atthi and natthi, sassata and uccheda (Visuddhimagga, II, p. 519).

Chapter IV

REINCARNATION IN BUDDHISM

The reincarnation of the Supreme Being in a human form from age to age for the deliverance of the virtuous and the destruction of the wicked, i. e., for the foundation of the kingdom of righteousness, is a highly special Bhagavatic phase of the general Indian belief in rebirth through the transmigration of soul from one body to another. This belief came to exercise an abiding influence on the whole of the religious thought in India since it found a permanent expression in the Bhagavadgītā in the form of a philosophico-moral explanation of great changes in the social order of men. This Bhagavatic doctrine permeated also the realm of Buddhism from about the beginning of the Christian era, if not from a still earlier time and the development of the doctrine or idea is mainly to be traced and visualised through two cognate types of Buddhist literature, namely, the Jātaka and the Avadāna (Pali, Apadāna). To facilitate an easy understanding of the broad distinction between these two types, it may be premised that the first type, i. e., the Jātaka, is primarily concerned to set forth the process of evolution of the Bodhisattva until he reaches full maturity for Buddhahood and that the purpose of the second type, i. e., the Apadāna, is to give an account of the process of evolution of other pious individuals until they reach full maturity for Arhatship.

The Jātaka doctrine of evolution of the Bodhisattva and the Apadāna doctrine of evolution of the Disciples may each be shown to have been based upon a special kind of

yogic knowledge (*vidyā*), either in the form of a series of full recollections of the past or in that of a cinematographic vision of what is happening at the present moment. This twofold knowledge is claimed to have been acquired by the Buddha and his advanced Disciples. The first is technically called the knowledge by way of recollection of the previous forms of existence, and the second, the knowledge by way of being an eye-witness to the rise and fall of beings in the different states of existence.

It is claimed that by the first kind of knowledge an elect can recall to mind not one or two births, but many even through many an aeon of dissolution and evolution of the world system. The process is popularly illustrated by the analogy of a person going from his own to another village, from that to another, and from that returning home, and easily recalling to mind the whole course of his journey in all its details and modes.

It is also maintained that by the second kind of knowledge an elect clearly sees how beings passing away from one form of existence take birth in another, and recognize the mean and the noble, the wretched and the blessed, following destinies according to their deeds.

This, too, is exemplified by the analogy of a person standing on the upper terrace of a house at a place where four roads meet and watching men entering a house and coming out of it, and walking hither and thither along the street, and sitting in the square in the midst.¹

“Just as a reptile goes forth casting away its worn-out slough so does the departed one go forth leaving behind the

1. *Dīgha-nikāya*, I, pp. 81, 83 ; *Majjhima-nikāya*, I, pp. 278-9 ; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, pp. 91-2.

decayed body.”¹ This is precisely the analogy drawn from nature for the illustration of the course of a being destined for rebirth or reincarnation.

Though in their practical effect both the Bhagavatic idea of reincarnation and the Buddhist idea of the advent of Buddha are the same, it is the absence of the notion of God in Buddhism which makes all the difference between them. Similarly, in spite of their same practical effect, the real difference between the general Indian and the Buddhist idea of rebirth lies in the absence of the notion of soul in Buddhism.

According to the Buddhist idea of the advent of Buddha, the Bodhisattva bodily descends into the womb of a human mother from the Tushita heaven. The conception takes place as an immaculate one, the father having no part in the drama of his descent. Before his descent and in his last but one existence, he figures as the happiest dweller of the Tushita heaven. The moral degeneration of men and the consequent depopulation of the heavenly abodes impel the gods and angels to approach the Bodhisattva with an earnest prayer for his advent on the earth. After a careful consideration of time, place and circumstances, he gives his consent to the joy of all. Two Buddhas do not appear in the world at one and the same time. The dispensations of the Buddhas never overlap. The Buddha stands in the glory of his attainment above all others in the three worlds.

Nevertheless, the position of the Bodhisattva as an individual is in no way different from that of others in the general scheme of cosmico-moral evolution. It is well observed that the Bodhisattva career of an individual begins at a certain point of natural evolution, where the history of the universe tends to merge in a continuous biography,

1. *Petavatthu*, *Nandikāpetavatthu*, IV, 3 ; B. C. Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, revised edition, p. 33.

and culminates in Buddhahood in a certain stage of evolution, where human mind, freed from all fetters and limitations, experiences the true nature of reality.¹

Though the Buddhist philosopher has always repudiated the theory of soul, ego or personal entity, and will consciously refute belief in the transmigration of soul, the Buddhists as a sect could not get rid of the popular Indian notion of reincarnation of spirits. In speaking of the three essential conditions determining the possibility of conception, it is pointed out that not only the mother will have her fitness and there should be parental union but a gandharva must be waiting at the time for rebirth.² The gandharva, as the scholiast explains, is no other than a being who is led by karma to seek an opportunity for rebirth.³

With the Buddhist rebirth does not imply the transmigration of soul from one form of existence to another; it is not based upon the idea of continuity of any personal entity or ego. When Svātī, a bhikkhu among the immediate disciples of the Buddha, interpreted the Master's words by saying that vijñāna or consciousness alone outlives death and passes from one to another state of existence, he was called immediately into the Master's presence and taken to task for it. This is in fact the Upanishadic idea of the transmigration of soul. In the Brihat-Āraṇyaka Upanishad the course of transmigration has been illustrated by the simile of a grassleech (tṛṇajalauka) which passes from the end of one blade of grass to that of another but this analogy has been found to be untenable in the Bhelasamhitā. The Buddhist point of view has been

1. Cf. Barua, Barhut Stone as a Story-Teller, p. 101.

2. Majjhima-nikāya, I, p. 265.

3. Vide Papañcasūdanī, Commentary on the Majjhima-nikāya, P. T. S. p. 310 :—*Namātāpitunnaṃ sannipātaṃ olcayamāno samīpe t̥hito nāma hoti, kammayantayantito pana eko satto tasmim okāse nibbattanako hoti.*

fully discussed in the Questions of King Milinda.¹ When one individuality ceases to exist, another individuality comes into being. That ceasing to be, a third comes to be, and so on and so forth. In this way we have a series of similar phenomena, none of which being exactly the same. This point is well illustrated by the example of a set of lamps, each with fitness for ignition and placed in a row and in close touch with each other, one of which being lighted, the others are lighted. Here there is no passing of any spirit from one lamp to another. The lamp which is first lighted serves only to help in producing the necessary condition for ignition in the remaining lamps. Here the continuity is one of an impulse (*kammasantati*) and not that of any ego.

1. Milinda—Panho (Trenckner's Edition), pp. 46-50. Ko paṭisandabhati; Cf. Kathāvatthu, I, 1-Puggalakathā; Points of Controversy, pp. 26-32.

Chapter V

EARLY KINGS OF CEYLON AS IN THE CHRONICLES AND INSCRIPTIONS

The chronicles of Ceylon, written in Pali or Sinhalese, are mostly concerned with the early history of the island from the reign of Vijaya to that of Mahāsenā. The notable exception to the rule hitherto known is the Cūlavamsa which is a continuation of the Mahāvamsa chronicle of the kings of Ceylon from Kittī-Siri-Meghavaṇṇa to the last independent monarch. A laudable attempt is made to bring the account even down to the present day. Among the earlier monarchs, the four who appear as the milestones are Vijaya, the king eponymous, Devānampiya Tissa, the great younger contemporary of Dhammāsoka ; Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the great national hero, and Mahāsenā, the great exerciser of royal authority in the matter of the Buddhist fraternity.

Chronology, which is the backbone of history, is conceived in the chronicles of Ceylon in terms of two paramparās (successions) known as the rāja-paramparā or the royal line and the thera-paramparā or the apostolic line, one backed by the other. Parallelism between the chronological succession of the kings of Ceylon and that of the kings of Magadha is sought to be established by the contemporaneity of the rulers of the two countries from Vijaya to Devānampiya Tissa, on the one hand, and from Ajātasattu to Dhammāsoka, on the other. The starting-point of the rāja-paramparā of Ceylon is the year of the demise of the Buddha and that of the thera-paramparā is the date of the First Buddhist Council, convened in the

city of Rājagaha under the presidency of the Venerable Mahākassapa. The thread of synchronism of the rulers of Ceylon and India is not continued beyond the contemporaneity of Devānampiya Tissa and Dhammāsoka although the post-Devānampiya history of Ceylon is presented as a continuation of the glorious history of Buddhism which had started and gone through its early development in India.

The reader of the chronicles is in a comfortable position if he complacently and unsuspectingly places his reliance on the legendary history of the island of Laṅkā, Sīhala or Tambapaṇṇi. He cannot but receive a rude shock when he is told that the historical legends produced and left behind as national legacies by the most revered Theras of Ceylon were "the mendacious fictions of unscrupulous monks." That the elders "tried at least to speak truth" is not precisely the consolation he needs. He may find indeed some amount of solace in the statement that "the hypothesis of deliberate lying, of conscious forgery, is generally discredited" and perhaps a good deal more in the observation of Rhys Davids :

"No hard words are needed ; and we may be unfeignedly grateful to these old students and writers for having preserved as much as we can gather from their imperfect records."¹

The scientific method of history, with its rational attitude and its critical spirit and apparatus, is not, however, to be dreaded or discarded in favour of the legends because of their greater emotional appeal. It is to be regretted if its aim is simply destructive or negative and if it has nothing constructive or positive to offer. There are difficulties and uncertainties in every kind of history, especially where it is called upon to tell us something with accuracy and

1. Buddhist India, pp. 271 ff.

definiteness about its background and early beginnings. The political history of Ceylon, precisely like that of any single territory in India, is that of the Indo-Aryan rule, having in its background a state of things which witnessed the unworthy, uncouth and despicable life of the aboriginal tribes and races, the yakkhas and the nāgas, the worshippers of the demons and the serpents. The first king or hero eponymous is the founder of the first Indo-Aryan rule, and if he is allowed to pass as the victor, it is for no other reason than this, that he was able to wrest the country from the control of its rude natives or earlier settlers, be he a Prince Vijaya, the banished son of Sīhabāhu, or a merchant prince Simhala. It is certain that the political history of Ceylon began somehow or other. At what point of time it is difficult to say.

Even so far as the legends are concerned, there is this sharp difference between them—as to whether the establishment of the Indo-Aryan rule was the result of a gradual process of settlement and colonisation, which went on along with the trade relations of India with Ceylon, or that of an accidental advent of a valiant prince on the island. It is undeniable that the chronicle account of Vijaya's conquest of the yakkhas is the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as that of Arjuna's conquest of similar rude natives as described in the *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparva*, 27. 16 :

Pauravaṃ yudhi nirjitya Dasyūn parvata-vāsināḥ ।
gaṇān utsava-saṅketān ajayat sapta Pāṇḍavāḥ ॥

(After having conquered the Pauravas, Arjuna conquered the seven Dasyu tribes of the hills, availing himself of the indication (given by a fifth column) as to the opportune moment of attacking them when they were assembled for a feast).

The chronicles mention just five kings as the predecessors of Devānampiya Tissa. The first of them, called

Vijaya, dies without leaving a son to succeed him. The second, represented as his brother and successor, is called Paṇḍuvāsa or Paṇḍu Vāsudeva, and he veritably figures as the leader of a band of warriors in the guise of wandering ascetics. The line after the third ruler, called Abhaya, is deflected, and the government of the island is seized by a rebel from the mountainous region called Pakuṇḍaka alias Paṇḍuka Abhaya, who is represented as a nephew (a sister's son) of Abhaya. From this Pakuṇḍaka or Paṇḍuka Abhaya we really get a definite beginning of the political history of Ceylon.

Pakuṇḍaka-Paṇḍuka's son and successor is Muṭasiva, the end of whose reign brings us down to the middle of the reign of Dhammāsoka. From Muṭasiva we easily pass on to the long and prosperous reign of Devānaṃpiya Tissa, "the unseen friend" and younger contemporary of Dhammāsoka. The contemporaneity of the two Devānaṃpiyas, namely Tissa of Ceylon and Piyadassi of India, is treated as "a sheet anchor of Indo-Ceylonese chronology." The question still remains open whether the leader of armed warriors in the guise of merchants or warriors in their banishment, or warriors in the disguise of wandering ascetics, or the rebels in the hills should get the real credit for founding the first civilised rule in the island.¹

The chronicles open the Asokan history of Ceylon and Buddhism with the parts played by two heroes, namely, Devānaṃpiya Tissa as the secular hero, and the Thera Mahinda as the spiritual hero, one extolled as a distant ally and the other as the first-born son of Asoka. The legends in Pali and Sanskrit agree in so far as they tell us that the Elder Mahinda successfully led the first Buddhist mission to the island of Tambapaṇṇi or Simhala. According to the

1. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii, pp. 239 ff; Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, pp. 38 ff.; B. C. Law, *Chronicles of Ceylon*, pp. 47 ff.

chronicles, he went through the sky from Western India, and according to the legend as known to Hiuen Tsang, he went first to the country of Malayakūṭa in South India to the south of Drāviḍa and from thence he went across to the island of Siṃhala. Leaving the element of miracle out of account, it is now conclusively proved that there existed a land route from Western India to the Kāverī region via Mysore. The existence of such a route is proved as much by the evidence of the two Sanskrit epics as by the testimony of Hiuen Tsang. It is moreover proved that Hiuen Tsang's Malayakūṭa with Mt. Po-ta-la-ka (Vaidūryaka) as its rocky landmark is the same country as Tāmraparṇī, located in the Mahābhārata to the south of Pāṇḍya or Drāviḍa. This Tāmraparṇī corresponds with Tambapaṇṇī which the edicts of Aśoka definitely place to the south of Pāṇḍya (R. E. II, R. E. XIII). As the chronicles indicate, the Tambapaṇṇī division of Ceylon, as distinguished from Laṅkā and other divisions, denoted originally the middle part of Western Ceylon between the river Kalyāṇī and the Nāgadīpa or the modern district of Jaffna. And the entire island of Taprobane, as known to Megasthenes, was divided from the mainland of India only by a river.

Taking all these facts into account it cannot be doubted that the first Buddhist mission directed to Tambapaṇṇī was a mission as much to the Tinnevelley district of the southern extremity of the Deccan as to the island of Tambapaṇṇī or Ceylon. Similarly it is reasonable to presume that Asoka's political relationship with the country of the Tāmraparṇyas meant also his alliance and communication with the island of Ceylon. The only doubtful point in the evidence of Aśoka's edicts is that it tends to speak of the Tambapaṇṇī of his time as a tribal territory rather than as a monarchy. Here the chronicles come to our rescue and tell us definitely that the contemporary rulers of the island

of Tambapaṇṇi were King Muṭasiva and his son and successor Devānaṃpiya Tissa.

The chronology of the kings of Ceylon from Devānaṃpiya Tissa to Mahāsenā, as presented in the chronicles, seems undisputed. One begins to feel as if the historian stands on a terra firma of the dynastic succession. The historical narratives begin to gain in credibility. The authenticity of the tradition regarding the despatch of Buddhist missions by the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa is proved, partly at least, by certain relic-casket inscriptions of the Buddhist stūpas of Sāncī. The sense of certainty begins to fail when the early history of the kings of Ceylon is tested in the light of its ancient inscriptions,

These inscriptions are all written in Asokan Brāhmī script or its somewhat later forms¹ and their language bears all the distinctive characteristics of a Prakrit dialect once current in the Eastern Punjab and near Mansehra where a set of Asoka's rock edicts is to be found retaining some vestiges of an Iranian dialect. They enable us so far to envisage a political history of Ceylon from King Uttiya who is represented in the chronicles as the younger brother and successor of Devānaṃpiya Tissa to Gajabāhukagāmaṇi (A. D. 173-195) and more definitely, as suggested, from Saddhātissa. The employment of Devanapiya as an honorific affix to the name of the ancient kings of Ceylon who find mention in the inscriptions goes, no doubt, to prove that the tradition of Dhammāsoka was kept in the island up till the second century A. D., if not still later.

But the question still remains—are the kings mentioned in the inscriptions correctly identified ? Even if so, can they be placed in the chronicle order of chronology ?

1. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I, pp. 12 ff.

The kings of Ceylon other than Uttiya¹ who find mention in the inscriptions as donors of certain caves are named as Gamiṇi Tisa, Tisa Abaya, Gamiṇi Abaya, Tisa, and Puṭikana (Kuṭikaṇṇa) Gamiṇi Abhaya. The second of them, Tisa Abaya, is introduced as a son of Gamiṇi Tisa. The first king, Gamiṇi Tisa, is identified with Saddhātissa, who figures in the chronicles as the younger brother and successor of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi the national hero of Ceylon. Tisa Abaya and Gamiṇi Abaya are identified with Saddhātissa's two sons and successors, Lajji (or Lañja) Tissa, the eldest son, and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, the third son. Tisa and Puṭikana Gamiṇi Abhaya are identified with Vaṅkanāsika Tissa and Gajabāhuka Gāmaṇi respectively. Two of the ancient caves are recorded as donations of their Eminences, Utiya and Tisa, introduced as two sons of her Eminence Anuḍi, who is identified with the Queen Anulā (Anulā of the chronicles).

The epigraphic riddle can indeed be solved if the father Gamiṇi Tisa be identified with Saddhātissa, his son Tisa Abaya with Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, the third son of Saddhātissa. Unfortunately, none of the three names is precisely the same as that given in the chronicles. As a personal name, Gāmaṇi-abhaya is applicable, according to the Mahāvamsa (22. 71) to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya. To identify the Gamiṇi Abaya of the inscriptions with the Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya of the chronicles is to place the history of Ceylon almost a century and a half later than the reign of Dhammāsoka. If, on the other hand, the Gamiṇi Abaya of the inscriptions, be identified with the Duṭṭhagāmaṇi or Gāmaṇi Abhaya of the chronicles, on the authority of the Mahāvamsa, the rāja-paramparā as maintained in the chronicles is bound to be challenged. In the absence of an indication of family

1. Ibid., I. pp. 141 ff.

relationship it is difficult to be certain about Uttiya standing as the brother and immediate successor of Devānaṃpiya Tissa. According to the chronicles, Devānaṃpiya Tissa erected a stone pillar and caused an inscription to be incised on it, but this is yet to be discovered. The early inscriptions have nothing in them to corroborate the truth about the tradition of the Thera Mahinda and his sister Saṃghamittā.

In view of all such uncertainties as those created by the inscriptions, it is difficult to solve the question of the contemporaneity of Devānaṃpiya Tissa with Devānaṃpiya Asoka. This question should not simply be shelved nor should its importance be minimised. Its final decision depends on the progress of archæological discovery. The most disappointing feature of the early inscriptions of Ceylon is that they are all short labels and none of them is an official record like the edicts of Aśoka. This much, however, is certain that these inscriptions speak of a far simpler state of things than what appears in the chronicles.

Chapter VI OCCUPATIONS IN BUDDHA'S TIME

In India as early as the 6th century B. C. there were different vocations followed by the people to earn their livelihood. There is much interesting evidence in Pali literature of social conditions prevalent in India at the time immediately preceding the Asokan age. A careful study of the Pali texts and their commentaries will help us greatly in giving a clear account of how the people then lived and worked. Here an attempt has been made in that direction mainly relying on original sources without ignoring the relevant evidence of Brahmanical literature as far as available,

The king was freely recognised as the foremost of men (*rājāmukhaṃ manussānaṃ*).¹ He was not only the head of the executive but also the supreme administrator of justice and final court of appeal for criminal cases. The free supply of medicinal roots, fruits and herbs was an act of social piety on the part of a good king.² The happiness of his subjects greatly depended on his good rule and their distress or misery on his misrule.³ The king could remit taxes and release prisoners, if necessary. The king and the purohita (royal priest) were friends who played together the game at dice (*purohitena saddhiṃ jūtaṃ kīlati*).⁴ Hunting of

1. Vinaya Mahāvagga, VI, 35. 8.

2. Law, Drugs and Diseases known to the Early Buddhists, Woolner Commemoration Volume, p. 163.

3. Jātaka, V. 98 ; Cf. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra translated by Shāma Śāstrī, Chap. XIX—"In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness, in their welfare his welfare...".

4. Jātaka, I, 280.

deer was a favourite pastime of many kings.¹ The kings had the service of bathers who used to remove their bodily impurities by means of baths (*malamajjanakā*).² After the death of the king he was generally succeeded by the viceroy (*uparājā*) appointed by him. The dead king's younger brother or his eldest son by the chief queen might act as the viceroy.³ But there are exceptions. The son of a woman wood-gatherer was appointed by the reigning king as the viceroy who would succeed to the throne after his death.⁴ The king's sister's son was also appointed by him in the same post.⁵

The *purohita* held the most important service of the state (*rājakammika*).⁶ In the Vedic age there was usually a house-priest at the king's side who performed sacrifices for him. But in the R̥g Vedic and even in later Vedic ages we find instances in which the pater-familias performed sacrifices and ceremonies for himself with his wife without any priestly aid.⁷ There was the ascendancy of the priestly class in the pre-Buddhistic age. The importance assumed by this class during the Brāhmaṇa period could not eclipse the power and prestige of the princely class for the Kṣatriya is regarded as the Dharma incarnate according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.⁸ The priestly class and the princely class or the class of nobles were alike in an advantageous position in the Vedic and the immediately succeeding period. As housepriest of the king he advised him in secular

1. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I. 21. The king was to learn the art of shooting at a running deer.

2. According to *Kaṭilya* the king's menial staff included *snāpaka* (bather).

3. *Jātaka*, IV, 79, 81 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 133 ; IV, 148.

5. *Ibid.*, II, 323 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, I, 439.

7. *Winternitz*, *A History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 66.

8. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 259.

and spiritual matters (atthadhammānusāsaka). He also acted as the preceptor (ācariya).¹ He was preferably appointed from among the teachers, playmates, comrades, or class fellows of the king.² He used to guard king's treasures.³ He had to perform judicial duties.⁴ He helped the rightful owner to get back his own property.⁵ The office of the purohita was held by the same family for generations.⁶ The purohitas who interpreted omens acted as butchers (go-ghātakā).

Next to purohita in importance were the councillors and ministers (amaccā, mahāmattā). They were rich and influential by virtue of the office held by them. The quality of administration depended largely on their honesty and efficiency. Among them there were diplomats and specialists in the rules of royal polity. Sunīdha and Vassakāra were the two famous Brahmin ministers of Magadha who by their diplomatic skill helped the king Ajātaśatru of Magadha to defeat the Vajjians of Vaiśālī.⁷ The brahmins acted as servants (paricārakā) who used to ring little bells as they went before as heralds of kings and their ministers.

The senāpati or the general was also an important officer of the state. He acted as a judge (vinicchayaṃ karonto) in peace times.⁸ He was the commander-in-chief in charge of the army. The army was composed of elephant riders (hatthārohā), cavalry (assārohā), charioteers (rathi-

1. Jātaka, II, 376 ; IV, 270 ; V, 127.

2. Ibid., I, 289 ; II, 282 ; III, 31.

3. Ibid., III, 513 ff.

4. Ibid. II, 187 ff.

5. Ibid., II, 187.

6. Jāt. I, 437 (Bodhisatto purohitassa gehe vayappatto pitu accayena purohito ahosi) ; Paramatthajotikā, II, 580 ; Dīgha, II, 230 ff. ; Aṅg. iii, 373 ; Law, India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 157.

7. Dīgha, II, pp. 87 ff ; Law, Tribes in Ancient India, p. 330.

8. Jāt. II, 186.

kā),¹ and infantry. The archers (dhanuggahā) are not mentioned to have taken any part in the army.² The mock-fights, roll-calls, parade of troops, manoeuvres, marching of troops through the streets, formed part of military training.³ The Kṣatriyas were the excellent warriors and the recruits to the army of a kingdom or territory were not all Kṣatriyas. The Brahmins also adopted the profession of warriors (yodhājīvas).⁴ A son of the purohita of the king of Benares was appointed commander-in-chief on account of his great skill in archery.⁵

There were ambassadors or dūtas employed by the kings. The brahmins acted as such. They not only filled the office of generals, soldiers, chariot-drivers, trainers of elephants, legal experts and judges, but they also rendered services to the people in general as priests, physicians, druggists, astronomers, architects, ballad-reciters, and match-makers. As private citizens they pursued various other vocations of life in their own independent capacities. There were messengers and tax-collectors (niggāhakā).

The profession of a teacher in ancient times was undoubtedly a very noble one. Youths from different countries used to visit important seats of learning to study under the guidance of famous teachers.⁶ There was the custom that those who were taught either gave the teacher's fee or attended on the teacher in return for the instructions they received.⁷ Several crafts were taught, e. g., poison-craft, scorpion-craft, mouse-craft, bird-craft and crow-craft. Knowers

1. Dīgha, I, Sāmaññaphala Suttanta.
2. Ibid. I, Sāmaññaphala Suttanta.
3. Dīgha, I, p. 6.
4. Vāseṭṭha Sutta of the Sutta-Nipāta.
5. Jātaka, V. 127 ff.—dhanuggahānam aggo.
6. B. C. Law, Historical Gleanings, Ch. 1.
7. Jātaka, II, 277 ff.

of these crafts used to earn their livelihood by means of the knowledge they acquired.¹

The gahapatis (lit. householders) acted as financiers. As bankers they controlled the whole of trade and commerce, agriculture and industry. They were the business magnates in a city or town. Undoubtedly they were the wealthy peoples.² The setṭhis appear as respectable tradesmen enjoying a specially honourable position among the members of their profession. The office of a setṭhi or banker was hereditary.³

The hereditary craftsmen or those following professional callings, e. g., architects, mechanics, carpenters, smiths, masons, ivory-workers, dyers, weavers, carriage-builders, leather-workers, potters, jewellers, fishermen, and butchers, organised themselves into various guilds (*seṇīs* or *pūgas*), to be governed by their own rules. They functioned as producers, manufacturers, suppliers or sellers. There was the general tendency to segregate one class of workers from another within the same profession.

Merchants and traders used to carry on their trade along land and water routes (*thalapatha-kammikena*, *jala-patha-kammikena*).⁴ They used wagons or bullock carts in the transshipment of goods. A caravan consisted of 500 wagons (*pañcahi sakatasatehi*) and its course was guided by a land pilot (*thalaniyāmaka*), who received great help from the position of stars (so *tārakasaññāya sattham tāreti* ; *ākāse tārakā olokento ito pājetha...*).⁵ The Atharvaveda (XX, 127, 132) mentions camels drawing wagons or bearing burden. There was also the water-pilot (*niyāmaka*) who steered

1. *Dīgha*, I, 9.

2. *Saṃyutta*, I, 71 ; *Niddesa*, II, Sec. 135 ; *Jāt.* I, 92 ; *Vinaya*, VI, 4. 9.

3. *Jāt.* I, 231 ; III, 475 ; *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, I. 9 ; *Jāt.* IV, 62.

4. *Jāt.* I, 121.

5. *Ibid.* I, 107.

the course of the ships.¹ The fords were crossed with the help of boats and where the river-beds were dried up, with the help of strong bulls or bullocks.² A merchant ship made a voyage across the six seas for four months, carrying 700 passengers.³ Merchants had to make long voyages lasting even for six months (*chamāsāni*).⁴ In the midst of the ocean a merchant ship was wrecked and the merchant happened to be a barber.⁵

It is difficult to ascertain the exact nature of the articles of export and import. The merchants traded in many things such as muslins, cutlery, brocades, embroideries, perfumes, drugs, furniture, coverlets, furs, rugs, clothes, etc.

There was no dearth of the makers of furniture, pillows, rugs, etc. Movable settees, 6 ft long and high, divans with animal figures, goats' hair-coverlets, white blankets (*paṭikā*), woollen coverlets embroidered with flowers, rugs with furs on both sides, rugs with fur on one side, silk-coverlets, carpets, sofas with red pillows for the head and feet, rugs with figures of elephant, horse and chariot, and rugs of antelope's skin sewn together, may be mentioned.⁶

In the pre-Buddhistic period there were woollen and silk clothes and garments. In the Vedic age garments were both coloured and uncoloured.⁷ The *R̥gveda* speaks of splendid garment (*suvasanā*), dyed garment (*paridhāna*),⁸ embroidered garment of a female dancer (*peśas*), and bridal

1. Ibid. IV, 138.

2. Ibid. I, 194 ff.

3. Ibid., IV, pp. 136 ff.

4. *Dīgha*, I, 222 ; *Saṃyutta*, V, p. 51.

5. *Jāt.*, II., p. III.

6. *Dīgha*, I, p. 7.

7. *Vedic Index*, II, 291-93 ; Sarkar, *Some aspects of the earliest social history of India*, 57-73.

8. G. P. Majumdar, *Some Aspects of Indian Civilisation*, 61-64 ; *Indo Aryan*, I, 168.

garment (*vādhuyā*). There are instances where the physicians are presented with a garment.¹ As opined by Winternitz, cotton and woollen garments were in use in the Vedic period. The skins of animals were also used as a clothing and the rich dress was inlaid with gold.² In short, a Vedic Indian stands before us "perfectly well-dressed, caring for dress and creating an art of making dress."

There were shop-keepers who displayed commodities in their shops for sale, such as textiles, fabrics, groceries, green groceries and oil, grains, perfumes, camphor and flowers.³ There was the haggling of price on the part of the buyers. Merchants could enter into partnership or temporary partnership and there could arise disputes as to the shares of profit. The hawkers carried their wares for sale in portable trays.⁴ There were sellers of strong drinks in the taverns known as *pānāgāras*.⁵ The traffic in women and trade in living beings (*sattavaṇijjā*) were not then unknown.⁶ A wealthy trader carried on trade between the east-end and west-end of India transporting his goods in five hundred wagons.⁷ Ordinary tradesmen and hawkers roamed about in the country to sell their wares.⁸ Wagons were made for sale by professional carpenters out of the wood collected from the forest.⁹ Hunted beasts were sold in the market.¹⁰ Dairy farming was in an advanced state and there was an abundant supply of milk, curd, butter and ghee. There were animal hunters in the forests and bird-catchers who used to catch birds, e. g, parrots, peacocks, partridges, quails, mallards, by means of snares and they earned their livelihood by selling them.

1. *R̥gveda*, X, 94, 4.2. *A History of Indian Lit.*, I. p. 92.3. *Jātaka* II, 267 ; I, 290 ff. I, 411 ; IV., 82.4. *Jātaka*, III, 21.5. *Ibid.*, I 251 ff.6. *Aṅguttara*, III, 208.7. *Jātaka*, V, 471.8. *Ibid.*, II, 15.9. *Ibid.*, IV, 207.10. *Ibid.*, II, 200.

Hunting seems to have been an usual practice in the Vedic period. The hunter was equipped with bows and arrows, traps and snares.¹ The hunting of boars with dogs, catching of lions by snares and capture of antelopes in pits, which were known to the Vedic period, are mentioned in the Buddhist texts.

The people adopted various other occupations to earn their livelihood. There were sacrificers to fire (*aggihomam*), barbers (*kappakā*), bath-attendants (*nahāpakā*), cooks (*ālārikā*), confectioners (*sudā*), florists (*mālākārā*), jewellers, acrobats (*laṃghananatakā*),² wrestlers, basket-makers (*naḷakārā*), weavers (*pesakārā*), leather workers, carpenters (*vaḍḍhakī*), metal workers (*lohakārā*), blacksmiths (*kammārā*), goldsmiths (*soṇṇakārā* or *suvanṇakārā*), tinsmiths (*tipukārā*), potters (*kumbhakārā*), cloth-merchants, gardeners (*ujjānapālā*), bow and arrow makers, perfumers, dyers, oilmen, fuel suppliers, fishermen (*bālisikā*), ferrymen (*nāvikā*), water-carriers, household servants, beaters of drums (*bherīvādakā*), washermen (*rajakā*),³ clerks, artists, showers of theatrical performances, musicians (*gandhabbā*), door-keepers, drain-cleaners, elephant-riders, elephant trainers (*hatthipālā*),⁴ horsemen, cattle-rearers or cowherds, wood-carvers, chariot-drivers, foot-soldiers, bowmen, sword-bearers, standard-bearers, adjutants, suppliers of food to the army, warriors, military scouts, valiant fighters, sham fighters, boxers (*muṭṭhiyuddham*),⁵ slaves (*dāsakaputtā*), tavern-keepers (*vāruṇīvāṇijā*), hotel-keepers, spinners, tailors (*tuṇṇakārā*) grass-cutters, sellers of leaves, fruits and roots, sweetmeats, fish,

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 100. 2. *Dubbaca Jātaka*, *Jātaka*, I.

3. *Milinā-paṇha*, p. 331.

4. *Apadāna*, II, 358 ff. The Yajurveda refers to the practice of taming and guarding the tamed elephants. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, translated by Shāma Śāstrī, Chap. XXXII; *Arthaśāstra* (Ed. S. Śāstrī), pp. 137-39.

5. *Dīgha*, I, p. 6.

meat, wine, etc., magicians, corpse-burners, dancers and professional actors,¹ valuers (agghakāraḥ)² matchmakers,³ corpse-throwers (chavachaddakā), methars and sweepers (pupphachaddakā). The Veṇas were the workers in bamboo, the Rathakāras, the workers in leather, and the Nesādas, the hunters including the fowlers.⁴ The Veṇas, Rathakāras and Nesādas were hereditary craftsmen. All these occupations were in existence in the pre-Buddhistic period. In addition to these there existed in this period keepers of gambling-houses, dried fish-dealers, wine-distillers (sūrākārā) and excitors of love. The Yajurveda refers to the practice of taming and guarding the tamed elephants. The Buddhist texts make no mention of pearl-fishery which existed in the Ṛgvedic period.⁵ The Rathakāras enjoyed a high social position in this period. There were smiths or metal workers in the Vedic period, who used birds' wings as bellows for the furnace, and made utensils and furrows and other instruments. The Atharvaveda refers to black metal.⁶ The wood-worker was also a carpenter, carriage-builder and cabinet-maker in the Vedic period. He made the carts, the wooden ploughs and chariots of war.⁷ The Atharvaveda (XII, 3, 21) mentions washerman to whom the Buddhist texts also refer.⁸ In the Vedic period the art of spinning and weaving sufficiently developed as handicrafts. The weaving apparatus consisted of a shuttle (tasara), loom (veman) and wooden peg (mayūgha) for keeping the web stretched.

1. Milindapañha 331 (Naṭakā naccakā).

2. Jātaka, I, p. 124.

3. Jātaka, IV, p. 362—Kumāriyo pavcechanti, vivāhant'āvahanti ca.

4. Aṅguttara, I p. 107 ; Ibid. II. 85.

5. Vedic Index, I. 181. 6. Atharvaveda, IX, 5, 4 ; XI, 3, 7.

7. Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, I, 65.

8. Milindapañha, p. 331.

In the Vedic age ornaments were generally made of gold and included necklaces, ear-rings, anklets and bracelets. The use of ornaments for the decoration of the body seems to have been known among the members of both the sexes.

Cattle-rearing seems to have been the chief occupation of the Vedic Aryans whose wealth consisted in the maintenance of cows and other useful animals. Cows and bullocks are praised as the most precious possessions. At nightfall and after midday the cows were probably kept in the fold and during the rest of the day they were allowed to graze freely being thrice milked.¹ The R̥gveda² mentions gifts of camels which were used to draw carts.³ The buffaloes were domesticated in the Vedic period.

The people in Buddha's time took up the occupation of diceplayers, players playing with toy wind-mills, blowers blowing through toy-pipes made of leaves, players of games with balls and those hitting a short stick with a large one. Guessing at letters was one of the pastimes in ancient times.⁴ The Buddhist texts make no mention of chariot race which was a favourite diversion of the people in the R̥gvedic age. The game of dice to which the Buddhist texts refer seems to have attracted gamblers and its baneful effect is described in a R̥gvedic hymn (X. 34). The method followed by players seems to be unknown. It is evident at any rate that a gambler's efforts were directed towards throwing a number which was a multiple of four.⁵

There were surgeons⁶ and physicians (tikicchakā). There were also physicians specially for children (dāraka-

1. Pisohel and Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II, 282 ff.

2. R̥gveda, VIII, 5 ; VIII, 46.

3. Atharvaveda, XX, 127, 2. 4. Dīgha, I, pp. 6-7—Akkharikam.

5. J. R. A. S., 1908, pp. 823 ff.

6. Dīgha Nikāya I, Brahmajālasutta—Sallakattikam.

tikicchakā).¹ The brahmins acted as physicians with sacks containing medicinal roots and herbs, offering themselves to cure diseases for money. In the Buddha's time Magadha was attacked by five kinds of diseases : leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption and fits. Jīvaka who was the renowned physician at the court of king Bimbisāra and who was educated in the University of Taxila in medicine and surgery (Vin. Mahāvagga, VIII,3) was asked to cure these diseases (Vinaya Texts, I, S. B. E., pp. 191 and 230). The administration of drugs through the nose is also mentioned in the Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya.² The Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya (Dīgha, I, 12) refers to giving drugs to make people sneeze in order to get rid of headache (sīsavirecanam). The Suttanipāta commentary (P. T. S., Vol. I, p. 12) mentions a physician who was a specialist in the treatment of snake-poisoning who used to administer medicines prepared with vegetable drugs and cured a snake-bite after the poisoning had affected the entire organism. A physician named Ākāśagotta lanced a fistula knowing fully well that the skin there was very tender and that it was very difficult to treat the wound and guide the knife. In the pre-Buddhistic period the practice of medicine seems to have fallen from its original high standard and it remained like a neglected calling.

The palmists were the diviners by means of omens and signs (nimittam). In fact they were the fortune-tellers by studying the marks on the body (lakkhaṇa). The counters on the fingers (muddā) and counters without using the fingers (ganaṇā) were available. There were sophists (lokāyatā), occultists (sālākiyam) as well as those who summed up large totals (saṃkhānam). There were others who could fix a lucky day for marriage or giving in

1. Dīgha, I, p. 12. 2. Natthukammaṃ, Dīgha, I, 12.

marriage (āvāhanam vivāhanam). They could fix a lucky time for the conclusion of treaties and outbreak of hostilities. They used to draw auguries from thunderbolts and other celestial portents. They could divine whether a man was well-born, or lucky or not, looking at the knuckles, etc. and after muttering a charm (aṅgavijjā), determine a proposed site for a house which would be lucky or not (vatthuvijjā). They could lay ghosts (bhūtavijjā) and had the knowledge of a charm to be used when lodging in an earth house (bhūri-vijjā). They could also fortell the number of years a man was yet to live (pakkhajjhānam). They could procure abortion (viruddhagabbhakaranam) and dumbness (jivhānittaddhanam) by means of charms. They could also keep a man's jaws fixed by charm (hanusamhananam). Moreover, there were interpreters of dreams and advisers on customary law (khattavijjā) (Dīgha Nikāya, I, Brahmajālasutta ; Dialogues of the Buddha. S. B. B., pp. 16 ff).

The brahmins followed the pursuits of the agriculturists (kassakā), craftsmen (sippikā), order carriers (pēssikā), tradesmen (vāṇijā), sacrificers (yājakā), soldiers (yodhājivā) and landlords (rājāññā) (vide Vāseṭṭhasutta of the Suttanipāta). They did not hesitate to accept such low pursuits as those of apothecaries, druggists, occultists, soothsayers, fortunetellers, palmists, sorcerers, calendar-makers, astrologers, cattle-breeders, story-tellers, ballad-reciters, appraisers, collectors of alms by clever devices, etc. (Law, *India as described in the early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 122).

It is interesting to note that in ancient times the people following the same occupation lived together and the locality in which they resided was named after the vocation of its people. Hence there existed villages of carpenters,¹ smiths²,

1. Vaḍḍhakigāma, Jāt. II, p. 18 ;

2. Milinda, 331

hunters,¹ etc. The superintendent of the village² collected taxes (*rājabalim labhitvā*) for the king, and he was a friend of the king. He exercised judicial powers in the village inasmuch as he settled quarrels and made the guilty pay a fine.³ He issued prohibitions against the slaughter of animals and against the sale of intoxicating liquors (*majjavikkayam vāretvā*).⁴

Agriculture was one of the occupations of the people. In Buddha's time there was a rich agriculturist at Ekanālā in Dakkhiṇagiri, who had very extensive fields which were cultivated by means of 500 ploughs (*pañcamattāni naṅgalasatāni*).⁵ There were instances where the ploughs were driven by the farmers with their own hands.⁶ The villagers were the tillers of the soil (*Kasikammakā, Jātaka, II, Sīhacamma Jātaka*), and they were really the agriculturists or farmers. Watchmen were appointed to guard the fields (*Khettarakkhakā*).⁷ Hired men were engaged in some cases to help the cultivators.⁸ Different kinds of crops were grown on the soil. Rice (*odana*) was the chief article of food.⁹

In the Vedic period there was the cultivation of land (*kṣetra*). The seed was sown, and the corn was cut with sickle, threshed and winnowed. Channels were used for irrigation and the water of wells was used for watering the fields¹⁰. During the early Vedic period there was hardly any cultivation save that of wheat and barley. In the pre-Buddhistic period the chief cultivated crop was barley (*yava*). There was cultivation of cotton in the Vedic period.¹¹

1. *Nesādagāma, Jāt. VI, p. 71.*

2. *Gāmaabhojaka—Jāt. I, 354. (Village headman).*

3. *Jātaka, I, 483. 4. Ibid., IV, 115.*

5. *Suttanipāta, Kasi-Bharadvājasutta, pp. 12 ff ; Saṃyutta I, 172 ff.*

6. *Jātaka, III, 162 ; Ibid., IV, 276. 7. Ibid., II, 110.*

8. *Ibid., I, 277. 9. Ibid., I, 340.*

10. *R̥gveda, X, 34 ; I, 85. 10 ; I, 116, 9 ; IV, 17, 16 ; VIII, 49, 6 ; X, 25, 4.*

11. *Aśvalāyana Śrauta-sūtra VI, 4, 17.*

The cultivation of hemp is mentioned in the Atharvaveda (II, 4, 5) as well as in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (III, 2-1-11 ; i, 6-1-24). There was sugarcane plantation in the Vedic age.¹ Sesamum was cultivated from the earliest times.² The fields were cultivated by means of ploughs driven by oxen.³

The dancing girls (nāṭakī) who were accomplished in dancing and music (naccagītavādita-kusalā),⁴ were engaged by the kings who had as many as 16,000 dancing girls (soḷasasu nāṭakīśahasessu).⁵ A dancing girl was employed by a king to allure his only son who was indifferent to wordly affairs.⁶

There were dancers, singers of songs, players on instrumental music (vāditam), hand-musicians (pāṇissarā) and chanters or bards (vetālam).⁷

In the R̥gvedic age people were fond of music and dancing. Knowledge of vocal music is proved by the hymns themselves. Among the musical instruments may be mentioned lutes, flutes and drums which were used to strike terror into the hearts of enemies in battles.

The courtezans appear to have lost their inborn feminine qualities by virtue of the abominable way in which they earned their livelihood.⁸ They used to get handsome fees.⁹ Ambapālī, Padumavatī, Sālavatī, Sirimā, Sulasā, and Aḍḍhakāsī may be mentioned as famous courtezans in

1. Atharvaveda, I, 31, 5.

2. Atharvaveda, II, 8, 3 ; XII, 2, 54 ; XVIII, 3, 69.

3. Jātaka, II, 165.

4. Jātaka, II, 328 ; V, 249 ; Cf. Mahāvamsa, p. 227 ; Dhammap. Commy, III, 166, 297.

5. Jātaka, I, 437. 6. Ibid, II, 328 ff.

7. Dīgha I, p. 6.

8. Jātaka, V, 452.

9. Ibid, Cowell, III, 40 ; Cf. The story of Sāmā, a courtesan of Benares whose price was one thousand pieces of money.

Buddha's time.¹ The high class courtezans who were not allowed to live within the palace compound, came into close personal contact with the king. There was a custom among the Vajjians of Vesālī to have courtezans (gaṇikās) from girls of perfect beauty.

Prostitution was not unknown to ancient times. There were prostitutes who made a profitable trade of prostitution by maintaining a regular brothel containing 500 prostitutes (pañcasatavaṇṇadāsī parivārā).²

Women in the Ṛgvedic society show themselves freely before the public in popular feasts, dances, and on similar occasions. There might be stray cases of unprotected women who gave themselves up to prostitution. During the Ṛgvedic period, says Winternitz, we cannot think of the existence of a grand system of courtezans as we see in Vaiśālī during the days of the Buddha.³ There was the superintendent of prostitutes, as we find in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.⁴ It is interesting to note that a prostitute shall pay every month twice the amount of a day's earning to the Government, according to the Arthaśāstra (p. 125). The sons of prostitutes shall be trained to be chief actors on the stage. The superintendent shall determine the earnings, inheritance, income, expenditure, and future earnings of every prostitute, and he shall also check her extravagant expenditure. All such information is not available from the Buddhist texts.

Slavery was known to Vedic period. The Ṛgveda⁵ refers to the acquisition of slaves and gifts of slaves. The

1. Vinaya Texts, II, 171; Dīgha, II, 95-98; Vinaya Piṭaka, I, 231-33; Psalms of the Sisters, 125; Therīgāthā Commy., 39-40; Vinaya Texts, II, 172-74; Suttanipāta Commy. I, 244; Dhamm. Commy. III, 308-9; Ibid. III, 104 ff.; 106-109; Jātaka, III, 40-42, 260-63; Vinaya Texts, III, 360-61.

2. Jātaka, III, 60 ff; 435 ff.

3. Ṛgveda, VIII, 31; Cf. Pischel and Geldner, Vedische Studien, I, p. XXV.

4. Tr. by Shāmaśāstrī, Ch. XXVII.

5. Ṛgveda, III, 46,32; VIII, 56,3.

conquered aboriginal people are referred to as Dāsas and Dasyus. In Buddha's time slavery was in existence. Slavery is a very old institution, which existed in its worst form in Egypt, Sumeria, Chaldea, Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia, Greece, Rome, China and Persia. It was known to India in different forms and degrees when the Greek ambassador, Megasthenes, visited it. A regular trade in slaves was carried on in all these countries. There were four kinds of slaves : (1) those born of slave parents or begotten on slave women (antojātā),¹, (2) those purchased with money (dhanakkītā), (3) those reduced to slavery under coercion by bandits (karamarānītā) and (4) those who took to slavery of their own accord (sāṃamdāsabyamupagatā). Slavery might be incurred through capture² or commuted death sentence or debt³ or voluntary self-degradation,⁴ or judicial punishment.⁵ In the majority of cases the slaves were employed as household servants. They were regarded as the property of their masters.⁶ The Soṇananda Jātaka speaks of manumitted slaves.⁷

Traffic in human beings (sattavaṇijjā or manussavikkaya) implied slave trade.⁸ The profession of a slave was hereditary. Children born of slave parents generally took to the same profession.⁹ The male and female slaves were domestic servants who lived in the houses of their masters and performed all household duties.¹⁰

1. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I, p. 300.

2. Jāt. IV, 220, V. 497.

3. Ibid. VI, 521.

4. Vinaya, I, 72; Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I, 168

5. Jāt. I, 200.

6. Jāt. III, 129.

7. Ibid., V, 313 ff.

8. Aṅguttara, III, 208.

9. Jāt. I, 451.

10. Ibid. I, pp. 200, 225, 350.

A beautiful maiden caught as a prisoner of war was used as a slave (*dāsibhogena bhuñjissati*). A master had an absolute right over his slave.¹ The slaves were permitted to learn reading, writing, and handicrafts along with the sons of their masters.² In some instances their suffering and happiness were linked up with those of their masters.³ For the slightest fault a slave was beaten, imprisoned and branded.⁴ The slaves could be rightfully given away to another.⁵ They could regain freedom on payment⁶ or through voluntary manumission by their master.⁷ A slave was ordinarily engaged in cooking, fetching water, pounding and drying rice, carrying food, watching the field, giving alms, handing plates and dishes, bringing spittoons, fetching fans during meals and sweeping the yards and stables.⁸ The slaves were drawn from all classes under various circumstances. Their condition was miserable and their status low. Yet they occupied a position in society. Female slaves could be emancipated with the consent of their masters. They were generally ill-treated.⁹ The consent of the master was necessary for the marriage of his female slaves. Maid-servants were naturally uncultured and of low spirits. Some of them were in the habit of stealing.¹⁰

1. Psalms of the Brethren, p. 360 ; Ibid. p. 27,

2. Jāt. I, 451.

3. Ibid. VI, p. 285.

4. Ibid. I, 402,451.

5. Ibid. VI, 285.

6. Ibid. VI, 547.

7. Ibid. V. 313.

8. Ibid. I, 453,484 ; III, 163 ; IV, 67 ; V. 105,284,413 ; VI, 138.

9. Cf. Majjhima, I, pp. 125 ff ; Vimānavatthu Commy. 206 ff.

10. The Arthaśāstra (Bk. III. Ch. XIII) contains some rules regarding slaves, and it also mentions the powers of masters over their hired servants. All such rules are not found in the Buddhist texts.

Chapter VII

SLAVES IN ANCIENT INDIA

Slavery is a very old institution. It existed, even in its worst form, in Egypt, Sumeria, Chaldea, Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia, Greece and Rome, China and Persia. It existed in different forms and degrees when Megasthenes visited India as Greek ambassador. A regular trade in slaves was carried on in all these countries. It is rightly observed that slavery and idolatry of various kinds and forms darkened the social and religious life of the ancient peoples, and that they were the two dreaded evils against which the human soul cried for relief, release, and emancipation.

If Megasthenes had paid the highest compliment to India on the ground that no person was held as a slave and all were treated as free, even the foreigners not being used as slaves, it was, as Rhys Davids sought to explain, for the reason that the kind and form of slavery which existed then in India was nothing when compared with the Greek or the Roman form.¹ But the better explanation seems to be that the Greek ambassador distinguished simply between *de jure* and *de facto* slaves. In India of his time all men were held equal and all Indians passed as free citizens in the eye of law. He did not omit to mention that both the philosophic view and the law of the land combined to see all men free in India, allowing property to be unevenly distributed.²

In corroboration of the above testimony of Megasthenes we may cite the bold pronouncement in the Kautīliya

1. Buddhist India, p. 55.

2. McCrindle, Ancient India, pp. 88 & 211.

Arthaśāstra that servitude shall not be the condition of an Aryan, although it may be proper for the Mlecchas to sell or hold children to slavery.¹ Accordingly it prescribes the following laws to safeguard the position of slaves and to merit the admiration of all right-thinking men.

Employing a slave to carry the dead or to sweep urine or the leavings of food, etc., keeping a slave naked or hurting or abusing him or violating the chastity of a female slave, shall cause the forfeiture of the value paid for him or her. When a man commits or helps another to commit rape with a female slave he shall not only forfeit the purchase value but also pay a certain amount of money to her and a fine of twice the amount to the government. The ransom necessary for a slave to regain his freedom is equal to what he has been sold for. Failure to set a slave at liberty on the receipt of a required amount of ransom shall be punished. If a pregnant female slave is sold or pledged without any provision for her confinement, her master shall be punished, as well as the abettor. Selling or mortgaging the life of a slave once liberated shall be punished with a fine.

The statement in the Arthaśāstra regarding the slave-trade among the Mlecchas has its strong support in an incidental statement of the Buddha, purporting to say that the Yonas, Kāmbojas, Gandhāras, and other peoples of the Frontier countries admitted just two social grades of masters and slaves (ayya, dāsa) without meaning an impassable social barrier between the two :

ayyo hutvā dāso hoti, dāso hutvā ayyo hoti.²

1. Arthaśāstra (Revised and edited by R. Shāma Śāstrī), 1919, p. 181 : Mlecchānāmadoṣāḥ prajāṃ vikretumādhātum vā. Na tvevaryasya dāsabhāvaḥ.

2. Majjhima Nikāya, ii, p. 149.

They are typically the peoples of the Uttarāpatha or North-Western India who are described in the Mahābhārata, XII, 207, 43 as terrible Mleccha tribes :-

Uttarāpatha-janmānah kīrtayiṣyāmi tān api
Yauna-Kāmboja-Gāndhārāḥ Kirātā-Barbaraiḥ saha.

They are again the peoples whom the Pali scholiast Buddhaghosa characterises as Persianised in their social organization (Pārasakavaṇṇā or Fārisaka vaṇṇā).¹

The slaves were included in the term Śudra (Fick, Die sociale gliederung, 197 ff.). The Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa (VI, 1,11) points out that a śudra could not be other than a servant ; his business was the washing of the feet of his master. The Ṛgveda (III. 46,32 ; VIII, 56,3) refers to the acquisition of slaves and gifts of slaves. The conquered aboriginal people are referred to as dāsas and dasyus. In several passages of the Ṛgveda (VII, 86,7 ; VIII 56,3 ; X. 62,10) the word dāsa has the sense of slave. Aboriginal women were no doubt female slaves, for on their husbands being slain in battle they would naturally have been taken as servants (Vedic Index, 1,357).

There were four kinds of slaves according to the Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka :

(1) those born of slave parents or begotten on slave women (antojātā); (2) those purchased with money (dhanakkītā), (3) those reduced to slavery under coercion by bandits (karamarānītā) and (4) those who took to slavery of their own accord (sāmamdāsabyamupagatā).

Slavery might be incurred through capture² or commuted death sentence or debt³ or voluntary self-degradation⁴ or judicial punishment.⁵

1. Papanāśanī, III, p. 410.

2. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, i, p. 200

4. Ibid., VI, 521.

6. Jātaka, I, 200.

3. Jātaka, IV, 220 ; V, 497

5. Vinaya. I, 72 ; Sumaṅgala. I, 168.

The Manusamhitā (viii, 415) distinguishes seven kinds of slaves : (1) those who are captured during the war, (2) those who serve in return for maintenance, (3) those who are born in the house, (4) those who are bought, (5) those who are received as gifts, (6) those who are inherited from the father, and (7) those who are made slaves by court sentence.

The Arthaśāstra list is made up of at least ten kinds of slaves, while Nārada's law book recognizes a still larger number. Thus the number of classes increased in time, and slavery assumed a feudal character since, perhaps, it received a legal sanction from the Brahmin law givers headed by Manu.¹

There is a mention of six kinds of slaves in Jain literature also. They are as follows : (1) slaves from very birth (gabbha) ; (2) those who were bought (kīya) ; (3) those who were unable to pay their debts (aṇaya) ; (4) those who were made slaves during famine (dubbhikkha) ; (5) those who could not pay fine (sāvarāha) ; and (6) those who were taken prisoners (ruddha).²

The individuals captured in predatory raids were reduced to slavery.³ They became slaves of their own accord.⁴ Children born to slaves were also slaves. Vāsabhakhattiyā was never regarded as a member of the śākya family, because she was the daughter of a slave-girl named Nāgamuṇḍā whom a Śākya prince named Mahānāma married. In the majority of cases we find that the slaves were employed as household servants. They were also employed to cultivate lands. In the house of a pious Brāhmaṇa named Dhamma-

1. Manu, VIII, 413 ; Śūdrāntu kārayed dāsyam kṛtāmakṛtameva vā dāsyāyaiva hi sṛṣṭo' sau Brāhmaṇasya Svayambhuvā.

2. Pīṇḍa-nijjuti, 319, Mahānisiha-sūya, p. 28 ; of J. C. Jain, Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain canons, p. 107.

3. Jātaka, iv, 220.

4. Vinaya Texts, i, 191.

pāla even the slaves and labourers gave alms and observed the precepts and fasts.¹ The slaves were regarded as the property of the master.² The Sonananda Jataka³ speaks of manumitted slaves.

The Jātakas contain instances where the slaves were bought for 700 kahāpaṇas.⁴ Traffic in human beings (sattavanijjā, manussavikkaya)⁵ implied slave trade.⁶ According to the Milinda, rooms in a well-laid city or town had to be made for the residence of the various classes of people, including slaves and slave-girls.⁷

There were also household servants (pessikā).⁸ The slaves (dāsa-kammakaras) laboured for others in return of some payment (bhataka), whether in kind or in money.⁹ The profession of a slave was hereditary. The agriculture labourers received the customary wages. The day labourers returned to their own houses in the evening.¹⁰ The slave or servant was an adjunct in all households, capable of rendering domestic service. The male and female slaves were domestic servants who resided in the houses of their masters and performed all household duties.¹¹ Children born of slave parents generally took to the same profession.¹² There was a home-born slave by the name of Virañi.¹³ The captives or prisoners of war could be enslaved. A beautiful maiden, whenever

1. Jāt. iv, 50.

2. Visayha Jātaka, iii, 129.

3. Jātaka, No. 532.

4. Jātaka iii, 342. According to the Jātakas (Nos. 39, 402) prices vary, 100 paṇas and 100 kārṣāpaṇas were the prices mentioned therein. In the Vessantara Jātaka 100 niṣkas (nikkhas) were fixed as the price.

5. Aṅguttara Nikāya. III, 208.

6. According to Āpastamba (I. 20. 15) a brahmin was never to engage in the traffic of slaves. He was allowed to exchange his slave for another.

7. Milinda, p. 331.

8. Apadāna, II, 357 foll.

9. Jātaka, II, 139 ; III, pp. 129, 257, 326 & 444 ; V, 212 ; 293 ; Cf. Ācārāṅga Sūtra, 1, 2, 5, 1.

10. Jātaka, iii, 445.

11. Ibid. I, pp. 200, 225, 350.

12. Ibid, 1, p. 451.

13. Ibid, vi. p. 117.

caught as a prisoner of war, was used as a slave¹ (*dāsibhogena bhuñjissanti*). Slaves, specially female, were given away as gifts (*dānam*).² A village superintendent was made a slave of the village because he slandered the villagers before the king.³ Ministers condemned to death by the king for jealousy were given away as slaves⁴ (*dāse katvā adāsi*). Attendants and menials belonged to the category of slaves.⁵ A master had an absolute right over his slave.⁶ A female slave was considered as one of the members of the household.⁷ A master was courteous enough to accept the words of his slave with due honour.⁸ Slaves were permitted to learn reading and writing and handicrafts along with the sons of their masters.⁹ Sometimes they were appointed as store-keepers or guards of property.¹⁰ In some instances the suffering and happiness of the slaves were linked up with those of their masters.¹¹ For the slightest fault a slave was beaten, imprisoned & branded.¹² A female slave was thrown down at the door of the house and beaten with rope-ends by her master because she could not bring home her wages.¹³ The slaves could be rightfully given away to another.¹⁴ Some runaway slaves were seeking opportunity to free themselves from the clutches of their masters.¹⁵ Slaves could regain freedom on payment¹⁶ or through voluntary manumission by their masters.¹⁷ A slave was ordinarily engaged in cooking,¹⁸ fetching water,¹⁹ pounding and drying rice,²⁰ carrying food and watching the field,²¹ giving alms,²²

1. Ibid, IV, p. 220.

2. Ibid, vi. pp. 462, 464, 503, etc.

3. Ibid, I, p. 200.

4. Ibid, VI, 280.

5. Ibid, iv, pp 320, 362.

6. Psalms of the Brethren, 300 ; *ibid.* p. 22.

7. Ibid., iii, p. 162.

8. Ibid, v, pp. 485-86.

9. Ibid., I, p. 451.

10. Ibid., I, p. 225.

11. Ibid., vi, p. 285.

12. Ibid., I, p. 451.

13. Ibid., I, 402.

14. Ibid., vi, 285.

15. Ibid., I, pp. 452. 458.

16. Ibid., vi, p. 547.

17. Ibid., v, p. 313.

18. Ibid., v, 105.

19. Ibid. v, 284, 413.

20. Ibid., I, 484.

21. Ibid., iii, 163.

22. Ibid., iv, 67.

handing plates and dishes, bringing spittoons and fetching fans during meals,¹ and sweeping the yards and stables.² Slavery was so common that not only the kings and wealthy people but also the Brahmins and recluses, villagers and farmers kept slaves in their custody.³

Slaves (*dāsā*) were drawn from all classes under various circumstances. Their lot was miserable and their status low. But in spite of all that, they occupied a position in society. They could not be regarded as impure because they had to work for their masters in manifold household duties⁴ like helping their masters in dressing and undressing, assisting in the care of their bodies, preparing and serving food and cleansing the house. They were not counted as a caste.

Female slaves could be emancipated only with the consent of their masters. The position of a female slave was rather pitiful. A slave woman like a Roman slave-girl was the property of her master who had every control over her. She was generally ill-treated. A painful instance of ill-treatment is found in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. A woman named *Kālī* was the maid servant of a householder's wife living at *Śrāvastī*. She was skilful, and capable of doing her duties well. *Kālī* in order to test whether the fame of her mistress as a gentle and considerate lady was due to her or not once rose late in the morning. Her mistress showed her dissatisfaction at this. On the second day she rose up late and was rebuked. On the third day she rose up still very late and was so severely beaten by her mistress that her head was broken.⁵ A daughter of a brahmin at *Gayāgāma* became the mistress of her father-in-law's house. She disliked a maid-

1. Ibid., I, 453.

2. Ibid, vi, 138.

3. Ibid. ii, 423 ; iii, 101 ; v, 105 ; vi, 117.

4. Cf. *Jātakas*, nos. 354, 382, and 421.

5. *Majjhima Nikāya*, i, pp. 125 ff.

servant's daughter whom she used to beat for fault or no-fault of hers. When the maid's daughter came of age there was no remission of kicks and blows which became all the more severe as days went on. The mistress used to punish her by pulling the hair of her head. The maid servant's daughter therefore had the hair of her head shaven by a barber. The mistress then tied her head with a rope and punished her. The ill-treatment was so very severe that she went to a forest to commit suicide, unable any more to bear the rude treatment of her mistress.¹

In addition to other household duties, a slave-woman husked paddy,² pounded rice,³ and went to market⁴.

A slave-woman could obtain freedom if she could prove herself worthy of it. A daughter of Anāthapiṇḍika's domestic slave named Puṇṇā was given freedom when she defeated a Brahmin in argument and proved herself to be a woman of religious disposition.⁵

The consent of the master was necessary for the marriage of his female slaves. Pasenadi, king of Kosala, had to secure the consent of the master of Mallikā, the daughter of a slave woman, before he could marry her.

Maid-servants being of low birth were naturally uncultured and of low spirits. Some of them were in the habit of stealing coins or articles. But the influence of the Buddha's dharma had a splendid effect on their character. Khujjutarā, a maid-servant of Sāmāvatī, queen of Udena, king of Kauśāmbī, had to buy flowers daily for the queen. She used to steal some coins given by her mistress for buying flowers. She gave up stealing after having heard a sermon delivered by the Buddha. She confessed her guilt and told her mistress

1. Vimānavatthu Commentary, pp. 206-20

2. Dhammapada Commentary, iii, 321.

3. Jātaka No. 45.

4. Dhammapada Commentary, i, 208.

5. Therīgāthā Commentary, pp. 190 ff.

that she gave up stealing after having heard the Buddha's dharma. She let her mistress hear the Buddha's dharma. Since then the maid-servant was regarded as a mother and teacher by the queen.¹ Another maid-servant named Vīraṇī was born in heaven on account of her giving food daily to the Buddhist Saṃgha with devotion at the request of her mistress.² A servant girl of a brahmin living in a brahmin village named Thūṇa in Kośala, while going to fetch water, saw the Buddha sitting at the foot of a tree. She thought that it was an opportune moment for her to liberate herself from slavery. She offered a pot of water to the Buddha who accepted it. Her brahmin master was so very cruel that he on hearing this beat her to death. She was reborn after death in heaven on account of the merit she acquired by offering a pot of water to the Buddha.³

It is not a fact that the Buddha had not exerted himself in the interest of the slaves and servants. The fact that bondage and indebtedness were held as positive disqualifications for admission into the Buddhist religious order and fraternity⁴ is not to be pressed as an argument. The slaves and debtors were excluded because the Buddha wanted to see Brotherhood founded by him as an association of free men. Among the philosophers and religious teachers who pleaded for the cause of equality and liberty, the Buddha ranked foremost, if he was not the pioneer of the movement. He described servitude (dāsavyaṃ) as a most painful state of woe along with debt (iṇaṃ), imprisonment (bandhan-āgāraṃ-prison), illness (rogaṃ), and journey through a

1. Dhammapada Commentary, I, 208 ff.

2. Mahāvamsa, p. 214 ; Cf. Vimānavatthu Commentary, pp 91-92.

3. Vimānavatthu Commentary, pp. 45-47.

4. Vinaya Piṭaka, i, p. 76—Na bhikkhave iṇāyiko pabbājetabbo...Na bhikkhave dāso pabbājetabbo.

wilderness¹ (kantāraddhānamaggaṃ). He completely refrained from accepting male and female slaves (Dāsī-dāsa-paṭiggahaṇā paṭivirato).² He prohibited traffic in human beings (sattavaṇijjā) or slave-trade on the part of the upāsakas (lay disciples).³ In accordance with a clear Jataka maxim no man should offer himself to slavery. In order to ameliorate the condition of slaves and servants (dāsa-kammakarā) the Buddha laid down the five essential duties of a noble householder towards them, namely, "employing them according to their capacity, giving them proper meals and wages, attending them in times of illness, sharing with them delicacies and special dishes, and occasionally granting them leave".⁴

It may be said that the religious movement in India prior to Manu was directed to obtain emancipation from all kinds of bondage, physical, moral, intellectual or spiritual. A change took place along with the Brahmanical re-action against liberal and progressive thoughts. Slavery, instead of being abolished, came to be regarded as a necessary social institution. The classes of slaves increased in number, and there is no evidence of any attempt being made to improve their position in life.

1. Dīgha Nikāya, i, p. 73.

2. Ibid., i, p. 5.

3. Aṅguttara Nikāya, iii, p. 208 : Imā kho bhikkhave pañca vaṇijjā upāsakena akaraṇīyāti.

4. Dīgha Nikāya, iii, p. 191.

"Yathābalaṃ kammanta-samvidhānena bhatta-vettanānuppādānena, gilānu-paṭṭhānena aochariyānaṃ vasānaṃ samvibhāgena samaye vossaggena."

Chapter VIII

BUDDHIST RULES OF DECORUM

Every religion, ancient or modern, stands for and enforces certain rules of decorum with a view to regulating the deportments, gestures, postures, bodily movements, dressing, eating, speaking, studying, preaching, teaching, exercising, looking, bathing, and obeying the calls of nature on the part of those who belong to it or are under training. The Buddhist rules of decorum may be shown to have in their immediate literary background the rules laid down in the various *Gṛhyasūtras*. The Jaina rules of conduct and of decorum agree in their essential features with the Buddhist rules. They are sufficiently elaborate and justified by reasons ; while in the case of the Buddhist rules of conduct and of decorum the reasons are just implied in the set of circumstances under which they were introduced and enforced.

The Jaina rules are classified in the *Ācārāṅgasūtra* under such general heads as begging, walking, modes of speech, entry into others' possessions, postures, place of study, and attending to the calls of nature. Begging includes the begging of food and drink, begging of clothes, begging for a bowl and for residence. Under these sub-heads are to be found the rules governing the modes of eating and drinking, dressing, swimming and other forms of movement. The postures are those which are involved in religious exercises. The reasons behind these rules are based on such general principles as the avoidance of situations in which the monk or nun may be guilty of hurting or killing all forms

of life, or inconveniencing others, or wounding social, moral or religious scruples of others, the avoidance of situations in which the monk or nun may run the risk of endangering his or her own position, or receiving bodily injuries, or feeling discomfort, or being found guilty of theft or trespass, or moral degradation or mental perturbation, and the avoidance of all situations in which the monk or nun may be found acting under the slightest influence of greed, ill-will, discontent, delusion, haughtiness and the like.

The Pātimokkha which is a text of the early Buddhists, serves as a penal code for the ordained members of the Buddhist Church. The penal sections of this code are generally enumerated as six, namely, the Pārājikā, the Samghādisesa, the Aniyata, the Nissaggiya-Pācittiya, the Pācittiya and the Pāṭidesaniya. The Aniyata does not really constitute a penal section. The seven Adhikaraṇasamathā dhammā denote seven distinct modes of settling the disputes between two parties and as such they constitute the Buddhist adjective law or the law of procedure.

The Sekhiyā dhammā which are found to be 75 in number in the existing Bhikkhu Pātimokkha denote so many rules of decorum to be learnt by the members of the Buddhist Church. These are not rules or clauses under any penal section, as no punishment is prescribed for their breaches or violations. The violation or non-observance of a rule of decorum does not involve a criminal act on the part of the doer. It may lower him in the estimation of the fellow monks or public or he may be viewed with social disapprobation. It is quite conceivable that the breach of a rule of decorum or a law of etiquette may be attended with serious consequences. But that takes place not for the mere violation of the rule. The arrogance or incorrigibility on part of the violator may give rise to a new set of

conduct, and respecter of persons worthy of respect. This is called ācāra (good behaviour)."¹

These Sutta definitions of ācāra are wide enough to cover the whole range of the Sekhiyādhammā included in the scheme of Vinaya discipline. Those which are enunciated in the Sutta text as norms, standards or principles of good conduct are sought to be realized or fulfilled in the daily life of the Buddhist brethren and sisters through a body of obligatory rules enjoined in the Vinaya books. The definitions go to indicate that the Vinaya rules of decorum, when put into practice, governed Buddhist etiquette, the word etiquette signifying the conventional laws of courtesy to be observed between members of the same confession.

Viewing the Sekhiya rules in the light of the Sutta definitions of ācāra, it becomes easy to understand that these were intended to make the members of the Saṅgha appear in their manners as gentle, polite, refined, dignified, regardful, amenable to discipline, judicious, conscientious, scrupulous, discreet, wise, subdued, graceful, neatly clad, decent looking, contented with little, moderate eater, etc, and not as ungentlemanly, impolite, ugly, undignified, regardless, arrogant, injudicious, unconscientious, unscrupulous, indiscreet, unwise, uncontrolled, shameless, ill clad, indecent looking, greedy, gluttonous, etc.

The Vinaya rules of decorum are mainly concerned with iriyāpatha-cariyā (cattāra-iriyāpathā) or the cultivation of gentle bodily postures and noble deportments. The main bodily postures are four, namely, walking, standing, sitting, and lying down.² The rest, such as moving to and fro, looking out, looking round, contracting, stretching, forth, dressing, eating, drinking, tasting, licking, obeying the calls of nature,

1. Visuddhimagga, I., p. 19.

2. Samyutta, V. p. 78; Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I, pp. 183-184.

waking up, speaking and keeping silence,¹ are various deportments connected with those four main postures.

The iriyāpathas, understood in the wider sense of the term and intended to be regulated by the Sekhiya rules, consist of putting on under-garment, putting on upper garment, walking, sitting, handling, looking, expressing, preaching, eating, obeying the calls of nature and spitting and certain bodily movements, poses, gestures and postures. The first two belong to the category of clothing or dressing. Full dressing on the part of a Buddhist monk consisted in putting on the robe to be folded and laid on the left shoulder, holding the bowl in hands, and putting on the under-garment and the upper garment. The monk was to be fully dressed in this fashion only when he went on his daily rounds for collecting alms. According to Buddhaghosa's definition he was to be well dressed and well attired. To be well dressed or properly clad while residing in a monastery, he was required to put on his under-garment and upper garment or robe proper all round his person.

The purpose of clothing was to cover the three zones, to wit, nābhi-maṇḍala (naval zone) and two jānu-maṇḍalas (knee zones).² The monk was to put on his under-garment all around his person so as to cover the navel and knee zones. To cover the knee zone, the under-garment was to reach down eight fingers' breadth of the shank while walking (or standing), and four fingers' breadth of the shank while sitting (or lying down), according to the old Singhalese commentary called Mahāpaccarī. Furthermore the under-garment was to be of standard size, namely, five standard fists in length and two and a half, or at least two standard cubits in breadth. The navel zone might not be covered by the under-garment if it was shorter in breadth, since the

1. Majjhima, I., p. 57.

2. Cullavagga, VIII, 5. 2 ; Childers, Pali Dictionary, p. 506.

upper garment would suffice for the purpose. An upper garment made of double sheet of cloth was to be preferred to one of single sheet inasmuch as the latter was less likely to be steady when donned.

To be properly clad the monk was to see that he was well covered. This might be done by covering his body, knee and thigh with his upper garment, the body including his shoulders and hands down to wrists. The head, face, neck-bone and hands below wrists and regions of feet were to be kept uncovered. The rules of clothing as laid down in the Vinaya Mahāvagga and Cullavagga were to be carefully observed so as to maintain the distinctive characteristic of the Buddhist monk's dress.

The Buddhist mode of dressing was to be distinguished, on the one hand, from those of householders or worldly men¹ and on the other, from those of different classes and sects of *religieux*

The typical dress of the Indian hermits consisted of red birch bark and antelope's skin. Both the under-garment and the upper garment were made of red birch bark, while the antelope's skin was put on to cover one shoulder.² This was evidently in the immediate background of the full Buddhist dress consisting of three robes.

Amongst the wandering ascetics, mendicants or recluses, some, such as the Ājīvikas, the Avadhūtas, and the Jinakappikas among the Nirgranthas (Jainas), went naked. As distinguished from them others clothed. Amongst those who were clothed, some put on wooden garment,³ some skin, some garment woven of human hair, some rags and raiments,⁴ and mostly wore one garment;⁵ some put on

1. Cullavagga, p. 137.

2. Jātaka, V, p. 192.

3. Udāna, I, 10.

4. There is a detailed description of the dresses in use among the hermits and ascetics in the Nikāyas. Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha, I, pp. 230 ff.

5. Samyutta, I, p. 78.

white garment like a householder,¹ while others put on garments dyed yellow.

Nudity on the part of ascetics and recluses was against the refined social taste. It was strongly resented by the womenfolk as indecent and ugly.

Thus the Buddhist monk was required to be properly dressed with a view to appearing in the eyes of others as a person endowed with moral scruples and sense of decency.

The rules of decorum pertaining to dressing, bodily movements, poses, gestures, postures, laughing, speaking, etc. are appropriately combined with those relating to walking and sitting, and by implication, also to standing and lying down.²

First as to dress : A monk was to go and sit amidst the houses properly dressed, with his robes not pulled up and with his head uncovered.³

Secondly as to bodily poses, gestures, postures and movements : A monk was to go and sit amidst the houses with his body properly controlled and with downcast eyes, without moving his body, arms and head. He was to go and sit amidst the houses with arms not akimbo and without walking on his heels or toes.⁴

Thirdly as to laughing and making sound : A monk was to go and sit amidst the houses not with loud laughter but making very little sound.

The rules of decorum governing the Buddhist manner of eating need some auxiliary rules to regulate the mode of handling which consists in receiving and throwing and we have the following six rules prescribed for the purpose :

1. Theragāthā, verse 965.

2. Śāṅkhyāyana, IV. 11 ; Ācārāṅga, II, 2, 3, 26-28 ; Ācārāṅga, II, 4, 1 ; Śāṅkhyāyana, IV. 8, 12, 16.

3. Cf. Śāṅkhyāyana Śrautasūtra, II, 1 ff. ; Ācārāṅgasūtra II, 5, 1.

4. Cf. Śāṅkhyāyana Śrautasūtra, IV. 8. 1-11 ; ibid., IV, 11, 12, 20-25.

Gracefully¹ the monk should learn to receive alms. Fully conscious of his bowl he should receive alms. With proportionate curry² he should learn to receive alms. With proportionate dishes³ he should learn to receive alms. He should learn not to take hold of water-jar with a hand soiled with food and he should learn not to throw into the inner courtyard the rinsings of the bowl mixed with lumps of boiled rice.

Twenty-four rules of decorum are provided for the regulation of the Buddhist manner of eating as distinguished from those of the Ājīvikas and other Indian ascetics whose habits of life were notoriously ugly. The rules are intended to make the Buddhist monk considerate and careful, gentle and graceful, moderate and ungluttonous in eating, with due sense of propriety, proportion and decency. With due consideration he was to learn to eat, paying attention to his bowl, begging straight on from house to house, with proportionate curry, without pressing down from the top, without covering up the curry or the condiment with the rice desiring to make it more palatable. He was to learn not to ask for curry or rice for his own particular use, unless he was sick. He was to learn not to look at others' bowls with envious thoughts. The food to be taken was to be made up into round morsels and not into large balls. The door of the mouth was not to be opened

1. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg translate the word *sakkaccaṃ* by "with mind alert" evidently on the authority of the *Samantapāsādikā* which explains it as meaning *satim upaṭṭhāpetvā*. The Sanskrit equivalent of the Pali word *sakkacca* will be *satkṛtya*, giving due consideration, gracefully (Cf. *Sakkaccaṃ anumodare, Khuddakapāṭha*, P. T. S. p. 6. Cf. *Ācārāṅga sūtta*, II., 1, 4, 1.

2. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, "With equal curry", (*Samāsūpakaṃ*). According to the *Samantapāsādikā*, "When the curry is in quantity one-fourth of the rice."

3. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, "equally full", (*Samatittikaṃ*) following the *Samantapāsādikā* which paraphrases the word by *samabhāritam*. But the Pali *amatittikaṃ* is evidently in Sanskrit *amatṛptikaṃ* 'dishes in proportionate quantities.'

until the ball was brought close. The whole hand, when eating, was not to be put into the mouth. Talking was not to be indulged in with the food in the mouth. Tossing the food into the mouth and nibbling at the balls of food, were to be avoided. The meal was to be taken without stuffing the cheeks out, shaking the hands, scattering the lumps of boiled rice, putting out the tongue, smacking the lips making a hissing sound, licking the fingers, the bowl and the lips. With this praiseworthy manner of eating may be compared and contrasted the uncouth and gluttonous habits of Brahmins and Brahmanical ascetics.¹

Fifteen rules of decorum apply to the Buddhist manner of preaching the doctrine. These rules were intended evidently not only to keep up the dignity of the preacher but also to avoid the awkwardness of the situation and ineffectiveness of the preaching itself. Each of them is provided with a reasonable exception. The doctrine was not to be generally preached to a person found with a sunshade in his hand, to a person with a staff or sword or weapon in his hand, to a person wearing slippers or sandals, to a person seated in a cart or on couch, and to a person lolling.

Similarly a person with a turban on his head or with his head covered was to be avoided. Himself seated on the earth the preacher was not to preach the doctrine seated on a seat ; seated on a low seat, he was not to preach the doctrine to a person seated on a high seat ; standing he was not to preach to a person sitting. Walking behind he was not to preach the doctrine to a person walking in front of him. And walking by the side of the path he was not to preach the doctrine to a person walking on the path. We have

1. *Samantapāsādikā*, Siamese Ed., I, p. 43.

Cf. *Śāṅkhyaṇa Śrautasūtra*, IV, II ; *ibid.* ii, 14 ; *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 1, 7.

just three rules governing the Buddhist manner of obeying the calls of nature,¹ such as passing stools, passing urine and spitting. Only the first of them is intended to avoid ugliness, while the remaining two are prescribed with a view to preventing the destruction of plant-life and pollution of water. According to the first rule the monk was not to ease himself in a standing posture.

We have shown in this chapter that the Buddhist rules of decorum were based upon careful considerations and keen observations. A comparative study of these rules enforced by different religions of the world will be very interesting. It is sure to yield many fruitful results. It is surely beyond the scope of this chapter.

1. Cf. *Ācārāṅga Sutta*, II. 10.

Chapter IX

EVOLUTION OF CAVE ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA AND CEYLON

The cave is one of the probable lines along which religious architecture developed in India and Ceylon. In the historical process of its development one may trace the different forms of its combination, amalgamation or co-ordination, conscious or unconscious, with other lines of development.

The English words cave, cavern and cavity, all meaning a hollow place in the earth, a den, are derivable from the Latin *cavus* meaning a hollow, corresponding to which we have the Asokan term *kubhā* for a cave. The *R̥gveda* applies the name of *Kubhā* (Greek *Kophes*, *Kophen*) to the river Kabul, probably for the reason that it hollowed out its course through several Himalayan mountains, hills and rocks. The Sanskrit and Pali word *guhā* is just a phonetic variation of *Kubhā*.

The Sanskrit lexicon, *Amarakoṣa* (V. 15), lists *devak-hāta vila* (a natural cavity in a rock) and *gahvara* (a hollow, hole) as synonyms of *guhā*. Two cognate words are *darī* (a grotto, crevice) and *kandara* (a cleft, split, fissure, cavern) wrought by the action of water (*ibid*, V. 14). In the *Upaniṣads* and the *Dhammapada* the word *guhā* stands for the heart, better, the cavity of the heart ; cf. *guhācara* (*Muṇḍaka Up.*) meaning 'moving in secret, in the heart', *guhāsaya* (*Dhp.*) meaning 'lying in the heart'. In the *Mahābhārata* (III. 16118) the word *guhāmukha* implies 'wide mouthed, open-mouthed', while in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (xxii, 164) *Guhāvāsin*, i. e., 'the dweller of a cave', is met with

as the name of a muni or a silent contemplative. Etymologically guhā is a hiding place, derived from guh (to hide).

In Pali literature, the word guhā is employed almost as equivalent to kandara meaning 'a grotto, while giri-guhā stands for "a mountain cleft, a rift, a gorge, always in the formation of pabbata, kandara, guhā". The kandara is "a cave, grotto, generally on the slope or at the foot of a mountain" (Vinaya, ii, 76,146). Thus guhā and kandara are also associated with pabbhāra (Sk. prāgbhāra, Divyāvadāna, p. 80) meaning 'a decline, incline, slope'. The word kandara is taken sometimes to mean a great passage-like hollow between two mountains or rocks.¹

In the Prākṛit inscriptions, whether found in India and Ceylon, the word leṇa is generally employed in the sense of a mountain cave or rocky retreat, shelter or cell. In Pāli, too, leṇa or lena (Sk. layana) is used as a synonym of guhā. This, too, is to be derived from the root lī (to hide). In the Vinaya Piṭaka (II. 146), however, the word leṇa is applied "as collective name for five kinds of hermitages, viz., vihāra, aḍḍhayoga, pāsāda, hammiya, and guhā." (Vinaya Mahāvagga, I. 30. 4 ; I. 77 ; II. 8. 1 ; Cullavagga, VI. 1. 2.)

Until the natural caves, caverns, crevices or grottos were touched by human hand or the cave-like dwellings were made entirely by human skill in rocks or boulders, we cannot think of the beginning and development of any cave-architecture. We obtain a few interesting hints from Pali literature as to the manner in which human hand began to work to the end. These go to indicate that in making a cave dwelling (leṇa) "opportunity for sitting or lying (was) made by digging (a cave) in a mountain or rock or by erecting

1. P. T. S. Dictionary, page 14-k.

a wall where the cave is insufficient (so as to make the rest of it habitable)".¹

With regard to the famous Indasāla guhā which was a natural cave in the VEDIYAKA mountain (modern GIRIYAK hill), we are told in the Sakka-Pañha Suttanta that "at the time when the Blessed One stepped into it the cave which was uneven became even, which was narrow became wide, which was dark became lighted as if by the supernormal powers of the gods."² According to Buddhaghosa who had evidently before him the picture of the cave touched by human hand, "it had been enclosed by walls, fitted with doors and windows, done up into a cave dwelling with the finest chunam plaster, and adorned with garland-and-creeper designs before it was given to the Blessed One."³

The ancient leṇas in Ceylon are just found to be the rough hewn slanting rock under a slope (pabbhāra), slightly chiselled leaving the edge untouched so as to prevent the rain-water from trickling down. Even at Polunnāruva and Sigiriya, where the snake-hood like inner side of the slope or projection of a rock side is spacious enough, the same device was adopted. There is hardly any cave architecture to be noticed in Ceylon, worth the name. The only exception to the general rule is the rock-cut (giri)vihāra, which, too, is too crude from the architectural point of view to bear comparison with the Indian examples of cave dwellings and cave-architecture.

1. Vibhaṅga aṭṭhakathā, p. 366: pabbataṃ khaṇitvā pabbhārassa appahona-katṭhāne kuḍḍam utthāpetvā katasenāsanam. Cf. Vinaya, I., p. 206-pabbhāraṃ sodhāpetvā leṇaṃ kattukāmo.

2. Dīgha, II pp. 260-270: Tena kho pana samayena Indasāla-guhā visamāyanti samāsampādi, sambādhāyanti urundā sampādi, andhakāraguhāyam āloko udapādi. Yathātaṃ devānaṃ mahānubhāvena.

3. Sumaṅgalavilāsini, III., Barua, Barhut, II, p. 56

The Indasāla-guhā is represented in one of the Bharhut medallions as a mountain cave with a rocky floor and an open-mouthed and arched or bullock-cart-roofed room or hall. It is polished inside. The Indasāla tree serving as the cognizance of the cave is shown above it. "Two monkeys are seen sitting on cubical rocks, facing each other, while two bears peep out through the holes beneath the piled up rocks." Thus the rocky surroundings of the cave are indicated.¹ The Indasāla and two other caves depicted on the Bodhgayā stone-railing show similarly an open-mouthed and arched corridor-shaped room or hall.² The distinctive feature of the Indasālaguhā and another cave is that each is enclosed by a Buddhist railing.

1. Barābar and Nāgārjunī Caves : The kubhās (rock-cut caves) in the Barābar and Nāgārjunī hills in south Bihar are situated at a distance of about 16 miles north of the town of Gayā, and were all dedicated to the Ājīvikas. These hills consist of two narrow parallel ridges, the rock being granite. The caves, collectively known as Sātgharā, are divided into two groups, the four of the Barabar group being the most ancient. Out of the four caves of this group, two were excavated in the 12th and two, including the one left unfinished, in the 19th year of Aśoka's reign. These rock-cut ascetic dwellings marked indeed the beginning of cave architecture in India. The walls of their outer chamber are dressed and polished, thus bearing the distinctive trait of Aśokan art, while the inside of their inner chamber is very rough. Their entrance is finished and they undoubtedly afford the earliest example of the rock-cut caitya halls. The name of the first cave, called

1 Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Pl.XXVII, 4, pp. 88-89 ; Barua, *Barhut*, II, p. 55 ; III, Scene 56.

2 Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, II, figs. 55, 73, 73 (a).

Nigoha-kubhā (Nyagrodha cave), resembles that of the Indasāla-guhā in that it also had a tree at its entrance for its cognizance.

The Gopikā cave which is more than 40 ft. long and 19ft wide is the most important of the Nāgārjunī group, all the three caves of which were caused to be excavated by Daśaratha, a successor of Aśoka. The vaulted roof of the Gopikā cave has a rise of 4 ft. both ends being semi-circular. None of the seven caves bears any sculpture or decorative motif.

2. Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves : Next in the order of chronology stand the Jain leṇas (cave retreats) that were caused to be excavated by Khāravela, his chief queen, and other royal personages and officers in rocks of the twin hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri (Kumārī-Kumāra-parvata), situated at distance of about five miles to the north-west of Bhūvaneśvar in the Puri district. Similar caves, although of much inferior workmanship, are traceable also at Bhūvaneśvar. The Orissan caves were by far the work of the Jainas, the evidence of whose faith lies in their inscribed records, as also in the mediaeval cult statues of the Tīrthaṅkaras in two of the caves in the Khaṇḍagiri hill. The Caitya halls are conspicuous by their absence in these caves. One may trace altogether 35 excavations, the most remarkable of them being the Ananta Gumphā on Khaṇḍagiri, and the Rāṇīgumphā, Gaṇeśa gumphā and the Jaya-vijaya caves on the Udayagiri hills. The Hāthi gumphā, caused to be excavated by Khāravela himself, is a natural cavern enlarged by artificial cutting, on the hanging brow of which is the well-known epigraph of Khāravela. The modern name Hāthi-gumphā (Elephant Cave) is given to it obviously for the reason that it looks in its general appearance like an elephant seated on its forelegs, although in an inside view it is but an wide-mouthed slanting slope (pabbhāra) of a big

boulder. On its left side in front stands the two-storeyed Mañcapurī cave, the upper storey, caused to be excavated by Khāravela's chief queen, is now-a-days called Vaikunṭha, and the corresponding lower storey, caused to be excavated by king Kudepa, is given the same of Pātālapurī. The lower storey has a pillared verandah with chambers hollowed out at the back and at one end. Similar in design and dimension is the upper storey. There is a frieze on the ground floor verandah, some of the reliefs in it resemble the Bharhut workmanship. On the right side of the verandah of the upper storey shows a pent roof serving the purpose of a shelf. As described in some of the inscriptions, a complete leṇa consisted of pāsāda, i.e., a verandah or facade, pillared or not, koṭhā, i.e., chamber or chambers, hollowed out at the back and at one end, and jiyā (jyā), i.e., a pent roof. The lower storey has at its left wing two caves, caused to be excavated by prince Vaḍukha. The courtyard is enclosed by the rock and a wall in front. Round about the Hāthi-gumphā are a few small caves, one of which is now known by the name of Vyāghra gumphā (Tiger Cave), inasmuch as it looks like the face of a tiger with its distended jaws, one is called Sarpa gumphā on account of a snake hood carved on its upper edge, and two are called Ajagara gumphā and Bheka gumphā for similar reasons. On the slope of Udayagiri and at a short distance from the Mañcapurī cave is to be seen a single-storied and building-like cave called Chota Hāthi gumphā evidently for the reason that it has in its courtyard two small figures of elephants. The Ananta gumphā of the Khaṇḍagiri group is a single storied cave planned on the model of the Mañcapurī cave. The ornamental arches in the door-ways of this cave have in them various reliefs like the standing figure of Gajalakṣmī, a four-horse chariot of the Sun-god with the crescent moon and stars in the field (a representation which is somewhat

later than the motif on the Bodhgayā railing¹) railed in tree with figures to the right and left, carrying offerings in their hands or posed in an attitude of prayer, etc, flying Gandharvas, (heavenly musicians), flock of birds or animals, tripplehooded snakes, garlands intertwined etc. adding to the variety and richness of the reliefs of the arch fronts. The Rāṇī gumphā belonging to Udayagiri is indeed the most elaborately decorated of all the Orissan caves. Like the Mañcapurī cave it has two storeys, each of which is provided with a verandah, the lower having three cells behind, and the upper, four cells. There are irregular chambers in the right and left wings of the verandahs. In both storeys, the facades are decorated with pilasters and highly ornate friezes illustrating some Jaina episodes not yet identified. The first panel in the left wing of the upper storey depicts an interesting musical scene of persons carrying offerings. These friezes may historically be regarded as precursors of the frescoes decorating the caves of Ajantā, Bāgh, and Sigiriya.

Nāsik Caves : These Buddhist caves are also called paṇḍulenās which are situated about 300 ft. above the road level and are easily accessible. They were excavated for the Bhadrayānikas, a Hīnayāna sect of the Buddhists. There were altogether 23 excavations. The earliest is the Caitya cave, dating from the Christian era. There are four vihāras ; much damage has been done by bad weather. The cave No. 1 is an unfinished vihāra. The cave No. 2 is an excavation with many additions by later Mahāyānists. There is a verandah having two wooden pillars. The cave No. 3 is a big vihāra with many cells and a hall 41 ft. wide and 46 ft. deep. The entrance is sculptured in a style similar

1. Barua, *Gayā and Buddhagayā*, II, p. 88, and *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, p. 296.

to that of the Sāñcī gate. Over the gateway the Bodhi-tree, the dagoba, the wheel and dvārapāla are distinctly visible. The cave was excavated by one of the Āndhra Kings, Śātakarṇi Gauṭamīputra. The verandah has 6 octagonal columns without bases. The upper part of the frieze is richly carved with a strong course under a richly carved rail similar to those at Amarāvati. The cave No. 10 is a vihāra and contains an inscription of the family of Nahapāṇa who reigned at Ujjayinī before 120 A. D. The pillars of the verandah contained bell-shaped Persian capitals. The cave No. 17 has a hall measuring 23 ft. wide and 32 ft. deep. The verandah is somewhat peculiar which is reached by half a dozen steps in front between the two central octagonal pillars. On the back wall is a standing figure of the Buddha. On the right side there are four cells. The cave was the work of Indrāgnidatta, son of Dharmadeva, a native of the Sauvīra country. The cave No. 17, the interior of which is very simple, is of a much later date. The ornamentation on the left side of a doorway is almost similar to the northern gateway of Sāñcī. The cave No. 29 is a vihāra cave. On either side of the shrine door stands a gigantic dvārapāla with a female attendant. In the shrine too there is a colossal image of Buddha seated on a lotus (padmāsana). There are some dilapidated and half finished chambers. The cave No. 23 contains a sculpture of Buddha attended by Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi. Besides there are images of the Buddha in the Dharmacakramudrā and Dhyānamudrā.

Kārli and Bhāja Caves : These are two well known Buddhist cave temples in the Borghata hills between Bombay and Poona dated about the beginning of the Christian era. The Karli caves are situated about 2 miles to the north of the Bombay-Poona road. The inscriptions in the caves contain the names of Nahapāṇa and Uṣavadāta.

King Dhūtapāla supposed to be Devabhūti of the Śuṅga dynasty is mentioned in the two inscriptions. The pillars of this cave are quite perpendicular. At the entrance of this cave stands a pillar surmounted by four lions with gaping mouths and facing four quarters. The four lions represent the lion's roar with which the disciples of the Buddha were called upon to proclaim that all the four best types of saints were to be found in Buddhism. On the right side stands the Śiva temple, and close to it there is a second pillar surmounted by a cakra or wheel. The Buddha is here attended by Padmapāṇi and most probably Mañjuśrī is seated on the Sīhāsana with his feet on the lotus. The entrance consists of three doorways under a gallery. There are 15 pillars and their bases consist of the water pot of Lakṣmī. The pillars are all symmetrical and the net-work is perfect. From architectural standpoint all these caves are of a high order. The caitya in caves one and two is a three storied vihāra. The top storey has a verandah with four pillars. On the left side in the top-storey there is a raised platform. The doors are well fitted. The cave No. 3 which is situated to the north of the cave No. 4 is a two storied vihāra. The cave No. 4 which is a plain vihāra is situated to the south of the caitya. From an inscription it appears that it was given by Harapharaṇa in the reign of the Āndhra king Gautamīputra Pulumāyi.

The caves of Bhāja that are situated about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of the Bombay-Poona road, are easily accessible. The cave No. 1 is a natural tavern and the next caves are all plain vihāras. The cave No. 6 is a vihāra which is very much dilapidated. There is a caitya which is one of the finest specimens of cave architecture. Buddhist emblems are distinctly traceable in four of the pillars. The roof is arched. There are decorated arches in front and double railings and many small vihāras.

Bāgh Caves : The village of Bāgh is 40 miles west of Dhar in Malwa. A group of Buddhist caves, apparently dating from the Gupta period, is found near the village of Bāgh. These are exclusively monastic caves, among which are a few of imposing dimensions. They have been hewn out of the rocky slope of a hill-side which rises on the north from the valley of the Narmadā. The images of Buddha found here and there in these caves are evidently of a later age. The architecture is not of the same type as that of Nāsik caves. The cave No. 2 known as Paṇḍaboṅki gumhā is well preserved. It is a square vihāra with cells on three sides and a stūpa inside a shrine at the back. The ante-chamber has two twelve-sided pillars in front and its walls are adorned with sculptures. There is a standing image of Buddha with two attendants. The cave No. 3 called Hāthikhānā is a vihāra. The cave probably consisted originally of two distinct halls without connecting cells. The cave No. 4 called Rangmahal is the finest specimen of architecture. Here is a portico more than 220 ft. long supported by 22 pillars. The shrine at the back containing the dagoba has no sculptural decoration. The cave No. 5 is rectangular. Its roofs are supported by two rows of columns, each of which stands on a common plinth. The caves Nos. 6 and 7 are badly dilapidated. According to Vogel,¹ the mural paintings at Bāgh, for instance, the stately procession of horsemen and elephant-riders, bear a striking resemblance in style to the later frescoes of Ajantā and are almost of the same age.

Ajantā Cave Temple : The paintings on the walls of the caves at Ajantā represent quite a good number of scenes from the life of the Buddha. The two big caves at Ajantā are situated 60 miles north-west of Aurangabad and about

1 Cf. *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java*, p. 63.

35 miles south of Bhusaval on the G.I.P. Rly. The twentysix exclusively Buddhist caves of Ajantā have been cut, carved and painted at different times. The seven caves that form the centre of the entire group are of primitive type, while the rest display a wealth of ornament in sharp contrast to the simplicity of older days. According to V. A. Smith, the bulk of the Ajantā paintings must be assigned to the sixth century A. D., i. e., the time of the great Chālukya kings. The earliest caves which are numbered 9 and 10 may be dated at the first and second century B. C. Caitya and vihāra are the two types of caves to be found. Most of the colossal images of the Buddha in the inner cells of the vihāras are found in the preaching attitude. The frescoes (lepyacitras) form a distinctive feature of cave architecture. Decorative paintings and ceiling decorations are noteworthy. The Jātaka scenes, e.g., Sutasoma, Sarabha, Matsa, conversion of Nanda, visit of Asita to the Buddha, temptation of the Buddha by Māra and so on are well depicted. The sculptured reliefs in the cave No. 26 show an assembly of males and females with swords, clubs, etc., trying to create fear in the mind of the Bodhisattva. This scene is also found in the sculptures of Borobudur in Java. Burgess rightly concludes that most of the faces found here are beautifully cut while the elephants are well drawn. Some of the well-known emblems representing symbolism in Indian art like saṃhārachakra, etc., are noticeable. All these caves, we may well infer, present a vivid picture of the feelings and aspirations of the Buddhists. Figures of birds, monkeys, wild tribes, Bheels etc., are all depicted in these caves. Rivers, seas, fishes, rocky shores, śaṅkhas and such other designs have been freely incorporated. The use of animals and animistic totems, scenes and objects drawn from the works of nature have, as Burgess shows, been a characteristic feature of Buddhist art. At Ajantā and Ellora

we find them beautifully embellishing works of art. The grace and majesty of the figure of the Buddha have attracted universal appreciation. Palaces and buildings are represented by a flat roof over the heads of the figures supported by slender pillars. The dressing is attractive. Men of higher status use little clothing and various kinds of jewellery, for example, armlets, necklaces, fillets, etc., while men of lower rank do not use ornaments. Monks are clothed in their usual attire.

Ladies of distinction wear ornaments of various kinds. On one of the walls of the cave No. 2, we find a representation of the episode of the Bodhisattva's resolve to be reborn in the continent of Jambudvīpa in the country of Magadha in the womb of Māyā, the queen of Śuddhodana, the head of the Śākyas, for the good of the afflicted humanity. Queen Māyā's dream and conception is depicted in the caves Nos. 2 and 16. Her advent to Lumbinī garden and Nativity, the traditional śāla tree, Mahāprajāpatī, Brahmā and Indra are all portrayed in the cave No. 2, where we can also find the picture of the Bodhisattva's taking his first seven steps and a representation of his Śrāvastī miracle, repeated in the cave No. 1. But the largest number of representations from the life of the Master is to be found in the Cave No. 16 which has on its walls the story of the reading of the horoscope by the sage Asita, the episode in the school depicting Siddhārtha taking lessons from his teacher Viśvāmitra. One of the interesting scenes not usually met with elsewhere is that of the first meditation. Once the Prince Siddhārtha was taken by his father to see a ploughing match. The sight of the tired oxen bleeding from their necks and the men toiling in the mid-day sun, pierced the heart of the Prince who retired for a while and became unconscious under a Jambu tree. When detected by attendants he was found lost in a state

of trance. The four drives in the city of Kapilavastu and the sight of the four well-known images of a sick man, an old man, a dead man and a monk, which eventually led him to renounce the world, his first visit to Rājagṛha and meeting with Bimbisāra, the offering of food by Sujātā, the offering of Trapusa and Bhallika, the temptation by the host of Māra, the questions of Sāriputra and the conversion of Nanda,—are all depicted on the walls of this memorable cave. The Cave No. 17 depicts the scenes of the subjugation of the furious elephant Nālagiri and of the landing of Vijaya in Ceylon which we believe to be erroneous. The paintings between the ribs of the aisles in the cave No. 10 seem to be of a later date. The cave No. 16 is a vihāra of great importance from the standpoint of architecture. The flight of steps with a carved ballustrade leading towards a verandah and the pillars with capitals of elegantly sculptured strut figures of girls, the threshold of the shrines recalling the ancient 'toraṇa' (vault) in the cave No. 20, are interesting for a study of the gradual evolution of socio-religious architecture in India. The portico in front of the shrine closely resembles a maṇḍapa or pavilion. The fauna and flora of early Indian art have their wealth of illustrations. The group of worshippers in the cave No. 1 supplies evidence of an art unfettered. Soldiers are armed with halberds, pears, bows, and arrows. A high turban with a knob in front is worn by males. A broad heavy neckchain seems to be prominent. All these remind us of the style of early sculptures found at Sāñcī and Muttra.

Sigiriya Cave : The frescoes in the Sigiriya cave that closely resemble the paintings on the walls of Ajantā belong to an early date. According to V. A. Smith these frescoes were made during the last quarter of the fifth century A. D., that is, during the reign of Kāśyapa (A. D. 479 to 497), king of Ceylon. We find here a procession of noble ladies

carrying flowers being attended by female servants. The figures are depicted as an assembly of women going on a visit to a neighbouring Buddhist temple, evidently the Pidurangala Buddhist shrine, for offering religious worship. The figures are fully clothed from the waist downwards in coloured Kambaiyas and above the waist in short-sleeved jackets. The noble ladies are painted in pale yellow or orange while their female attendants are distinguished by a greenish complexion. All the women are decked with a profusion of ornaments. All these female figures, which are twenty-one in number, terminate below in a cloud-like mass. Hence the upper portion of the body is alone visible. According to Bell the irregular form of the cramped rock space available did not permit the artist's effort to portray the legs without unseemly distortion. Hence they are shown as rising from the cloud. According to Vincent Smith the suggestion that the cloud indicates the divine character of the personages is untenable.¹

Ellora Cave Temple : The caves of Ellora are located in the north-west of Nizam's territory, about 16 miles from Aurangabad and ten miles to the north-west of Daulatabad. They cover an area which extends from north to south over a mile and a quarter. We find here some of the most important caves of Buddhist origin, for example, 'Bhikkhugṛhas' or 'Dumaleṇas'. Three different religions are represented here : the southern group comprising fourteen caves is Buddhist; the middle one belongs to Brahmanism; the northernmost to Jainism. The Buddhist group contains one real temple, a large caitya hall, which is known by the name of the cave of Viśvakarmā the divine architect. It is a large caitya-temple of the same type as the two halls of Ajantā (Nos. 19 and 26). It represents a highly developed stage

1 V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 296-298.

which Vogel assigns to circa 700 A. D. Some of these Buddhist caves contain distinct signs of later Mahāyāna sect. The cave No. 2 has in it galleries full of images of the Buddha seated on a lotus in a preaching attitude. The colossal image of the Buddha seated on a sīhāsana is also found here. In these caves the Buddha is seen in the 'Dharmacakra mudrā' or in the attitude of preaching. Images of the Buddha and Buddhist sages are found hither and thither on the walls of these caves. The cave No. 3 is a vihāra cave containing 12 cells for monks. The cave No. 4 is in ruins. At the left or north end of this cave there is a prominent figure of Padmapāṇi attended by two females. The cave No. 5 is of the type of a large vihāra and its roof is supported by a large number of pillars. The No. 6 contains an ante-chamber in front of the shrine filled with sculptures. The other caves are mostly Brahmanical and Jain. In the cave No. 9 we find an image of the Buddha with various attendants. The cave No. 10 is a beautiful caitya cave with a large open court in front. The carvings are very beautiful. The facade is highly ornamental and consists of a verandah surrounded by a gallery leading to the inner gallery within the chapel. The arched roof is carved in imitation of woodwork. The inner side of the gallery is divided into three compartments full of figures. A gigantic figure of the Buddha is carved in front of the dogoba. The caves No. 11 and 12 are very much alike in outer appearance. They consist of an open court entered through a comparatively narrow passage. They have cells to the walls and show signs of the Mahāyāna sect.

Caves of Aurangabad : According to Vogel, the caves of Aurangabad represent the final phase in the long development through which monastic cave temple architecture has passed. With the exception of one dilapidated Caitya-temple of a primitive type, these little known monastery-

caves are evidently synchronous in point of time with the latest caves of Ajantā. A striking feature of these later caves is the increasing prominence of the Bodhisattvas, who take their place beside the numberless Buddha images, for example, Avalokiteśvara as Rescuer from 'the Eight Fears'. It is interesting to note that at Ellora and Aurangabad we find many figures of female Bodhisattvas that are conspicuous by their absence at Ajantā.¹

Elephanta Caves : In the harbour of Bombay about 6 miles north-east of the Apollo Bunder is the well known island of Elephanta or Gharapurī. Elephanta was the name given by the Portuguese because they found a large stone elephant standing at the entrance to this cave. These caves show the influence of both Buddhism and Brahmanism. Trimūrti or Brahmanical Trinity has been carved on the wall of the main hall. One of the caves contains a Buddhist Caitya. There are three caves that are in ruins.

1. Vogel, *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java*, p. 64.

Chapter X

BUDDHA'S LIFE IN ART

Buddhism has directly or indirectly been greatly responsible for the very best that is found in Indian art or literature. The Buddha as the founder of this religion occupies the most important position in Buddhist Art. The five major events of the Master's life are well-known. They are his birth, the Great renunciation (mahābhiniṣkramaṇa), his meditation at the foot of the Bodhi tree at Buddha-Gayā,¹ the Great enlightenment at Sārnāth and his death (mahāparinirvāṇa). The iconographic details have differed from age to age but there has been no variation in the essential elements of the events themselves. Besides these five major incidents, many other minor incidents of his life have been portrayed, which belong more to the domain of legends. Such are the scenes of Queen Māyā's dream, of Māra's attack² and dream of preaching of the religion in Tuṣita heaven, Indra's visit to the Indasāla cave,³ etc.

Buddhalogy composed of historical facts and legends gradually grew but already by the beginning of the Christian era the main outline had been fully developed ; most of the events are already portrayed on the railings of the Bhārhut Stūpa. The Bhārhut, Sānchī, Bodh-Gayā and the

1. Cf. Jinacarita, verse 207 ; Lalitavistara, 18th chap. p. 267.

2. Jinacarita, vs. 239, 240, 241, 244 and 245 ; Lalitavistara, Chap. 21 ; Mahāvastu, II, 815 ; Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 31.

3. This cave has been identified with the Giriyeḥ hill six miles from Rājgir (Cf. Dīgha, II, 263-4, 269 ; Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 42).

hellenistic School of Gandhāra gave to the Buddha Saga a definite shape and form, noticeable in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* and also in the Buddhist canonical literature especially in the *Suttapiṭaka*. At Amarāvati, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Goli, Jagayyapeta, and other places in the Kṛishṇā valley the artists faithfully took up these outlines and worked them up according to their own imagination and artistic necessities. In the glorious period of Buddhist history the artists of Muttara and Sarnath excelled in the depiction of the stories relating to the life of the Master, always giving prominence to the five major incidents, adding one or two minor incidents or miracles connected with his life. The tradition was handed down to the artists of later periods. In the provinces of Bengal and Bihar from the 9th to about the 12th century A. D. we find a large number of sculptured relics depicting the incidents round the figure of the Buddha either standing or seated in *Dhyānamudrā* or *Bhūmiṣṭpāsamudrā* or in an attitude of preaching or giving protection. With the spread of Buddhism outside India Buddhalogy was also known to the Indianised colonies of Burma, Java, and other places as well as to Central Asia and China. In Burma on the sculptured relics of the Ānanda Pagoda and other temples one can find the entire life story of the Buddha in its minutest details based on the *Jātaka Nidānakathā*; so also on the relics of Barabudur where the artists followed the text of the *Lalitavistara* of the *Sarvāstivāda* school.

BARHUT—The railings of the stūpa at Barhut or Barahut or Barahat, situated in the Central Provinces, 20 miles to the south-west of Allahabad and nine miles to the south-east of the Sutna Railway station, represent in sculptured reliefs scenes of the Bodhi trees¹ inculcating the

1. Vide Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 96 ff.

Mahāpadāna doctrine of Buddhyotpādadharmatā, scenes from Buddha Śākyamuni's life in illustration of the Mahāpadāna doctrine from the avidurenidāna (not far remote section) as well as some intermediate scenes from santikenidāna, and durenidāna (remote section). Apart from the general scheme there can be noticed a symbolical outline of Buddha Śākyamuni's life on the ornamental arch of the eastern gateway. The stūpa and the railings of Barhut were erected in the town of the Śungas in about the second century B. C.¹ and the stories represented seem to prove that already by that time not only the Jātaka stories but also the stories of the life of the Buddha came to be well-known and understood amongst the people of Northern India, and so far as Buddha Śākyamuni's life is concerned hardly any important episode is left out by the sculptor. It begins with the supplications of the gods of Rūpa-Brahmā and Kāmāvacara² who assembled in the Tuṣita heaven to exhort the Bodhisattva to be born for the salvation of the suffering humanity. The story is well-known not only from the Dīghanikāya but also from the Lalitavistara and all the scenes of the life of the Master are equally well-known from such important Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist books as the Mahāvastu, the Jātaka Nidānakathā, the Lalitavistara, and the Avadāna-Kalpalatā. The Pali canon with their commentaries and sub-commentaries also furnish us with much information about the life of the Master. The scene of the supplication of the gods is represented on the outer face of the Prasenajit pillar, on the same face of which there is a joyous scene of the heavenly nymphs taking part in a musical party. The subject of the scene is undoubtedly that of the gods' exhaltation for their success

1. Scholars differ. Rhys Davids holds 3rd century B. C. (Buddhist India, p. 10). N. L. Dey supports him (Geographical Dictionary, p. 32).

2. B. C. Law, Heaven & Hell in Buddhist Perspective, Section I.

in having the consent of the Bodhisattva¹ to be born as requested by them. The mysterious presence of a little boy in the scene indicates that the Bodhisattva could be induced to give his consent, thus giving us a forecast of his birth. A small medallion represents the next scene in the life of the Master. There we see Queen Mahāmāyā sleeping quietly on a couch leaving her right side exposed; a lamp burns at the foot of the bed; three women are seated in attendance by the side of the bed; one with joined hands in an attitude of devotion, an elephant is shown above the couch.² This certainly represents the scene of the dream of Māyādevī and the beginning of her maternity. We have no clear scene in the railings of Barhut of the birth of the Buddha but there is one small broken fragment which may be interpreted as such. The fragment shows the hand of a female holding flower and leaf of a śāla tree, a portion of the fruit being also visible in its upper part. The Sanskrit version of the story has a plakṣa tree³ instead; but Pali sources⁴ insist that the tree was śāla and not plakṣa. If the fragment can be interpreted as representing the birth of the Buddha it certainly follows strictly the Pali text. The scene of the announcement of the inception of Buddha's law by the angel named Arhadgupta is not forgotten. A bas-relief bearing the inscription "in the great assembly of the gods the angel Arhadgupta announces the inception of the divine beings' system" represents the foot-prints of the Buddha placed on a throne which is canopied by an umbrella hung with

1. Lit. One who is destined to be a Buddha. Here it refers to Buddha Gautama.

2. Cf. *Lalitavistara* Chap. VII; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Gotama the Man*, p. 11; *Jāt.* I. 40ff. cf. *The Fo-sho-Hing-Tsan-King*, S. B. E., p. 23.

3. *Ficus infectoria*, Roxb.,. It is a large and beautiful tree with small white fruit. It is called *Pilakkhu* in Pali.

4. *Jāt.* I, 49 ff.

garlands while a Royal personage is kneeling before the altar and reverentially touching the footprints with his hands. Another scene may be interpreted as representing the well-known story of the flight of five sages during the Śākya plough festival.¹ The story of the Bodhisattva's great renunciation is depicted in details in three stages, one below the other. It gives an elaborate picture of the great event. In the first stage the Bodhisattva is stepping out by the main doorway of the royal palace of king Śuddhodana ; in the second passing out on horse back through the city gate of Kapilavastu and in the third, riding on ahead.² The upper bas-relief on the left side of the Ajātaśatru pillar, represents the festival in honour of the divine beings' dressed hairlock in the council hall of the gods in the palace of victory. Another scene depicts the festive decorations on Bodhisattva's way towards the Bodhi tree. The important scene of the conquest of Māra³ and the consequent congratulation by the Rūpa-Brahmā deities on the eve of Buddha's attainment of the Bodhi (enlightenment) have been executed in two square panels of a corner pillar. Another small bas-relief represents the famous Ratanacaṅkama⁴ or the jewel-walk where the Buddha is said to have spent the second week following his attainment of Buddhahood, while another scene connected with the same relief shows the five spots around the sacred Bodhi tree where the Buddha spent the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th weeks at Uruvilla⁵

1. At the ploughing festival the Bodhisatta fell into a trance under a tree, and the shadow stood still to protect him and did not change. (Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, 174).

2. *Jinacarita* vs. 154-156 ; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 25.

3. *Suttanipāta*, vs. 425-449 ; *Jāt.* I. 71 ff ; *Buddhav. commy.* pp. 239 ff.

4. Now called Jagamohan ; vide I-tsing, (*Takakusu*) p. 114.

5. Pali Uruvelā, six miles to the south of Gaya.

on the bank of the Nairañjanā.¹ There is another carving on a rail-medallion containing the representation of a massive wheel set in the mortice of an octagonal pillar with a bell-capital bar at its top. There is also the scene of the Bodhisattva presenting the symbol of the Wheel of Law (Dharmacakra).²

The well-known story of the purchasing of Jetavana³ at Śrāvastī by Anāthapiṇḍika and the eventual dedication of the Jetavana monastery to the Buddha are portrayed in a medallion where in the fore-ground one can see a bullock-cart with unyoked bullocks sitting beside it, and with the yoke tilted up in the air to show that the cart has been unloaded. In front are two men, each holding a very small object between his thumb and fore-finger. These two are no other than Anāthapiṇḍika himself and his treasurer counting the gold pieces brought in the cart. Above them are two or three figures seated and busily engaged in covering the surface of the garden with the gold coins; to the left are six other figures who seem to be Prince Jeta and his friends, while in the very centre stands Anāthapiṇḍika carrying a vessel in both hands for the purpose of pouring water over the Buddha's hands (Cf. Jāt., I, 92 ff). The next important scene in the career of the Buddha namely that of his performing of the twin miracle at Śrāvastī at the foot of the mango-tree is portrayed on one of the panels on the right side

1. It is the river Phalgu (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, 89).

2. Cf. *Majjhima*, I, 170 ff. ; *Samyutta*, V, 420 ff. ; *Kathāvatthu*, 97, 559.

3. One mile to the south of Śrāvastī identified with modern Sahet-Mahet (B. C. Law, *Geo. of Early Buddhism*, p. 44). The Jetavana Park (Jetavanārāma) was bought by Anāthapiṇḍika from the Prince Jeta for 18 koṭis of gold pieces (*Cullavagga*, VI. 4 ; *Samyutta*, I, 210 ; *Jātaka Nidānakathā*, p. 92 ; *Mahābodhivamsa*, p. 42 ; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 47 ; S. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 218 ; *Eine Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Sākyamunis, des Begründers des Buddhathums* (A. Schiefner) p. 258 ; S. Beal, *S. B. E.*, Vol. XIX (*The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*), pp. 230 ff.

of the Ajātaśatru pillar, while on the same face of the pillar is also portrayed the scene of the Master's ascent to the world of the gods of the Thirty-three and the preaching of the Abhidhamma¹ there. On the same face of the pillar is also portrayed the scene of the Master's descent by a triple-ladder at Saṅkassa (Sāmkāśya)² from the world of the thirty-three gods and proclamation of Śāriputra's great power of the comprehension of the law. The scene of the Buddha spending a rainy season in a forest not far from Kauśāmbī and being waited upon by the Pārileyya elephant³ as well as that of king Ajātaśatru's entrance to Jīvaka's mango-grove to wait upon the Buddha (Dīgha, I, pp. 49-50 ; Jāt. V. pp. 262-269). find their proper place in the narration of the Master's life at Barhut. On the inner face of a railing pillar at the south gate is portrayed a fine piece of sculpture representing the scene of the visit of king Prasenajit of Kośala to the Buddha.⁴ The sequel to the story also follows in another relief. This is that of Viḍūḍabha's march on

1. It is the metaphysics of Buddhism. It follows a progressive scheme of treatment and the ideas are classified in the outline (B. C. Law, Hist. of Pali Lit., p. 304).

2. Cf. Kaṇha Jāt., Jāt, I., 193. It is Saṅkissa or Saṅkisa-Basantapura situated on the north bank of the Ikkhumatī river, now called Kālīnadī between Atrāñjī & Kanoj and 23 miles west of Fatehgarh in the district of Etah and 45 miles north-west of Kanoj.

Śakra ordered Viśvakarman to construct a triple ladder, the foot of which was put near the town of Sāmkāśya. Flanked by Brahmā on the right and by Śakra on the left the Buddha descended from heaven and came down near Sāmkāśya on the spot where all Buddhas set their feet while descending from heaven. A celebrated shrine was erected on that very spot (Divyāvadāna, p. 401 ; Rockhill, Life of the Buddha p. 81 ; Bigandet, Life of Gaudama, I, 225 ff ; Dhammapada Commy. III, 227).

3. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism p. 35 ; Jātakamālā, XIX., 36 ; Jāt, IV, 265 ; Dham. Commy, III, 216 ff ; Buddhav. Commy, 2 ff.

4. Sam. I., 69, 75 ; Majjhima. II., 120.

Kapilavastu.¹ Viḍūḍabha tried to usurp the throne of Kośala taking advantage of Praseṇajit's mental worries and absence from the capital. Thrice he made attempts but returned on account of the Buddha's intervention. The fourth time he set out but the Master did not intervene seeing that it was impossible to save the Śākyaas who sinned against each other. The level of the Barhut scene refers to the non-violent attitude of the Śākyaas. It also represents the first episode where the Master's timely intervention compels Viḍūḍabha to go back to his capital. The scene of the Mahāparinirvāṇa² or the Great Decease of the Master is portrayed twice at Barhut ; once on the Praseṇajit pillar where exists a bare symbolical outline of the important Buddhist legend referring to such facts as the Buddha's passing away between the twin Śāla trees, building of the memorial mound, the erection of the stone pillar by Aśoka, and the worship by gods and men. The other relief sets forth all the details noticed in the preceding bas-relief except the erection of the stone pillar by King Aśoka.

BODH-GAYA—The famous railing at Bodh-Gayā contains a Caṅkrama or promenade where the Buddha is said to have walked after the attainment of the Great Enlightenment beneath the Bodhi tree, and also a few important events in Buddha's life. A scene is depicted in pl. XLVII in which the Buddha is waited upon by Sakka's harper (gandhabbaputta) Pañcasikha at the Indasāla cave (Cf. Introduction to the Sakkapañha

1. Viḍūḍabha was the son of king Pasenadi of Kosala by a slave girl named Vāsabha-Khattiyā. The whole Śākya clan was exterminated in consequence of his march against Kapilavastu. He himself perished by a sudden flood (Jāt., IV, 144 ff. ; Cf. S. Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 283).

2. Samyutta, I., 157 ; Cf. Dīgha, II, 154 ff (Chap. VI) ; cf. Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King, (SBE), 290 ff.

Suttanta)¹ A small relief represents the scene of the purchase of Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika with a layer of crores, and two reliefs represent that of the approach to the Bodhi tree. One of the latter is indeed of particular interest as it represents in the figure a personage approaching a tree. This person is no other than the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha. The Bodh-Gayā sculptures contain a scene of the Nāga King paying homage to the Buddha or the scene of the supplication of Brahmā to the Buddha. A scene is depicted of the first meditation of the Bodhisattva under a Jambu tree during the plough festival of the Śākyaas as pointed out by Foucher. Dr. Barua holds that this is the scene of the story of the Buddha and ploughman as contained in the Suttanipāta Commentary (pp. 511-512 ; Gayā and Buddhagayā, II, 106). Our attention may be drawn to the scene of the worship of the Buddha by a herd of elephants, and also to the scene of Indra disguised as a brahmin offering kuśa grass to the Bodhisattva according to some scholars, but Dr. Barua holds that the latter scene is that of a demigod with a ram-like quadruped as his vehicle. (Vide Bodh-Gayā Sculptures by B. M. Barua, IC., IV, 97 ff.).

SĀNCĪ—The gates, architecture and railings of the Sāncī group of stūpas show a great skill in the decorative story-telling composition and give a vivid picture of contemporary civilisation. The only buildings of the Asokan period which remain tolerably well are those forming the group of stūpas at and near Sāncī in Central India, not very far from Ujjayinī. The principal themes are drawn from the life of the Buddha as well as from the Jātakas. Unlike the reliefs of Barhut always provided with explanatory labels, those at Sāncī do not

1. Dīgha, II, 263 ff.

say a word of the scenes and figures delineated on the railings of the stūpas. But like Barhut nowhere in Sāncī is the Buddha portrayed in bodily form; but his presence is indicated merely by some symbols such as his footprints or the throne on which he sat or the sacred tree associated with his enlightenment. Most of the scenes depicted in the reliefs are more or less elaborate compositions differing considerably from one another. The four great events in the life of the Master are prominent amongst the reliefs; his birth, his enlightenment, his first sermon and his death. The scene of birth occurs several times on the Sāncī reliefs and is represented by the traditional Indian symbol of all miraculous births, namely, the lotus. In some of the panels Queen Māyā is seen flanked by two elephants who, according to the Buddhist sculptures, bathed the new-born baby, but here they are shown pouring water over Māyā herself. Though this scene has often been interpreted as showing the birth of the Master, yet some think that it represents nothing but Lakṣmī, the goddess of luck. In other panels Māyā is shown in a standing posture ready for the birth¹ and this is more in conformity with the Buddhist texts. It was not before the artists of the Gandhāra school practised their hands in Buddhist iconography that an infant Buddha is shown issuing from the right side of Māyā. The scene of the saṃbodhi or the perfect enlightenment is represented by a throne under the Bodhi tree with one or more umbrellas and streamers. In some panels more developed than the rest worshippers are seen bringing offerings or in an attitude of adoration. In some more elaborate reliefs Māra and his hosts of demons or crowds of worshipping animals and nāgas are represented. The scene of the first sermon in the

1. Cf. *Lalitavistara*, (Ed. Lefmann 54, 78; E. J. Thomas, *The Quest of Enlightenment*, pp. 11-17; Jāt. Intro., I. 52.

Deer Park near Benares is represented by a wheel set either on a throne or on a column ; in the more developed reliefs the Deer Park is indicated by two gazels seated face to face. The Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa¹ scene is represented by a stūpa with attending worshippers, both human and divine. In the last panel of the inner face of the south gateway of the great stūpa is represented the scene of the worship of the Bodhisattva's hair in the Tāvātimsa heaven while in the central section of the middle architrave of the north gateway is represented the scene of the temptation of the Buddha. The vajrāsana of the Buddha covered with an umbrella occupies the left end of the panel while a bit more to the left stands the figure of Sujātā² bringing the rice-gruel ; near the middle of the panel is Māra seated on a throne with attendants around and advancing from him towards the throne are his daughters, on his other side are the hosts of Māra's demons. The third panel of the front face of the right pillar depicts the scene in conjunction with the corresponding panel adjoining it, the inner face of the same pillar depicts the scene of the miracle at Śrāvastī while the second panel of the inner face of the same pillar depicts the scene of the offering of a pot of honey to the Blessed One by a monkey. The second panel on the front face of the left pillar of the same gateway depicts the scene of the Jetavana at Śrāvastī while the top panel of the inner face of the same pillar shows the scene of the visit of Indra to the Buddha in the Indasāla (Indraśaila) cave near Rājagriha (Dīgha, II, 263). The middle architrave of the eastern gateway represents an important scene from the life of

1. Cf. Mahāvastu, II, 159 ; The Quest of Enlightenment, 26 ff ; Jāt., Intro., i. 60 ff.

2. Mahāvastu, II, 264 ff, 299 ff ; Lalitav. Chap. XVIII-XXI ; Buddhacarita, 106 ff ; Jāt I., 68 ff ; Dhamma-commy, I., 71.

the Master, namely, that of his great departure from Kapilavastu, stage by stage, while the scene of the sambodhi (enlightenment)¹ is depicted on the middle architrave of the back side of the same gateway. The right and left pillars of the same gateway contain some of the important episodes from the life of the Master. In the top panel of the inner face of the right pillar is shown the scene of the homage of king Śuddhodana who is standing immediately in front of the throne of the Master. The episode represented is the homage paid by the king to his son after his return to Kapilavastu.

The second panel on the same face of the same pillar depicts the scene of the dream of Māyā² otherwise called the conception of the Bodhisattva. Māyā the Queen is seen lying in a pavilion of the palace and on her is descending the Bodhisattva in the form of a white elephant; below is seen a royal procession which must have been that of King Śuddhodana when he went to meet his son on his return to Kapilavastu. At the bottom of the panel is portrayed the miracle which the Buddha is said to have performed on this occasion by walking in mid-air, and in the extreme left-hand bottom corner is a banyan tree to signify the Park of Banyans which Śuddhodana presented to his son.³ The back of the right pillar as well as the first and second panels of the front face of the left pillar of the eastern gateway represent the scene of the illumination of the Buddha. Just below this is the scene of the miracle of the Master walking on the waters of the Nairāñjanā river with Kāśyapa, and a disciple Soma hastening in a boat to the rescue of the Master and later doing

1. Cf. Lalitavistara, Chap. 22 ; Majjhima, I, 247 ; Vinaya Mahāvagga, i. 1.

2. Cf. Jāt, Introduction, I, 50 ff.

3. Vinaya, I, 82 ; Jāt., I, 88 ff ; ibid, VI, 479 ; Mahāvastu, III, 101, 107, 114, 133, 141, 179.

homage to him. The lowermost panel shows Bimbisāra with his royal retinue issuing from the city of Rājagriha on a visit to the Buddha.¹ The inner face of the left pillar of the same gateway represents the scenes of the three miracles by which the Buddha converted the Brāhmaṇa Kāśyapa and his disciples, namely, the visit of Indra and Brahmā to the Buddha in the town of Uruvilva, the victory of the Buddha over the serpent in the fire chapel at Uruvilva, and the miracles of the wood and the fire.² The middle architrave of the front face of the western gateway depicts the scene of the first sermon at Sarnath³ while the back of the last architrave represents the scene of the temptation of the Buddha. The second panel of the front face of the right pillar of the same gateway represents the Bodhisattva preaching in the Tuṣita heaven⁴ while the first panel of the inner face shows the scene of enlightenment. The scene of the gods entreating the Buddha to preach is shown on the second panel of the inner face of the same pillar while the back represents the scene of the parinirvāṇa.⁵ The second panel of the inner face of the left pillar depicts the scene of the Saṃbodhi.

AJANTĀ—The paintings on the walls of the caves at Ajantā, situated 60 miles north-west of Aurangabad and about 35 miles south of Bhusaval on the G. I. P. Rly, represent a good number of scenes from the life of the Master. Most of them may be assigned to the 6th century A. D. i. e., the time of the great Chālukya kings. On one of the walls of the cave No. 2 is seen represented the episode

1. Cf. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 27.

2. *Vinaya*, I, 24 ff. ; *Ang. Commy.*, I, 165 ff. ; *Theragāthā Commy.* I, 434 ff.

3. Cf. *Mahāvastu*, III, 328 ; *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, i, 6, 10.

4. *Aṅgutara*, II, 130 ; IV, 312 ; *Dham. Commy.*, I, 69 ff. ; *Jātaka*, I, 47 ff.

5. Cf. *Avadānaśataka*, No. 40,100. The exact date of his death is unknown. It may be 100 years before Aśoka or 218 years before Aśoka's coronation according to different schools.

of Bodhisattva's resolve to be reborn in the continent of Jambudvīpa in the country of Magadha for the good of the afflicted humanity and of Māyā, the queen of Śuddhodana, the head of the Śākyas. The scenes of Queen Māyā's dream and conception are represented twice at Ajantā, one in the cave No. 2 and another in the cave No. 16. The cave No. 2 depicts two other interesting scenes ; those of the going to the Lumbinī garden and Nativity showing the usual śāla tree, Mahāprajāpatī, the divine child, Brahmā and Indra. The story of the Bodhisattva's taking his first seven steps¹ is also represented in the same cave which further contains one scene representing the story of the great miracle at Śrāvastī and another story from the Pūrṇa Avadāna. The Śrāvastī miracle is represented again in the cave No. 1. The story of the Pūrṇa Avadāna is to be found in the Divyāvadāna² which states that the ship of a merchant named Babhila was in danger of being wrecked by evil spirits. At the last moment his half-brother Pūrṇa, a monk, appeared and the disaster was averted. The rescuer advised Babhila to build a sanctuary of sandal wood which he brought with him on his voyage for the Master. The merchant acted accordingly, and ultimately in response to the invitation of Pūrṇa and Babhila the Buddha and his company appeared miraculously ; but the largest number of representations from the life of the Master is to be found in the cave No. 16, which has on its walls the story of the reading of the horoscope by the sage Asita, the scene in the school representing Siddhārtha taking lessons from his preceptor Viśvāmitra.³ One of the interesting scenes not usually found elsewhere

1. Jātaka, I, 47 ff.

2. Div. p. 37, the exhorting of Pūrṇa (The Quest of Enlightenment, pp. 40 ff)

3. Lalitavistara, Chap. X. Cf. Milinda, p. 286. Sabbamitta, a name synonymous with Viśvāmitra is mentioned as the preceptor of the Prince (Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 15 f. n.)

is that of the first meditation. Once the Prince Siddhārtha was taken by his father to see a ploughing match. There seeing the tired oxen bleeding from their necks and the men toiling in the mid-day sun, the Bodhisattva became filled with grief and retiring under a Jambu tree became rapt in a state of unconsciousness. When the Prince was missed and a search made he was found still lost in meditation.¹ Other scenes depicted on the walls of the same cave are those of the four drives in the city of Kapilavastu, which ultimately led him to choose the path of renunciation, his first visit to Rājagriha and meeting with Bimbisāra,² the offering of food by Sujātā, the temptation, the host of Māra trying to tempt the Buddha, the offering of Trapusa and Bhallika,³ the scene of the questions to Śāriputra and conversion of Nanda.⁴ The scene of the questions to Śāriputra is not usually met with elsewhere either in sculpture or in painting. After the Buddha's descent from the Tāvātimsa heaven he stood at the foot of the staircase by which he descended. The cave No. 17 depicts the scene of the subjugation of the furious elephant Nālagiri as well as another scene from the *Simhala Avadāna*. This scene was formally identified with the landing of Vijaya in Ceylon but closer study proves that the artist had simply in view the famous *Avadāna* of *Simhala*.

In the Cave no. 26 the most notable event is the temptation of the Buddha by Māra. A careful examination of this sculpture shows an assembly of males and females with swords, clubs etc. trying to create fear in the mind of the Bodhisattva, who is destined to attain salvation.

1. Jāt. I., pp. 57 ff ; Majjhima, I., 246 ff ; Majjhima Commy., I. 466 ff ; Cf. Mahāvastu, II., 45 ff ; Divyāvadāna, 391.

2. Jāt. I., 66 ; Suttanipāta vs. 405-424.

3. Vinaya, I, 3 ff ; Aṅg. I, p. 26 ; Jāt. I. 80.

4. Saundarananda Kāvya by Aśvaghoṣa, canto V.

ELLORĀ—The cave no. 2 of the Ellora caves situated in the north-west of the Nizam's territory, about 16 miles from Aurangabad, contains galleries full of images of the Buddha seated on a lotus in a preaching attitude. In the north-east corner there is a figure of the Buddha, very rough and almost unfinished. There is also a colossal Buddha seated on a *simhāsana*. The Buddha is seen in the attitude of preaching in the *Dharma-cakramudrā*. The caves nos. 9 and 10 contain an image of the Buddha with many attendants and a gigantic figure of the Buddha in front of the dagoba respectively. The caves at Ellorā are dated about the middle of the 5th century A. D.

GANDHĀRA—The Gandhāra school was merely a branch of the cosmopolitan Graeco-Roman Art. It reached its zenith of development in the 2nd century of the christian era. The main theme of the Graeco-Buddhist artists of Gandhāra was the story of Buddha's life and there is hardly any incident in the life of the Master that was not portrayed by the Gandharan artists. In fact, not only did they evolve the iconic Buddha type but also they were the first to popularise Buddha and his creed in art. Remains of Gandhāra sculpture have come down to us in very large numbers which are deposited mainly in the Indian Museum, the Taxila Musum and the Lahore Museum. The reliefs portraying the life of the Master are of varying size and in the three collections just noted one can see almost every episode represented several times with more or less variations of details. All taken together form an interesting string of narratives amplifying very often the accounts given in the various texts dealing with the Buddha's life. First of all very naturally comes the legend of the dream of Māyā of which we find several representations. The sequel to that legend, that is, the story of the interpretation

of Māyādevī's dream is also depicted in a number of reliefs. There is at least one relief in the Indian Museum which portrays the departure of Queen Māyā from Kapilavastu. In this relief Queen Māyā is carried on a litter escorted by a horseman. It was in the course of this journey that she visited the garden at Lumbinī where she was delivered of the divine child. The story of the birth of the Bodhisattva is depicted in a large number of reliefs with occasional variations. Mahāprajāpatī and the god Śakra are invariably there. In certain reliefs, however, the child is seen first emerging from the body of Queen Māyā and next as standing on the ground with the right hand raised in the attitude of offering protection. Side by side with the representation of the birth story the Gandharan artists also loved to depict the legends of the birth of Chandaka, and Kaṇṭhaka,¹ his horse. The delineation of these two legends can be found in some Gandharan reliefs. According to legends both of them were born simultaneously at the time of Buddha's nativity. The next legend of the Bodhisattva taking the seven steps in every direction soon after his birth finds adequate representation in Gandharan reliefs. In certain cases the child is seen standing under an umbrella. The scene of the first bath is also represented several times where the newborn child stands on a stool and water is poured on his head from two jars held by Śakra and Brahmā. Sometimes the legend of the bath and return to Kapilavastu are represented in the self-same panel in two or three sections. At least one such relief shows first the bath, next the return of Queen Māyā from Lumbinī in a bullock-cart with the child in her arms and lastly a group of musicians before the city-gate of Kapilavastu welcoming the mother and the child. Sometimes this legend of return from Lumbinī

1. Cf Fo-sho-Hing-Tsan-King, (S B E), 59 ff.

to Kapilavastu is represented otherwise and the Queen is shown in a litter seated with the child resting in her lap. The prediction of the sage Asita¹ which follows immediately after the episode just mentioned is shown in several reliefs. In some the newborn child is represented in the left of the sage Asita but in certain reliefs the legend is represented on a bigger scale in a compartment; behind the seated figure of Asita stands his nephew Naradatta, who accompanied him to Kapilavastu to see the Bodhisattva. Naradatta carries a bowl in his hand, which shows his attainment of monkhood. This is quite in agreement with the account given in the *Jātaka Nidānakathā*. Several reliefs depict the legend of the Bodhisattva in school where the Bodhisattva is shown engaged in writing on a board or tablet placed on his knees. Sometimes he is represented as playing on a harp, the teacher Viśvāmitra is also invariably shown. Sometimes the Bodhisattva is also shown as practising archery or giving demonstration of wrestling.² Generally speaking, the marriage of the Bodhisattva is hardly represented in Indian art but here in Gandhāra at least for once we have such a representation. The relief shows the Prince Gautama and the Princess Yaśodharā standing opposite to each other around a fire over which they joined their hands. Behind the bride probably stands the train-bearer and near the bridegroom a musician blows a pipe. The figure seated on a stool is either the priest or king Śuddhodana. The scene at the palace at Kapilavastu in the night just before the renunciation finds representation in several reliefs and is more or less in the usual manner. In certain reliefs, however, is shown Chandaka, his groom, who stands with folded hands in a corner to receive the orders of his master to bring his horse.

1. Cf. *Mahāvastu*, ii, 30 ; *Jātaka*, I, 54 ff.

2. Cf. *Jāt.* I, 356 ; *ibid.* I, 273

We also find in some of the reliefs armed female guards engaged by the king to keep watch on the Bodhisattva so that he might not escape from the palace. In at least one relief in the Indian Museum we find the Bodhisattva leaving the palace and his wife trying to hold him back. It represents the version somewhat different from that of the texts. The scene of the renunciation and farewell is more or less elaborately represented in a number of reliefs divided in certain cases in sections. Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka¹ are invariably present and also the Yakṣas who lift up Kaṇṭhaka by the hoof. In certain reliefs we also find Māra standing in front and urging the prince to abandon his intention. Māra's army and also Vajrapāṇi carrying a thunder-bolt are also present in certain reliefs as well as the city-goddess or nagaradevatā of the palace. According to legends Bodhisattva Gautama came to the town of Rājagriha where king Bimbisāra visited him and would be taken in as a disciple after the Bodhisattva's enlightenment. This story is represented in certain reliefs from Gandhāra. The legend of acceptance by the Bodhisattva of the cloth of a huntsman and the Bodhisattva's austerities at Gayā for a period of six years are also shown in a number of reliefs. Unusually, however, the Bodhisattva is shown in an emaciated form seated in meditation under a tree. Seeing the futility of the mortification of the body Bodhisattva crossed the river Nairāñjanā and proceeded towards the Bodhi tree. On the way he was worshipped by the Nāga king Kālīka and his wife. This scene is represented in certain reliefs where the Bodhisattva is seen standing, offering protection; to his left emerges the Nāga couple from their watery abode. Before taking his seat at the foot of the tree where he was to attain the Bodhi the Bodhisattva spread a bundle

1. Cf. *Mahāvastu*, II, 159; *Buddhacaritakāvya* by Aśvaghoṣa, Canto VI.

of soft green grass on his seat. This scene is also represented in at least one relief now in the Indian Museum. The Bodhisattva is shown standing, with his right hand placed on a bundle of grass which is kept on a high seat. The grass-cutter Śaṣṭika stands to his right, behind him is the mischievous Māra holding a club and to the left of the Bodhisattva is Vajrapāṇi. In some panels Gautama is shown approaching the seat under the Bodhi tree and we can find just below the seat the bust of the earth goddess who was asked by Gautama to bear witness to his having reached the stage preceding enlightenment. As usual, here too Māra is present carrying a sword. In the Gandhāra school the scenes of the assault of Māra and the enlightenment of the Buddha are a common occurrence and are usually dealt with in two parts. First, the attack of Māra followed by his army and next his defeat¹ along with the scene of the enlightenment and invariably the wicked Māra and his hosts in rows and in challenging attitude are shown in all possible details. In certain reliefs we can see one of the sons of Māra trying to dissuade him from the campaign. We can also find gods hurrying towards the Bodhi tree. The Bodhisattva is seated on a throne in meditation, his right hand pointing downwards calling the earth-goddess as witness just before the enlightenment. In the scene of the defeat Māra is shown as shrinking back and about to retreat. Sometimes below the throne his soldiers are shown as having dropped down. The scene of the offering of food by Tapusa and Bhallika and its sequel to the offering of bowls by four guardian deities of the four quarters is also represented

1. Nettipakaraṇa, p. 34 ; Dham. Commy. III, 101-102 ; 195-196 ; 257-258 ; IV, 81-82 ; 140-141 ; Majjhima, I, 332 ff. ; Anguttara, IV, 310-311 ; Saṃ I., 110-111, 115, 127. For a Tibetan account of Māra's fight with the Buddha vide *Buddhist Studies*, edited by B. O. Law, pp. 268 ff.

in several reliefs while a good number of them portray the scene of the request by the gods to the Buddha to preach the law for the benefit of humanity. The scene of the first sermon, known as the turning of the Wheel of Law at Sarnath, finds elaborate representation in a number of reliefs. A wheel often surmounting a pillar indicates this scene. In some reliefs the wheel appears between two deer seated back to back. In the Gandhāra representations the right hand of the Buddha is usually shown in the Abhayamudrā. In certain reliefs the Buddha is seated under a tree surrounded by a number of devotees among whom his first five disciples can be recognised from their shaven heads. The miracle of Uruvilva performed to convert an ascetic named Kāśyapa is represented in several reliefs in different versions. In some Kāśyapa is shown seated in front of his hut where he is visited by the Buddha; in other reliefs the serpent which was subdued by the Buddha is shown resting inside an alms-bowl in front of the temple and the hermits are seen pouring water to extinguish the fire which, they supposed, had overtaken the temple. In some other reliefs the Buddha stands in the centre of the panel with a bowl containing the serpent which he is showing to Kāśyapa. The scene of the Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu and the ordination of Rāhula¹ is represented in Gandhāra reliefs in different sections of the story. Sometimes the Buddha is shown as taking his promenade in the air which is witnessed by a group of persons. This is one of the miracles that he performed to convince the Śakyas of his spiritual superiority². In another phase of the story he is shown taking his seat under a tree while a monk is pouring water over his feet which are being cleansed by a princely-looking

1. Vinaya, I, pp. 82 ff ; Dhammapada Commentary, I., 18 ff.

2. Jāt. I. 87 ff.

person. In one particular panel four different phases of the story are shown. First, the invitation of the Buddha by the Śākyas, next his performance of the miracle in the air in the presence of the Śākyas, next we find the Buddha seated, attended by a number of persons. The lady seated to his right is probably his wife Yaśodharā. Before the Buddha is a little child who should be recognised as Rāhula, who appears once again but this time in the garb of a monk behind Yaśodharā. Lastly, at the very end of the panel the Buddha appears standing and by his side is a monk who may be Śāriputra. This portion of the sculpture illustrates the admission of Rāhula into the Order. Minor incidents from the life of the Master such as the episode of Nanda and Sundarī,¹ Devadatta's hirelings attacking the Buddha, subduing the elephant Nālagiri, the story of Jyotika² and the conversion of Yaksha Āṭavika³, all find elaborate representations in Gandhāra reliefs and each scene is shown several times and in more or less detailed treatment. The attack and the submission of the assassins hired by Devadatta, the trials of the unfortunate Nanda and his final ordination and toilet scene of Sundarī, the subjugation of the infuriated elephant Nālagiri, the scene of the rising of the infant Jyotika born of Subhadrā from the burning pyre of his mother and his reception by king Bimbisāra and the menacing attitude of Yaksha Āṭavika towards the Buddha are all shown in details.

The well-known legend of the descent of the Buddha from Tāvatiṃsa heaven is shown. The three usual ladders, Brahmā, Śakra and the Buddha, shown descending by the middle one are all there in the reliefs not even excluding

1. Cf. Saundarananda-Kāvya by Aśvaghoṣa Cantos, IV & VI.

2. Dhammapada Commy., IV., pp. 221-224.

3. In Pali literature he is known as Āṭavaka. Cf. Suttanipāta Commy. I, 217-240.

the nun Utpalavarnā who appears at the foot of the middle ladder welcoming the Buddha. The little known story of two friends, Śrī Gupta, a lay disciple of the Buddha and Grahadatta, an ascetic of the Jaina order, both of Śrāvastī, is also depicted in some reliefs. In one relief we find the Buddha standing in the centre, to his right his disciples and to the left Śrī Gupta and his attendants. Śrī Gupta is seen twice, first, as offering food out of a vessel held by a servant and next as kneeling before the Master evidently confessing his guilt. In another relief the Buddha is seen standing with his whole retinue including Vajrapāṇi. In this relief the Buddha and his disciples are represented as taking part of the miraculous feast served on a table. Minor anecdotes from the life of the Buddha such as offering of handful of dust by two boys at Rājagriha, the barking at Buddha of a white dog belonging to Suka, a citizen of Śrāvastī, the submission of Nāga king, the offering of consolation by the Buddha to Ānanda at Māra's attempt to terrorise Ānanda in the form of a vulture at the Gridhrakūṭa cave,¹ all such anecdotes are depicted in several reliefs from Gandhāra. The great miracle of Śrāvastī is also represented in Gandhāra sculptures. Finally we find reliefs portraying the scene of the Mahāparinirvāṇa. In one of the most elaborate representations one can find in the centre of the panel the Buddha's body resting between the two sāla trees at Kuśinārā.² The uppermost row consists of flying deities. In the next two rows appear a number of princely figures who may be the Malla chieftains throwing flowers over Buddha's body while others are making demonstrations of grief. Two female figures are shown as emerging from the sāla trees; they are no doubt the sylvan deities. A monk nearest to the Buddha's

1. Ang., III, 383

2. Dīgha Commy., II, 572 f. ; Udāna Commy., p. 238.

head holds a fly-whisk. He should be his disciple Ānanda while the nude figure, standing second from the left in the same line, is probably the Buddha's favourite disciple, Mahākāśyapa, who arrived on the spot just after the decease. There are a few other sorrowful monks near the feet of the Master and by the side of the cot is Vajrapāṇi represented as falling down. Next to Vajrapāṇi one can find a person seated in meditation whose identity is not clear. In some of the reliefs from Gandhāra one can find a coffin in which the dead body of the Buddha was placed immediately after his death. In such reliefs one also notices two śāla trees flanking the coffin which is attended by five persons, namely, Vajrapāṇi, three monks of whom one carries a staff over his shoulders and the princely figure which may represent one of the Malla chiefs. In certain reliefs one can meet with the actual cremation even. In such reliefs by the side of the funeral pyre are seen two Malla chieftains extinguishing the fire by pouring out milk from vessels tied to the ends of long sticks.

The division and transport of the corporeal relics on the arbitration of a Brāhmaṇa named Droṇa¹ also find adequate representation in certain reliefs. In at least three reliefs in the Indian Museum one can find this story depicted. In one of these the Brāhmaṇa Droṇa is shown seated before a table on which eight lumps for eight rival claimants are placed. Two persons dressed in royal attire, evidently the Malla chieftains, stand near the relics. In the left panel is shown the transport of the relics. A person is carrying away one of the shares on horseback, the trace of another horse is also visible.

MATHURĀ—The interest of the Buddhist artists in Jātaka stories was gradually on the wane, and as the Master had already become more or less deified, he had conse-

1. Cf. *Dīgha*, II, pp. 165 ff. Cf. *Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King*, (SBE), 325 ff,

quently come to be endowed with certain iconographic features for which the artists of the Gandhāra school were responsible for bringing them into use. Already at Mathurā we find the scenes of the Buddha's life gradually becoming properties of more or less standardised forms which reached perfection at Sarnath during the Gupta period and later by the modern Indian artists. On one of the bas-reliefs we find five scenes of Gautama Buddha's life. In the scene of his birth in the Lumbinī garden near Kapilavastu his mother Māyā is shown standing under the śāla tree, a branch of which she holds with her right hand. She is supported by her sister Prajāpatī standing to her left, on the other side is Indra who receives the child on a cloth, just below is shown the scene of the first birth where the Bodhisattva stands in the centre and two Nāga kings, Nanda and Upananda, are shown issuing from wells with folded hands.¹ In both the scenes the Bodhisattva is represented in bodily form. In the scene of his Enlightenment he is shown seated under the Bodhi tree in the traditional pose of Bhūmisparśamudrā. The female figure to his right is evidently one of Māra's daughters and Māra himself is shown as shooting the arrow at the Master. The next shows the scene of descent from the Tāvatisa heaven where the Buddha is shown accompanied by the gods Indra and Brahmā, all descending by a triple ladder at the foot of which is shown the kneeling figure of the nun Uppalavaṇṇā. In the scene of the first sermon in the Deer Park at Sarnath, the Buddha instead of being shown in the attitude of turning the Wheel of the Law is represented with his right hand raised towards his shoulder, that is, in Abhayamudrā.

1 In Pali literature (Theragāthā Commy. II, 188 ff.; Jātaka V, 126) we find one Nāga king by the name of Nandopananda whereas in the Divyāvadāna (p. 395) Nanda and Upananda are mentioned as two nāga kings.

In the scene of the Great Decease he is shown lying under the twin śāla trees at Kuśinārā; three mourning figures are shown standing behind his couch and three are seated in front. Another bas-relief depicts the scene of the first birth of the Bodhisattva who is represented as a nude male child standing on a platform with his right hand raised towards his shoulder and his left resting on his hip, on each side of him a snake god with nine heads issues from a round masonry well. Another fragment of a bas-relief contains a series of scenes placed one above the other. The only scene almost completely preserved represents the Bodhisattva leaving his royal abode in order to become a monk. There Prince Siddhārtha is shown as rising from the couch on which his wife Yaśodharā is sleeping; in front of the couch are the figures of three female musicians who have fallen asleep over their instruments.¹ This scene is also represented in a more elaborate manner in another fragment where Māra is also depicted as holding a bow accompanied by another figure holding a thunderbolt in his left hand. Another fragment shows the scene of the attack of Māra on the Buddha who is seated cross-legged on a platform under the Bodhi tree. The scene of Buddha's Parinirvāṇa is represented more than once in Mathurā. In this scene the Buddha is shown lying between the twin śāla trees of Kuśinārā. In front of his couch are shown three figures, the central one in monk's dress is that of Subhadra,² the Master's last convert; the other two are laymen and possibly the Malla chieftains who witnessed the Master's death. In some of the fragments behind the couch are represented three figures standing with arms outstretched

1. Cf. Jātaka, I, p. 60; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 28.

2. Dīgha, II, 148 ff.; Cf. Dhammapaṇḍa Commy. III, 376 ff. cf. Fo-sho-Hing-Tsan-king, p. 290. Subhadra is called in Chinese Su-po-to-lo,

in the attitude of grief. In one fragment at least is shown Vajrapāṇi who dropped his vajra (thunderbolt) on the occasion. In the same fragment that represents Vajrapāṇi is shown a monk presumably Mahākāśyapa who hastens to pay reverence to the Master's feet.¹ One of the bas-reliefs represents the favourite scene of Indra's visit to the Buddha in the Indasāla cave near Rājagriha while another fragment represents the Master receiving in his alms-bowl a handful of dust from the children, Jaya and Vijaya, a subject which is often found in the Graeco-Buddhist Art of Gandhāra. In the lower panel of the same fragment is shown the Buddha standing and a small figure to his right offering flowers. The scene is perhaps an abridged rendering of the Dīpankara Jātaka as represented in Gandhāra reliefs. Another fragment of a slab represents the figure of the Master seated cross-legged with his right hand raised to the shoulder on a throne supported by a pair of lions. He is surmounted by four figures of which two stand to the right and two to his left, each holding a cup. Presumably it refers to the story of the presentation of the four bowls by the four guardian deities.

SARNATH—The sculptures at Sārnāth are restricted to the depiction of eight main events in the life of the Master. The only Jātaka scene so far identified with certainty is the Khantivādi Jātaka.² The bas-reliefs that depict the life-story of the Buddha belong more or less to the Gupta period (cir. 350-650 A. D.). These sculptures depict one or other of the four or eight principal events of the life of the Buddha. The

1. Dīgha II, 163 ff. Mahākassapa with his five hundred colleagues saluted the Buddha's feet which then disappeared and the pyre kindled of itself.

2. Jātaka No. 313; Jātaka, III, 39-43. This Jataka illustrates the high quality of forgiveness. It further illustrates the evil effect of anger which makes a man lose his prosperity in life.

former set of four is depicted in several steles. One of such steles is divided into four sections which from the bottom upwards represent the birth of Prince Siddhārtha, the temptation of the Bodhisattva Gautama by Māra before his attainment of the Bodhi at Gaya, the first sermon at the Deer-Park and lastly the Mahāparinirvāṇa or the Great Decease. In the scene of the birth of Prince Siddhārtha we see Mahāmāyā standing under a śāla tree with her sister Prajāpatī on her left; to her right is the god Indra who receives the child on his back. At the right end of the panel is the new-born baby with two serpent deities Nanda and Upananda giving him a bath. In the temptation scene one sees the Bodhisattva seated in the earth-touching attitude under a Pipal tree; Māra with his bow and arrow and attended by his standard bearers stands to the right of the Master and two of his daughters are to his left. The third daughter is seen in front of the throne and two of Māra's devils at the upper corners, one of whom brandishes his sword with his right hand and holds a snake in his left; the other raises his left finger in a threatening attitude. The figure seated in front of the standard-bearer supporting his head upon his left hand is the Māra foiled in his attempt. In the scene of the first sermon we observe the usual wheel, the pair of deer, the first five disciples and the donor of the sculpture in front of the base. One also sees Maitreya and Padmapāṇi to the right and left of the Master. In the Mahāparinirvāṇa scene the Buddha is seen lying on his right side facing the spectator with four mourners in front of his couch. The fifth figure with its back turned towards the spectator is that of Sudhadra,¹ the last convert of the Buddha. The

1. Jātaka-Nidāna-Kathā, p. 93.

figure at the foot of the Buddha represents Mahākāśyapa who adored the Master's feet immediately before the cremation. The Thera Upavana stands near the Buddha's head holding a fan. The four figures with their hands raised in grief are celestial mourners and the female figures issuing from the trees are the tree spirits engaged in showering flowers. The other four events depicted in the bas-reliefs of Sarnath relate to the scene of the descent of the Buddha at Saṅkassa, the scene of the miracle of Śrāvastī,¹ the scene of the dream of Māyādevī and that of the Great Renunciation. In the descent scene the ladder is not represented but Brahmā holding his kamaṇḍalu in his left hand and Indra holding an umbrella over the head of the Buddha are easily recognised. The miracle of Śrāvastī consisted in the Buddha being seen preaching at the same time in different places emitting fire and water simultaneously from his body. Thus suspended in the air, the Master preached and defeated his Jaina opponent. In the scene of the dream of Māyādevī as well as in that of the Great Renunciation one can easily notice the well-known elements of the story. In one of the scenes depicting the story of the temptation one can easily observe the half-bodied Earth-goddess emerging from the earth with a treasure vase between her hands. Some other minor stories from the life of the Master can also be seen depicted in certain panels. Thus one panel illustrates the presentation of honey to the Buddha by a monkey in the Pārileyaka forest near Kauśāmbī.² Another panel depicts the subjugation of the infuriated elephant Nālagiri.

1. The Twin miracle (Yamaka-pāṭihāriya) was performed by the Buddha under the mango tree called Gaṇḍamba at the gate of Śrāvastī (Jāt., IV, 264 ff.; Jāt., I, 38; Milinda, p. 349; Dhammapada Commy., III, 206 ff.).

2. Dhammapada Commy., I, 48 ff.; IV, 26 ff.; Udāna Commy., pp. 250 ff.

EASTERN SCHOOL—The reliefs from Sārnāth contain a few selected scenes from the life of the Master. They are more or less of iconographic type if we discard their narrative character. The Eastern School followed the Sārnāth tradition and further limited the scope of Buddhology with the result that the numerous sculptured reliefs from Bihar and Bengal belonging to four centuries from about the 8th to about the 12th centuries contained the more well-known scenes and those even in their smallest details. One finds, therefore, (1) the birth of the Bodhisattva, (2) the Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa or the Great Renunciation, (3) his attainment of the Bodhi, (4) his first sermon at the Deer-Park at Sarnath, (5) the miracle of Śrāvastī, (6) the subjugation of the elephant Nālagiri, and finally (7) his Parinirvāṇa. Even these seven episodes are sometimes reduced to five, Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa and the Śrāvastī miracle scenes being dropped out. Hardly do we find any of these episodes being represented on an independent sculpture. It is only on rare occasions that one finds the Śrāvastī miracle or the scene of the attainment of the Bodhi at Bodh-Gayā or that of the first preaching at Sarnath occupying an entire relief ; but in the majority of the cases the Buddha is shown seated in the Bhūmisparśamudrā on the Vajrāsana under the Bodhi tree or he is shown in Dhyānamudrā seated at the same place or else he is shown seated on a throne flanked by two deer making his first sermon at the Deer-Park at Sarnath. In all reliefs he occupies the central and the major portion of the relief and on the three sides of him are arranged in a regular order the other five or seven scenes from the life of the Master. This technique of representation of the Buddha became very popular with the artists of the Eastern school and it was transferred to the Indian colonies as well.

AMARĀVATĪ—The stūpa at Amarāvati is probably

the oldest extensively sculptured stūpa in South India dating originally from perhaps 200 B. C. In Amarāvati one can easily discern four periods of construction. There are a few slabs bearing inscriptions or carvings or both which are closely related to those of the Barhut stūpa. The sculptures on the inner and the outer sides of the rails probably belong to the 3rd period, that is, to about the latter part of the 2nd century A. D. The casing slabs of the 4th period, though only about 6 ft. high, were more richly and elaborately carved than the rail. The date assigned to the sculptures on these casing slabs on grounds of their style and the character of their inscriptions is the 3rd century A. D. In the sculptures of first and second periods the Buddha does never appear in person and always his representations follow the line of those belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period. It is evident that the indication of the Kuṣāṇa influence on Buddhist sculptures was making itself felt in South India already from the second century A. D. and reached the Kriṣṇā region about the period of the construction of the Amarāvati rails.

Among the sculptures at Amarāvati, one can easily notice the more important events in the life of the Master depicted more than once ; in certain cases, three or four times. The scene of the descent of the Buddha from the Tuṣita heaven to be born of Māyā is represented at least twice, in all its details. The Bodhisattva is shown being carried in a chariot by dwarfs. Delighted Devas carrying parasols, a party of musicians leading the procession and other divinities are all shown in their full splendour. The scene of the dream of Māyā-devī also appears more than once. In such scenes Māyā-devī is shown gracefully half-laid on a cot attended by female servants and musicians. She is not shown sleeping but in wakeful attitude and having conversations with

her attendants. A small sized white elephant is shown at the top of the panel outside the composition as descending to enter the womb of the Queen. One of the preludes to Gautama's resolve to become an ascetic can be seen on an outer rail angle pillar where the Bodhisattva is shown riding out of the palace with his retinue of royal soldiers and attendants and encountering on the road an emaciated figure about to prostrate himself before him, evidently for the purpose of begging. The sequel to the story can be found in a number of reliefs depicting the scene of the Great Renunciation. In such scenes a young chief is shown riding on horseback attended by five divine dwarfs or Yakṣas, three of whom are perhaps intended to bear up his horse's feet, the other two flying above to do him honour. In at least one such scene one can find an empty chair or throne which is surmounted by the Buddha's trident and behind it a tree and flanked by two women. It is to be noted that the young rider turns round to salute with respect these symbols of religion. The scene of the temptation of Māra is repeated more than twice in Amarāvati. In the earliest ones the Buddha is not shown in human representation but the elements of the story are more or less the same on each relief. In some Māra is seated on the ground or standing by the side of the Buddha or riding an elephant. Māra's daughters¹ stand on either side, dwarfs and goblins are invariably present. In at least one relief Māra is shown riding a horse. The anecdote of Sujātā feeding the Bodhisattva appears at least thrice on Amarāvati reliefs belonging to the 4th period and is depicted in the usual manner, Sujātā

1. Cf. *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 21. They are named as Rati, Prīti and Triṣṇā. Cf. also *Jinacarita*, vs. 339, 240, 241, 244, 245; *Mahāvastu*, II, 315; *Rockhill, Life of the Buddha*, p. 31.

offering the bowl and women standing on either side of the Buddha. The first sermon in the Deer Park is represented on the reliefs in the usual manner. In early reliefs Buddha does not appear but is represented by a seat on which are shown two deer. The miracle of Śrāvastī including the subjugation of the elephant Nālagiri also appears several times, always in the usual manner. In certain reliefs, however, the elephant appears more than once, first creating a havoc in the streets and next falling at the foot of the Buddha. Among other scenes that we meet with one easily notices the story of the worship of Buddha's bowl in the Tuṣita heaven and innumerable representations of the story of the Buddha preaching to his disciples.

GOLI—The village of Goli is situated on the river Golleru, a tributary of the river Krishṇā, in the Paland Taluk of the Guntur district. This village contains ruins of a stūpa and its railings have many reliefs illustrating among other things stories from the Jātakas as well as from the life of the Master himself. Of Jataka stories the important are the Chaddanta, the Vessantara and the Sasa.¹ The sculptures are done more or less in the style of those of Amarāvati, and on paleographic grounds they may be dated about the third century A.D. One of the slabs of Goli probably depicts the figure of Prince Siddhārtha attended by Yakṣas. The important scene of the temptation of the Buddha by Māra is depicted in another sculpture where the Buddha is distinguished by a halo round his head and seated on a platform under the Bodhi tree, two of Māra's daughters stand on the right with a third on the left. Further to the right warriors and goblins sent by Māra to attack the Buddha and divert his attention are depicted as departing from the spot, being defeated.

1. Nos 514, 547 & 316,

Māra himself is seen mounted on an elephant turning back as he departs and worshipping the Buddha, thereby indicating that he accepts defeat. Another slab apparently describes the scene of the sermon in the Deer Park ; an empty seat or throne with cushions behind and below indicates the presence of the Buddha. The two deer in front indicate that the place is Migadāva, the deer park near Sarnath, where the Buddha is said to have preached his doctrine for the first time and thereby set the Wheel of the Law in motion.¹ Still another slab seems to represent the Buddha preaching. It shows the Buddha seated cross-legged on a throne with his left hand placed on his lap and right hand raised in the Abhayamudrā. Below the throne and in front of the Buddha are seated three disciples or worshippers. All these scenes appear also in the Amarāvati sculpture more than once. On the same frieze that depicts the temptation of Māra follows the scene of Sujātā feeding the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva who is seated on a stone is served with food by Sujātā, the daughter of the village headman of Uruvelā. He is washing his hands with water poured out from a vessel held by one lady while another holds another vessel with a handle containing perhaps food. Another lady prostrates herself before the Bodhisattva while three more stand in reverent attitude behind the lady with the the water vessel. The presence of so many women besides Sujātā is puzzling, as most of the Buddhist texts speak of Sujātā alone carrying rice boiled with milk to the Bodhisattva just before his Enlightenment ; but there are other texts, namely, the Jātaka Nidānakathā, the Tibetan accounts of the life of the Buddha derived from such sources as the Lalitavistara that mention more than once

1. Vinaya, I, 10 ff. ; Saṃyutta, V, 420ff. ; Cf. Lalitavistara, 540 ff ; Mahāvastu, III, 330¹ ff,

several girls accompanying Sujātā. Two other panels represent scenes respectively of Buddha's visit to Yaśodharā¹ and the Master's subjugation of the elephant Nālagiri.² In the former the Buddha is seen in the act of entering a woman's apartment. A man in jester's cap with a staff in his hands is looking at the Buddha with reverence. The attendant women are doing obeisance to the Buddha while a boy is inviting him and another holds water in a vessel for the Buddha to wash his feet. On the extreme right of the apartment a lady evidently Yaśodharā, his wife, while he was Prince Siddhārtha, has risen up from her seat on seeing or being told by a boy in front of her that the Buddha is coming. She is shown indicating the seat with her right hand for the Buddha to occupy. The boy in front of her is evidently Rāhula, her son. In the latter a ferocious elephant is seen creating a havoc in the street by goring people, catching hold of them in its trunk and trampling on them. The left side of the panel shows the Buddha coming along the street followed by his mendicant disciples. He is standing with perfect self-possession. The elephant seeing the Buddha in front at once bends down and worships at the Master's feet while the people around are amazed at the miracle. This scene is elaborately depicted also in the Amarāvati stūpa.

NĀGĀRJUNIKONḌA—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Nāgārjuna's Hill, a large rocky hill, stands on the right bank of the Krishṇā river in the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency and 16 miles west of Macherla railway station. Archaeological excavations at this site have led to the discovery of a number of ruined monas-

1. Jāt., IV, 282 ff.; Dhammapada Commy., I, 97.

2. Vin., II, 194 ff.; Jāt V, 333 ff.; Avadānaśataka, I, 177.

teries, apsidal temples, stūpas, inscriptions, coins, statues, brick mounds and marble pillars, pavilions, remains of a palace site and a stone built wharf, etc. and over 400 magnificent bas-reliefs in the Amarāvati style and belonging to the same period. The area occupied by the ruins is greater than that of Amarāvati. Epigraphic evidence proves that the site belonged to the southern Ikṣvāku dynasty which was ruling in the Andhra country in the second and third centuries A. D. Most of the scenes depicted in the panels and reliefs recovered from this site illustrate stories from the Jātaka. All these stories from the life of the Master do not agree in all their details with the known Pali sources, at least some of them must have been derived from Sanskrit sources. The scene of the Bodhisattva agreeing to be born in his last existence as the saviour of mankind appears on one of the panels where gods are represented as entreating the potential Buddha in the Tuṣita heaven, who is seated in the middle with his right hand raised and with a halo round his head. Another scene depicts the prelude to the story of the dream of Māyā where the Bodhisattva is represented in the form of a white elephant carried by dwarfs on a chariot. The scene of casting the horoscope in the court of Śuddhodana is shown on another panel where king Śuddhodana and his Queen Māyā are shown seated, the queen occupying a lower seat. The four seated figures on the right apparently represent the four celestial beings who are watching over Māyā while an old Rishi or a soothsayer is depicted below ; the central standing figure with a tall Hindu head-dress and holding an ornamental water-pot is meant for Indra. The scene of the Nativity and the seven steps find elaborate representation in another bas-relief where on the left Queen Mayā is seen standing under the śāla tree with two female attendants. The

Bodhisattva is represented by a royal umbrella flanked by two fly-whisks; below is the water-pot denoting the child's first bath, while on the right holding the long cloth on which the child made the seven steps, are the four Dikpālas or guardian deities of the four quarters; the seven steps are represented by seven tiny foot-prints on the cloth. The scene of Asita's visit to see the newborn baby in another relief depicts Asita as an old man seated on the floor of the palace and the child outside is represented by a pair of little foot-prints on the long cloth held by an attendant. On the left of this panel occurs a scene which is detailed by the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang.¹ This scene occurred outside the town of Kapilavastu at a Brahmanical temple where king Śuddhodana took his new born baby for offering worship to the deity of the temple. In the relief is shown the nurse carrying the child and entering the shrine. Immediately the stone image of the deity came to life, raised itself and bowed to the prince but as soon as the prince left, the image again assumed its original form and position. The scene of the Great Renunciation or Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa is represented in another panel where we see Gautama giving his ornaments to Chanda and bidding him return with the horse named Kaṇṭhaka to Kapilavastu. Standing behind the Bodhisattva is the hunter with whom he exchanges garments; three of the gods wearing jewelled turbans and with hands raised in adoration, await the hair-cutting episode. In the right hand corner of the panel Chanda and the horse are shown returning home. Unfortunately the upper panel is missing. We find it fully depicted in another panel where the crowned hair is being carried on a big bowl to the heavens surrounded by worshipping

1. Watters, On Yuan Chwang, II. p. 13.

and admiring gods. The important scene of the temptation of Māra and his subsequent defeat¹ finds adequate representation in a panel where the Buddha is represented as seated under the Bodhidruma on a throne; to his right are shown not only Māra's daughters trying to tempt the Master but also his retinue attacking the Master. On an elephant to his left follows the sequel of the story where Māra's retinue is shown defeated. The scene of the gods including Brahmā entreating the Buddha to go forth into the world and to proclaim his doctrine to mankind is depicted in a panel. The scene of his first preaching to the chosen five is also found in another panel, where the Buddha is seated on a throne flanked by two deer and on both sides are represented his disciples. The Buddha's First sermon and his departure from the world are frequently found in the sculptures. The scene of the Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa of the Buddha is represented by his stūpa with attending worshippers, both human and divine. The former are depicted bringing offerings to the shrine and are grouped near the gateways of the stūpa while the celestial beings are shown carrying banners and garlands and flying around the summit of the stūpa. The scene of the Buddha holding two relic caskets before a grant of Nāgas is shown in plate XXIV(b). Some cornice stones also depict the chief events in the life of the Buddha. Six beautiful panels from these stones depict the Nativity and seven steps, the Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa (Great Renunciation), assault by Māra, the first sermon (Turning of the Wheel of the Law, Dharmacakrapravartana) in the Deer Park, which is represented by a big wheel placed on the top of a stūpa by worshipful devotees and finally the scene of the Parinirvāṇa which is represented by a stūpa.

1. Buddhacarita-kavya, Canto XIII.

Two of the panels represent the well-known story of the Buddha protected by the serpent King Mucalinda from the rain at Gayā;¹ while another represents the scene of the conversion of the Yakṣa Ālavaka² and still another, the scene of the subjugation of the elephant Nālagiri.³ It may be noted that the gods are depicted holding up the hoofs of the horse Kaṇṭhaka.⁴ The groom named Chanda is depicted running in front of his Master's horse.

Some other minor scenes also find elaborate representations on some of the carved reliefs. The scene of the Nāga king being subdued by the Buddha is twice represented. The other scenes represented are :- (1) The Buddha Dīpaṅkara's prediction regarding Gautama Buddha ; (2) The admission of the six Śākya princes and the barber Upāli to the order ;⁵ (3) The Buddha and his disciple Nanda on a visit to heaven ; (4) The gift of earth (sand) to the Buddha by Jaya, the son of the chief householder of Rājagriha ; (5) Prince Siddhārtha enjoying himself in the pleasure-garden at Kapilavastu ; (6) Novice Sumana and the Nāga king Paṇṇaka of the Anotatta lake in the Himalayas ;⁶ (7) The gods congratulating the Buddha after the Enlightenment ; (8) The transportation of the relics of the Master after his Parinirvāṇa ; (9) The Buddha visited by Indra in the Indraśaila cave ;⁷ (10) The Buddha preaching to

1. Vinaya, I, 3 ; Jātaka, I, 80 ; Udāna, II, 1 ; Buddhavaṃsa Commy, 8, 241 ; Mahāvastu, III, 300.

2. Jātaka, IV, 180 ; Ibid., VI, 329 ; Mahāvamśa, Ch. XXX, v. 84.

3. Vinaya, II, 194 ff. ; Jātaka, V, 333 ff. ; Avadānaśataka, I, 177.

4. Jātaka, I, 62-65 ; Mahāvastu, II, 159 ff. ; Buddhacarita, Ch. V, 3 ff. ; Ch. VI, 53 ff.

5. Vinaya, II, 182 ; Dhammapada Commy. I, 116 ff. ; Cf. Mahāvastu, III, 179 ff. ; Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, pp. 55-56.

6. Dhammapada Commentary, IV, 128 ff.

7. Dīgha, II, 263.

his four disciples listening to the discourse with profound respect seated on the ground ; (11) First offering of food to the Buddha after his enlightenment by the merchants named Trapusa and Bhallika.

The three panels of the plate (b) contain episodes in the career of the Master. The scene illustrated in the lowest panel is undoubtedly that of the Nāga-king Mucalinda sheltering the Buddha from a great storm, while the middle panel depicts scenes of the two merchants making first offering of food to the Buddha after the fast of seven weeks subsequent to his enlightenment, and the four great kings making a gift of four bowls of food to the Buddha. The scene illustrated in the topmost panel is that of the first sermon by the Buddha in the Deer Park. The Buddha is shown in the centre seated on a lion-throne under a tree. In front of the throne stand two deer. The two persons, probably gods, are seen standing behind the throne bearing chauris in their hands. To the right of the Buddha are seated the five monks to whom the first sermon was delivered. They are seen listening with profound respect to the Buddha's discourse with folded hands.

CEYLON—The sculptures illustrating the events in the life of the Buddha seem to be almost unknown to the art of Ceylon. The Nirvāṇa statue, found at Polonnaruwa, which is enormous in size, evidently refers to the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha.

BURMA—Stray sculptured reliefs and terra-cotta plaques illustrating scenes from the life of the Master have been unearthed from one of the earliest archæological sites in Burma, namely, Hmawza, but most of them owe their inspiration to Indian motives and were perhaps the work of Indian artists. At least two stone reliefs have been recovered illustrating the major incidents of

the Buddha's life, but both of them are definitely in the tradition of the Eastern School of art and iconography. The illustration of the Buddha's life is, however, seen in Pagan around the walls and corridors of the Ananda temple which stands unique in the whole of Burma for terra-cotta bas-reliefs and stone sculptures. The basement as well as the terraces of this temple are ornamented with glazed terra-cotta tiles. The plaques of the basement represent the two principal phases of the Buddha's attainment of supreme knowledge. The plaques on the west represent the hosts of Māra assailing the Buddha and those on the south, his glorification by the gods after his victory, each plaque being explained by a short legend in Talaing. The tiles around the next illustrate 537 shorter Jātakas each of which is numbered and the title in Pali is given but the most interesting and unique feature is the splendid series of nearly 400 bas-reliefs illustrating the last ten great Jātakas, there being an average of 38 to 40 plaques to each Jātaka story; each scene is explained by a legend in Talaing of about the 11th century. Stone sculptures illustrating principal events in the Buddha's life until the attainment of the Bodhi are, however, to be seen in the first corridor. The succession of scenes follows the Pradakṣiṇā; the series begins with the request of the gods in the Tuṣita heaven asking the Bodhisattva to be re-born in his very last existence and to become the Buddha. But these are not the only sculptures for the walls of both corridors are honey-combed with numerous small niches containing Buddha figures either seated or standing in various poses and attitudes. Besides these in each of the four porticos are sixteen other sculptures mostly repeating themselves but among which are a few interesting scenes such as the Pārileyya incident, the

descent from the Tāvatisa heaven, the subjugation of the Nālagiri elephant, etc. All these properly belong to the last mortal existence of the Master. There are a few other stone sculptures in the bolted passages facing the windows but these belong mostly to the durenidāna cycle and illustrate some of the interior lives of the Buddha. There are also a few scenes illustrating events that took place after the attainment of the Bodhi but they are to be found within the porticos. The order of the events proceed as follows, each episode occupying one bas-relief :—

1. The request of the gods in the Tuṣita heaven.
2. The dream of Māyādevī.
3. The four Māhārājās carry the queen to the Himalayas.
4. Māyādevī is adorned with celestial garments and flowers.
5. Māyādevī is anointed with celestial perfumes.
6. The conception.¹
7. Māyā relates her dream to the king.
8. The four Māhārājās guard Māyādevī.
9. Māyādevī begs leave to visit her parents.
10. Māyādevī sets out on her journey.
11. Missing.
12. The birth of the Bodhisattva.
13. The four Mahābrahmās receive the child.
14. The child stands and faces the east.
15. The first seven steps.²
16. The child at Kapilavastu.
17. The visit of Kāladevala.
18. The Horoscope.
19. Siddhārtha's infancy.

1. Jāt., I, 47 ff.; Cf. Mahāvastu, II, 14 ff.

2 Jāt., I, 53.

20. & 21. The Ploughing Festival.
22. The adolescence of Prince Siddhārtha.¹
23. Siddhārtha is prepared for the athletic match,
24. The athletic contest.
25. & 26. The Four Omens.²
27. Siddhārtha in his pleasance.
28. Viśvakarman arranges the Bodhisattva's turban.
29. The women play and sing to the prince.
30. The slumber of the women.
31. The prince calls his charioteer.
32. Prince Siddhārtha wishes to see his child.
33. The Bodhisattva leaves Kapilavastu.³
34. Māra tempts the Bodhisattva.
35. The Bodhisattva arrives at the river Anomā.
36. The Bodhisattva makes over his jewels to Channa.
37. The Bodhisattva cuts off his hair.
38. The Bodhisattva throws up his hair.
39. The Bodhisattva changes his dress.
40. The Farewell.
41. The Bodhisattva enters Rājagriha.
42. King Bimbisāra visits the Śramaṇa Gautama.⁴
43. The Bodhisattva with Ālāra Kālāma.
44. Gotama and the five mendicants.
45. The fast of Gotama.
46. Gotama falls in a swoon.
47. Sujātā offers a meal to the future Buddha.
48. The Bodhisattva proceeds towards the Bodhi tree.
49. The Bodhisattva meets with the grass cutter.
50. The Bodhisattva sits under the tree of wisdom.

1. Jāt., I, 56 ff.

2 Jāt., I, 59 ff.

3 Jāt., I, 59 ff. ; Cf. Dīgha, 11, 21 ff.

4 Suttanipāta, vv. 405-24 (Pabbajjā Sutta) ; Suttanipāta Commy. II, 285 ff ; Cf. Mahāvastu, II, 198-200.

51. The contest with Māra.
52. The temptation.
53. The Descent from the the Tāvātimsa heaven.
54. The sojourn at Pārileyyaka.
55. The yakṣa Āṭavika.
56. Submission of the elephant Nālagiri.

BARABUDUR—The great stūpa of Barabudur was erected in the early part of the period from about 750-850 A. D. on the plain of Kedu right in the centre of Java, during the rule of the Śailendras, a Mahayanist dynasty of kings, who had their seat of government in Palembang in Sumatra. This important stūpa which commemorates the events in the life of the Buddha, was built on a hill found in the landscape. For the purpose of erecting this stūpa the sides of the hill were cut into terraces and enclosed in four square galleries and three circular platforms, one above the other. The central stūpa stands on the top of the highest platform. The galleries are richly decorated, but the platforms are unadorned. The reliefs represented texts which were intended to impress lessons of wisdom on the believer's mind as he ascended this stūpa. One of such texts is the Lalitavistara which contains the life-story of the historic Buddha who was the preacher of the creed of salvation to humanity. The reliefs follow the story given in this text. As this text is still available, the identification of the reliefs is therefore not very difficult. The stūpa of Barabudur begins with the reliefs representing the visit of the gods to the Tuṣita heaven to request the Bodhisattva to be reborn in his very last existence and to become the Buddha, as we find in Burma. In Burma we find that the series ends with the episodes of the attainment of Buddhahood at Bodh-Gayā, while in Barabudur the story is brought a step farther to the

episode of the first Preaching with which the Lalita-vistara is closed. Nothing more of the Buddha's further life nor the Mahāparinibbāna appears on the stūpa. The events in the life of the Master are found represented in the reliefs of the stūpa in the following order :-

1. The Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita-heaven.
2. The Bodhisattva announces his approaching human birth.
3. The sons of the gods, as brāhmans, give instruction in the Vedas.
4. The disappearance of the Pratyekabuddhas.
5. The Bodhisattva instructs the Tuṣita-gods in the introduction to the perception of the Law.
6. The Bodhisattva gives his tiara to his successor Maitreya.
7. The Bodhisattva consults with the gods about the form he will assume.
8. Māyā's conversation with Śuddhodana.
9. Māyā in her chamber.
10. The Gods decide to accompany the Bodhisattva.
11. The other Bodhisattvas render homage to the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha.
12. Descent of the Bodhisattva.
13. The conception.
14. The gods do homage to the Bodhisattva.
15. Māyā retires to the Aśoka-wood.
16. The king comes to the queen.
17. The queen relates her dream and asks for its interpretation.
18. The interpretation of the dream.
19. The reward of the brāhmaṇas.
20. The gods offer their palaces to Śuddhodana.
21. Māyā shows herself in the various palaces.
22. The queen heals the sick.

23. Distribution of alms.
24. The king as brahmacarin.
25. The miracles at Kapilavastu.
26. The preparation for the journey to Lumbinī.
27. Māyā betakes herself to the Lumbinī park.
28. The birth of the Bodhisattva.
29. The congratulation and feasting of sages and brāhmaṇas.
30. Gautamī undertakes the care of the Bodhisattva.
31. The visit of Asita.
32. Maheśvara and other gods' sons do homage to the Bodhisattva.
33. The Sakka's request that the prince may be brought to the temple.
34. The procession to the temple.
35. The gods of the temple do honour to the Bodhisattva.
36. The offering of jewels and their loss of brilliance.
37. The arrival at school.
38. The teaching in the school.
39. The journey to the village.
40. The Bodhisattva under the Jambu-tree ; homage by sages.
41. The Sakka's request to the Bodhisattva to marry.
42. The Bodhisattva offers the ring to Gopā.
43. The Bodhisattva proclaims himself willing to shew his proficiency in learning and sport.
44. Devadatta kills the elephant.
45. The Bodhisattva hurls the elephant away.
46. The arithmetic competition.
47. Continuation of the contests.
48. Continuation of the above.
49. The archery-tournament.
50. Gopā defends herself against the reproach of going unveiled.

51. Gopā as spouse-in-chief.
52. The gods visit the Bodhisattva in the apartments of women.
53. Hrīdeva rouses the Bodhisattva to fulfil his destiny.
54. The Bodhisattva's three palaces.
55. The Bodhisattva is guarded in his palace,
56. First Encounter : The Bodhisattva sees an old man,¹
57. Second Encounter : The Bodhisattva sees a Sick man.¹
58. Third Encounter : The Bodhisattva sees a dead man.¹
59. Fourth Encounter: The Bodhisattva sees a monk.¹
60. The Bodhisattva in the apartments of women ; Gopā comforted after an evil dream.
61. The Bodhisattva asks his father's permission to depart.
62. The Bodhisattva is guarded in his harem.
63. The sleeping women.²
64. The Bodhisattva's horse is brought to him.
65. The Great Departure.
66. The Bodhisattva takes leave of his escort of gods.
67. The Bodhisattva takes leave of Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka,³ and cuts off his hair,
68. The Bodhisattva receives russet garments.⁴
69. The gods express their approval,
70. The Bodhisattva at the hermitage of a brāhmaṇī.
71. The Bodhisattva comes to Raivataka or Ārāḍa Kālāma,

1 Lalitavistara, chaps. 14 and 15.

2 Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 24 ; Jātaka, I, p. 60.

3 Mahāvastu, 11, p. 159.

4 Lalitavistara, chap. 15 ; Vimānavatthu, 73-74 ; Vimānavatthu Commy., p. 313,

72. The Bodhisattva with Ārāḍa Kālāma,¹
73. The Bodhisattva at Rājagṛha.²
74. King Bimbisāra visits the Bodhisattva.²
75. The Bodhisattva with Rudraka.
76. The Bodhisattva with his first disciples on the Gayā-mountain.³
77. The Bodhisattva sees the Nairāñjanā.
78. Māyā, as goddess, visits the Bodhisattva.
79. The gods honour the Bodhisattva.
80. The gods request the Bodhisattva to absorb nourishment through his pores.
81. The Bodhisattva receives food from the maidens of Uruvilva.
82. The Bodhisattva washes the hempen-garment.
83. The Bodhisattva receives monks' garments.
84. Sujātā entertains the Bodhisattva.
85. The Bodhisattva goes to the Nairāñjanā.
86. The Bodhisattva takes a bath,
87. The Bodhisattva accepts a seat from a nāga-maiden,
88. The Bodhisattva partakes of the rest of the milk-food,
89. The food-bowl is carried away by Sāgara and then by Śakra
90. The Bodhisattva, on the way to Bodhimaṇḍa, receives grass from Svastika.
91. The Bodhisattva honoured by Brahmā and Kālīka.
92. Decoration of the Bodhi-trees.
93. The Bodhisattva seated under the Bodhi-tree.

1. Mahāvastu, II, p. 118; Lalitavistara, chap. 16, p. 238; Majjhima I, p. 160-Ariyapariyesana sutta.

2. Rookhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 27; Mahāvastu, II p. 198; Lalitavistara, chap. 16, p. 239; Suttanipāta vs. 405-24.

3. Cf. Vinaya Texts (S. B. E.), Pt. I, p. 90; Majjhima, I, p. 170; Ibid., II, p. 91; Samyutta, III, p. 66-Aññākaṇḍa, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Assaji and Mahānāma, first five disciples of the Buddha.

94. Māra's unsuccessful attack.
95. The daughters of Māra attempt to seduce the Bodhisattva.
96. The Bodhisattva attains the highest wisdom.
97. The Buddha honoured by the heavenly nymphs.
98. The gods bathe the Buddha with perfumed water.
99. The Buddha replies to devaṇḍra named Samantakusuma,
100. The Buddha takes a walk and then returns to Bodhimāṇḍa.
101. The nāga-king Mucalinda (Mucilinda) pays homage to the Buddha.
102. The Buddha meets with other ascetics.
103. The merchants Trapusa and Bhallika approach the Buddha.
104. The four guardians of the world offer a bowl.
105. The Buddha receives milk food from the merchants.
106. The gods request the Buddha to reveal the Law.
107. The Buddha agrees to reveal the Law.
108. The Buddha ponders as to whom he should reveal the Law.
109. The Buddha on the way to Benares.
110. The meeting with an ājīvika-monk.
111. The Buddha is entertained by the nāga-king Śudarsana.
- 112-114. The Buddha is received in various cities.
115. The Buddha crosses the Ganges.
116. The Buddha at Benares.
117. The Buddha approaches his five former pupils.
118. The five pupils do homage to the Buddha assuming the appearance of Buddhist monks.
119. The pupils bathe the Buddha.
120. The first preaching.

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Chapter XI

BUDDHISM AND ITS EXPANSION IN INDIA AND OUTSIDE

There is no consensus of opinion as yet as to the precise connotation of the term Buddhism, whether it means a mere religion, or a mere philosophy, or a mere ethical idealism or a mere form of mysticism. The saner view of the thing leads us to think that religion, mysticism, philosophy, psychology, ethics, language, literature, art, architecture, and the like are but its different aspects, and that in these respects the position of Buddhism is similar to that of Vedānta, Jainism, and other earlier Indian systems of Dharma. But whatever it is there is no denying the fact that it is the result of distinct and vigorous movement of thought and self-culture with its dynamic of conduct and reforming zeal, which was started in Northern India by a princely ascetic known as Siddhārtha. Rationality, tolerance, moral purity and fortitude, friendliness and humanism are some of the distinctive features of the religion of Śākyamuni. Even as a form of mysticism its appeal is no way less than that of other religions.

The historical beginning of Buddhism is traceable from the Buddhahood attained by that gifted man. The Buddhahood itself is regarded as the supreme status of a yogin, thinker and teacher, to which he became entitled by virtue of enlightenment as to the nature of the truth and the way of emancipation. This mental awakening and profound vision dawned on human consciousness as the ripest and richest fruit of an earnest quest after the truth and the

way. The strength of the movement lay in the deepest personal conviction gained through direct experience and internal preception.

This new movement was started in the second half of the sixth century B.C. and it was coincident with three other upheavals of human thought, one represented by the first Greek Philosopher, Thales of Miletos, the second, by Zoroaster of Media, and the third by Confucius of China. In India it arose when the country was seething with speculative ferment in the midst of diverse conflicts of thoughts and ideas. Pali literature alone preserves for us the names of not less than forty bands or bodies of wandering ascetics and mendicants, broadly distinguished as Brāhmaṇas (Greek Brachmanes) and Śramaṇas (Greek Sarmanes), some upholding the existing social order and system of training based on the idea of four castes and four stages of effort and others repudiating the same. There were in far off places the hermitages built in sombre and delightful woodlands where the sages and seers were leading the life of silent contemplatives, keeping ablaze the sacrificial fire and training up their resident pupils. The monarchies became the strongholds of secular Brahmanism and there were founded on royal endowments a few residential Vedic colleges, while the householder Brahmans as a class retained a stronghold over the masses as royal chaplains and popular priests or as teachers of secular sciences and arts.

Four great monarchies of Magadha, Kośala, Vatsa, and Avantī existed then in Northern India, surrounded by several oligarchical republics, while the Indo-Aryan society was composed of the four main social grades with some untouchables outside the pale.

It was in such a social, political and religious environment that Buddhism appeared as a religious

fraternity of the recluses, both men and women, and as a Kṣatriya school of thought under the lead of a master endowed with stupendous human personality. Because the leader himself happened to be a great scion of the Śākya ruling clan of Kapilavastu at the foot of the Himalayas, the wayfarers forming the brotherhood under his guidance came to be known as Śākyaputriya recluses, or simply as Śākyas.

Buddhism was propounded by its founder as a progressive step from the philosophy of the Upaniṣads and a progressive way of life avoiding the extremes in all respects. It was launched forth as a mission for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, and for the welfare and advantage of all men. The democratization of the Aryan faith led to the relinquishment of 'the close fist of the teacher'. The new religion began to follow an open door policy, inviting all to come and see. The people of India were exhorted not to accept anything as reasonable and good on any other authority than their own experience and reason. An ethical idealism led the way pushing into the background the 'amoralism' of the earlier doctrines, and it was broadbased on a psychological foundation. The painful conditions of existence and common human sufferings were taken for granted and faced as facts. The path of deliverance suggested led men to examine the mechanism of their own mind. The cause was more internal than external. The progressive path laid down for the guidance of life is known as the Noble Eight-fold Path. A doctrine of causation or dependent origination was taught to guide rational human thought. A doctrine of Karma was promulgated to teach men that every action has its corresponding reaction.

In the religion preached by the Buddha much emphasis was laid on self-exertion, self-control, and self-sacrifice,

The method followed was excellent. A large number of followers gathered round him and his teachings produced the desired effect. Buddha in his first discourse¹ addressed to the five ascetics laid stress on suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering, and the path leading to the destruction of suffering. Suffering is a painful feeling which arises from getting what one does not desire to get and not getting what one desires to get. There is suffering in repeated births. Suffering is continuous whose essence is affliction, there is the cause of suffering whose essence is origination, there is the destruction of suffering whose essence is escape, and there is the path to tranquillity whose essence is rescuing. The origin of suffering lies in desire which is potent for rebirth accompanied by lust and self-indulgence, seeking satisfaction now here and now there. The destruction of suffering consists in utter fading away of desire. Cessation is that state of the self in which consciousness transcends the sphere of senses and their objects. The path leading to the destruction of suffering is the Noble Eight-fold Path which consists in right view, right resolve, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. The formulation of the Four Truths proceeded on the basis of the doctrine of Dependent Origination², accounting for the origin and cessation of the entire mass of ill.

The nucleus of the Sangha was formed after the conversion of the first five disciples. This was followed by the conversion of Yasa, the banker's son, and his fifty-four comrades. No formality was yet needed to be gone through. The Buddha addressed his first sixty disciples

1. *Milinda-Pañha*, p. 950 Paṭhama—Dhammadesanā.

2. B. C. Law, Dependent origination published in the *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, pp. 11-15

thus : 'Come ye ! the law is well expounded, lead the holy life to make an end of all pain'. The attainment of saintship and salvation as implied by the term arahatta, was not at all a remote ideal ; it was attained and attainable here and now where human nature was mature for the reception of the truth and the acceptance of the norm. He charged them with these inspiring words : 'Freed am I, O mendicants, from all nooses, whether divine or human, and you too are thus freed. Go ye forth and wander about for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, out compassion for the world, for the sake of advantage, good and happiness of gods and men. Go not two by the same road. Address, O mendicants, the doctrine which is beneficial in the beginning, beneficial in the end, pregnant with meaning, well-worded, complete in form, and reveals the pure life of holiness'. Thus the Enlightened One and his first disciples started the work of preaching the message.

The Buddha's first visit to Kapilavastu was notable as it was followed by the conversion of the Śākyaans to the new faith and the ordination of Siddhārtha's son Rāhula and half-brother Nanda as well as of many gifted Śākya youths.

It was all the more important for the reason that the Śākya ladies headed by Siddhārtha's aunt, step and foster-mother, Mahā-pajāpatī Gotamī and including his wife Yasodharā left the city in a body in right earnest and travelled on foot as far as Vaiśālī to seek admission into the Sangha. Ānanda pleaded their cause and the Master granted the prayer. His reluctance caused by fear lest the duration of the Good Faith be shortened, if women were admitted into it, was not without its effect.

The admission of women into the Śākya Order was no novelty in the history of the religions of ancient India,

inasmuch as women had gained admission into the various earlier and contemporary religious Orders of the Hermits, Wanderers, Ājīvikas and Jains. (Niggaṇṭhas)

The dedication of the Venuvana (Bamboo grove) to the Master and his followers by king Bimbisāra, led to the foundation of the first Buddhist Vihāra in India, which was followed in quick succession and in other parts of the Buddhist Midland as well by numerous other vihāras or ārāmas that served as permanent places of retreat, fixed abodes or monasteries for the brothers and sisters and the probationers under them. The ruling princes and the rich bankers vied with one another in erecting and endowing them.

There was yet no shrine attached to those vihāras to serve as a *sanctum sanctorum* or fixed place of worship. The lay worshippers who were in the role of devotees needed a shrine for the purpose of worship of a tangible substitute in the absence of the Master. The first shrine suggested was a Bo-tree grown from the graft or seed or sapling from the Bo-tree under which the Master attained to Buddhahood. This was followed by other objects used by the Master and by the stūpas or relic-shrines, and afterwards by images. Thus the temples came into existence and Buddhism became thoroughly Hinduized.

The number of followers and lay worshippers was on the increase year after year, during the forty-five years of the Master's ministration and preaching career. The new centres of activity grew up in the countries around Magadha. The movement remained confined yet to the Buddhist Midland. Many new vihāras were erected and dedicated. The rules and formalities increased. And yet nothing was enacted or promulgated in advance. As occasions demanded, the rules were either suggested by him or by others, but before they were enforced they

needed his formal approval. Thus behind them all was his personal authority; he was the source of the Law and the person to set the seal of approval.

One distinctive feature of the organization was that it was designed to be an autonomous body guided by the principles and ideals. Thus he did relinquish the right of nominating a successor.

The total number of persons representing the male wayfarers in the Buddha's lifetime is not known. The number of bhikkhus present at a conference shortly after the Buddha's demise is given as 700,000, which, however, exaggerated, cannot be regarded as the total number of monks of the time. A Buddhist canonical text speaks of 18,000 bhikkhunīs headed by Yasodharā, 10,000 headed by Yasovatī, 18,000 headed by Yasavatī and 84,000 belonging to Brahmin families.

The conference held before the Second Buddhist Council was attended by 90,000 monks. In Asoka's time 60,000 orthodox monks resided in the Asokārāma at Pāṭaliputra. The congregation held at Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Asoka consisted of 80 crores monks, one hundred thousand of whom were Arahants (elect) and ninety hundred thousand nuns. We may leave out of account the overwhelming number of new converts made by the Buddhist missionaries sent to different places in India. Buddhism is regarded by the general people as an alien faith like Christianity. It is judged as a notable form of atheism and materialism. The Hindus count the Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and ironically extol him as a disparager of the Vedas and Vedic sacrifices, involving the slaughter of animals and as a seducer of the demons. Even in serious books on theology and philosophy we find that life, according to Buddhism, ends with death. The orthodox Brahmin view of Buddhism is entirely based

upon Mādhavācārya's catalogue of Indian philosophies. Among the Buddhists themselves the form of Buddhism which is now current is hardly distinguishable from the general form of Hinduism. It has degenerated into ritualism, idolatry, and superficiality. There are signs of re-awakening that are greatly due to the religious missions from Arakan and Ceylon. Buddhism is becoming very popular through the efforts of the modern archaeologists, epigraphists and scholars. The world is now in a far better position to understand and appreciate the real place of Buddhism and its original contributions to Indian thought and Indian humanity. We now realize that 'Buddhism and Vedānta are the two main currents of Indian thought', or that 'the half of Indian thought is Buddhism, which is rational, critical, creative, directive and progressive'. We can clearly see that its general mission, like that of Christianity, was to fulfil the Law and not to destroy it. It took a hold against the caste-system and showed moral courage in driving superstition out of man's mind. It supplied an idealistic theory of art in the place of the earlier imitation or mechanical theory, and thereby served to make Indian and Asiatic art truly creative. It developed a rational theory of sensation, perception, and knowledge. The credit of founding the Mediaeval school of Indian Logic and developing epistemology as a distinct branch of Indian philosophy is due to the Buddhists. Buddhist thinkers contributed most to the development of Indian dialectics. The Brahmanists accepted many of the progressive thoughts and ideas of Buddhism with or without acknowledgment, although in point of fact, they went on in their own old ways as regards their social policy, art of polity and mode of thinking. In other words, the mere incorporation of the progressive trends of thought in their books did not come to mean absorption

especially when those ideas were neither given effect to nor acted upon in life. The strong or weak point of Buddhism is that it did not introduce or impose any new social code. Its mission was mainly educational or cultural. It is well contended that 'hopeless internal decay' does not account for the dwindling of its influence with the masses of India. Buddhism lost its foothold with the fall of the Mahāvihāras, many of which rose into the eminence of residential universities that were the main centres of cultural activity.

Spread of Buddhism in India—During the Buddha's lifetime his religion had not spread much beyond the confines of the modern provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces. Even up till the middle of the 3rd century B.C., it remained confined to the Middle Country of the Buddhists and the regions of Ujjenī and Mathurā.¹ It needed the practical idealism and proselytising zeal of an Emperor like Asoka backed by the entire machinery of Maurya administration for raising the religion of the Master to the status of an All-India faith and pushing it yet further beyond the limits of his vast empire. He fully realised the true spirit of rationality and human greatness and he found it clearly set forth in the teachings of the Buddha. His dedication to a humanised culture was an indirect service to Buddhism. His claim of Dhamma-vijaya was not after all an empty hoax.² Aśoka since his aggressive Kalinga war wholeheartedly devoted himself to the task of propagating the law of the Master within the four corners of his realm as well as outside. His Dharma-Mahāmātras were constantly kept busy in seeing that everywhere in the realm the

1. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 116 ff.

2. Otto Stein. on the significance of Asoka's Dhammavijaya, *Indian Culture*, IV, p. 299.

law of the Dharma was observed and that the individuals of the realm were following the ethical implications of the doctrine as he understood it. It was this monarch who gave to the religion a national as well as an international character. If we are to believe his inscriptions and later authorities like Hiuen Tsang, he spread the doctrine as far as Northern Bengal in the east, Nepal and Kashmir in the north, Gandhāra and Kāmboja in the north-west, Surāṣṭra in the west and Tāmraparṇi (Ceylon) in the south. He also claims to have sent his religious missionaries to distant foreign countries like Egypt and Syria in the west, and if tradition is to be believed, to Burma in the East.¹ It is difficult to say to what extent the Western Powers and peoples accepted the doctrine, but it is not improbable that some sort of impression was made in view of the fact that a century or two later we find in various places of Afghanistan flourishing centres of Buddhism and about the beginning of the Christian era we find Buddhism making its influence felt not only in Afghanistan but in ancient Iran and in the deserts of Central Asia as well.

Among the great figures in the missionary activities of Asoka, the names of Mahendra and Sanghamitrā are well-known. They took upon themselves the work of propagating the faith in Ceylon and Majjhantika-thera became an apostle of Gandhāra and Kashmir. Mahādeva, according to southern tradition, propagated the faith in Mysore; while according to northern tradition his field of activity was in Kashmir. The Sinhalese tradition mentions Rakkhita, Mahā-Rakkhita, Yavana-Dhamma-Rakkhita and Mahā-Dhamma-Rakkhita as well as Soṇa-Uttara, the last one is said to have propagated the faith in the land

1. See on this point D. R. Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, 2nd Ed., pp. 159 ff.

of Suvarṇabhūmi.¹ In the three centuries between the death of Asoka and the reign of Kaṇiṣka who was also a devout Buddhist, Buddhism steadily established itself almost everywhere in the north in spite of direct and indirect opposition by individuals or dynasties of kings; the Śuṅgas, for example, were not favourably disposed towards Buddhism. Tārānātha tells us that Puṣyamitra, the Brāhmaṇa king, who evidently is identical with Puṣyamitra the Śuṅga destroyed many monasteries from Madhyadeśa to Jālandhara and killed several monks. The Divyāvadāna would have us believe that Puṣyamitra wanted to abolish the law of the Buddha by destroying the famous Cock-monastery at Pāṭaliputra and killing monks in the country round Sāgala.² Another tradition records three persecutions of the faith between the times of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, but Buddhism withstood all these persecutions and even carried its messages in the four corners of the huge continent. It may have suffered some vicissitudes in the Madhyadeśa in the time of the Śuṅgas, but it flourished well in North-western India in the domain of the Bactrian Greeks; some of their chiefs and kings came to have Buddhist leanings and at least one of them King Milinda (Menander) became actually converted to the religion by the Thera Nāgasena. He came to be known to Buddhist tradition as Milinda whose name is preserved permanently in the Pali treatise named Milinda-Pañha. The Graeco-Buddhist school of art which flourished in Gandhāra region also shows unmistakable evidence of the spread of Buddhism and full knowledge and understanding of the religion in the north-western provinces of India between 200 B. C. and 200 A. D. The innumerable

1. Samanta-pāsādikā, Vol. 1, p. 66.; Mahāvamsa, Ch. XII; Kern. Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 117; Rapson, Cambridge History of India. I, p. 500.

2. JPTS, 1896, 87 ff.

stūpas and monasteries were founded, and masons and sculptors were kept busy in working out numberless establishments of the Buddhists and carving out numerous reliefs portraying the life of the Master and other anecdotes from the Jātakas. They show that not only these Graeco-Bactrians contributed at least partially to the origin of the Buddha image but also largely expanded the boundary of Buddhist iconography.¹ Even in the Madhyadeśa between 100 B.C. and 100 A. D., the religion flourished to such an extent that large Buddhist establishments at Bārhut and Sānchī were built up with the patronage of the nobility and the merchants. Numerous donations of pious believers are recorded in the inscriptions, and innumerable sculptured reliefs that we meet with on the railings of Bārhut and Sānchī establishments show that Buddhalogy came to be a subject that was widely known among the people. It was during this period also that dissensions were gradually making themselves felt within the Buddhist Church (Saṅgha). The number of sects were gradually on the increase and even before Kaṇiṣka the division of the Church into 18 sects came to resume their definite shape. "It is moreover probable that the ideas and tendencies, which led to the development of Mahayanism in the second century of the Christian era, were solely gaining ground already before the Council in the reign of Kaṇiṣka."

Kaṇiṣka introduced a new epoch in the history of Buddhism and came to play a role only next in importance to that played by Asoka and gave a very great impetus to the religion by establishing monasteries, patronising the church, and organising the Fourth Buddhist Council at Jālandhar. At his court lived the celebrated Buddhist erudites, Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna. Kaṇiṣka, who was

1. Les origines de l'Ecole du Gandhāra, 674 ff.

converted to Buddhism by his preceptor Aśvaghoṣa, was anxious, according to Hiuen Tsang, to make an end of the dissensions in the Church, and hence he convened the General Council, and if we are to believe the Tibetan tradition, he brought to a successful termination the dissensions that had been raging in the Saṅgha by bringing together 18 contending sects. But it would seem that the Council was not able to prevent the rise of new aspirations. Mahayanism, which was in an incipient state, began to thrive under Nāgārjuna and Aśvaghoṣa.

So when Fā-Hien in the 5th century A. D. visited India, he saw four philosophical schools of Buddhism, those of the Sautrāntikas, the Vaibhāshikas, the Yogācāras and the Mādhyamikas. The first two were Hīnayanists, while the latter two supported the tendencies of Mahāyāna.

In Fa-Hien's time both the schools were maintaining an even balance. At Mathurā he noticed both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna establishments and scholars. Also at Pāṭaliputra there were two monasteries one Hīnayanist and another Mahayanist. The celebrated Chinese traveller visited Nālandā, but does not state that he saw any university there. He found Buddhism very flourishing in Udyāna, Punjab, Mathurā and everywhere throughout the Prācyadeśa. At Śrāvastī, Sārnāth, Pāṭaliputra and similar other places, numerous inscriptions dating from Kaṇiṣka and ranging over a period of more than two centuries, together with innumerable sculptures and ruins of Buddhist establishments, show that the faith prospered to very great extent. Archaeological sources, together with literary accounts, those, for example, in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, prove that the religion was in a flourishing condition in Kabul, Kashmir, and north-western India. The epigraphic evidence together with sculptural and architectural remains from Karli, Nasik, Amarāvati, Jagayyapeta, Goli, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and other

places proves beyond doubt that the faith had many fervent devotees in western and southern India. The Ikṣvākus, one of the successors of the Śātavāhanas in the eastern Deccan, were great patrons of Buddhism¹. The celebrated Buddhaghosa and his teacher who are connected with the Pallava-Coḷa country are said to have flourished in the 4th century A.D. This region in South India seems to have in the 4th and 5th centuries played an important part in the expansion of Buddhism in Burma and Malaya. If palaeographic evidence is to be believed, the Pali Buddhism of Lower Burma was introduced from this very region².

Buddhist scholasticism had its palmy days in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. In the 7th century A.D. when Hiuen-Tsang visited India, the most important centre of Buddhist learning was at Nālandā containing hundreds of erudite scholars and thousands of eager students. The great patron of the faith in the 7th century was the celebrated Harṣavardhana who forcibly secured from Kashmere the tooth relics of the Buddha which he enshrined in a monastery built by him to the west of Kanauj. The famous seat of learning during his time was Nālandā and his gift to this University was a vihāra. According to Hiuen-Tsang Buddhism was in a very flourishing condition throughout the entire region from Taxila and further west to Puṇḍravardhana and Samatāta in the east and from Kashmir and Nepal to the Coḷa country in the south. Brahmanism and Jainism with their various sects were flourishing side by side with Buddhism, influencing and being influenced by contending sects and religions. In Kashmir and in the south the church was still powerful, though Śaivism was flourishing.

1. Vogel, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff; Vol. XXI, pp. 61 ff.

2. Blagden, *EI.*, Vol. XII, pp. 127-32; Finot, *IA.*, XX.

Roughly, from about the 8th century A.D. Tantrism began to make itself felt and it came gradually to influence Brahmanism as well as Buddhism. The germs of Tantrism may be traced even in the early scriptures of Buddhism. During the reign of the Pālas Tantrism came deeply to influence the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. Śrāvākism or Hīnayānism was more or less driven from the mainland of India and had taken shelter in Ceylon. Within the Mahāyāna church Tantrism steadily played a great part and established the Yogācarins and developed schools that came later on to be known as Kālacakrayāna, Mantrayāna, Sahajayāna and Vajrayāna. With these schools are associated the celebrated Buddhist scholastic establishments at Vikramaśilā, Uḍḍiyāna and Odantapuri. The kings of the Pāla dynasty proved to be great patrons of the faith. The Senas who followed the Pālas in the dominion over eastern India belonged to Brahmanism, but were not hostile to the faith. Buddhism was on its decline and the final blow was dealt partly by Brahmanism which was fast gaining its lost ground, and greatly by the Muslim conquest under Bakhtiyar and his son. The monasteries of Odantapuri and Vikramaśilā were destroyed and hundreds of monks were killed and thousands fled to neighbouring countries with their manuscripts and sacred relics of the religion to Nepal, Tibet, Burma and Kamboja. Some also went to other provinces of India, to Orissa and South India. Buddhist emigrants from Magadha founded scholastic establishments on a modest scale in Kalinga and Konkan, where Buddhism remained in a flourishing condition for some time to come. In Kashmir Buddhism persisted till about the middle of the 14th century A.D., when Islam became predominant there. In Orissa it persisted till about the middle of the 16th century. Within the four boundaries of India it is only in Nepal and Tibet that Buddhism persists

till to-day, though in a propoundly modified form. Nepal is the storehouse of mediaeval Buddhist literature, and the country has innumerable stūpas and other sanctuaries. Tibet till to-day is wholly Buddhistic, but the Tibetans know nothing about the original form of Buddhism and their religion is almost akin to Tantrism.¹

So far as India is concerned, it is a lost ground to Buddhism. It lingers as the ancestral faith of some people who live in Assam, Chittagong, East Bengal, Darjeeling, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Simla, and in the areas along the lower spurs of the eastern Himalayas. They appear as descendants of the Shans (Thais) of Upper Burma, the Arakanese, the Tibeto-Burmans and the Tibetans. The Baruas of Chittagong alone are the people who adhere to Hindu customs and usages and who are racially allied to the Baruas of Assam.

Outside India—In his Rock Edict XIII. Aśoka declares that the “conquest of the Law of Piety.....has been won by His Sacred Majesty among all his neighbours (frontier peoples) as far as six hundred leagues, were the king of Greeks named Antiochus dwells, and to the north of that Antiochus (where dwell) the four kings severally Turamayo (Ptolemy), Amtikini (Antigonos), Maka (Magas) and Alikasudaro (Alexander).....likewise in the south, the Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas as far as Tambapaṇṇi....Even where the envoys of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate, those people, too, hearing His Sacred Majesty’s ordinance based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in that Law, practise and will practise that Law².

1. For a general study of the history of Buddhist expansion in India, see Kern H.—Manual of Indian Buddhism; Thomas, E.J.—The Life of Buddha as Legend and History; Watters, Th.—On Yuan Chwang, 2 vols; Takakusu, J.—I-tsing: Records of the Buddhist Religion; Legge—Travels of Fa-Hien.

2. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Ed. by Hultzsch, Vol. I; R. K. Mookerjee Asoka, pp. 165 ff.

So far as the recorded history goes Aśoka became the pioneer of the great movement of Buddhist expansion outside India. The work that Asoka began was kept on by a continuous band of missionaries, members of royal blood nobles, traders, adventurers and colonists, some prompted by the noblest of ideals, some acting as carriers and others, profoundly learned, interpreting the faith they professed.

The extract quoted above from Rock Edict XIII shows that Aśoka's first and important drive towards the expansion of the religion was more to the north, west and south than towards the east. Even the account of Aśoka's missionary efforts as given in the Ceylonese chronicles, the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*,¹ does not fail to mention the Yona country where the celebrated missionary Mahārakkhita helped to propagate Buddhism. Outside India the three regions that received the faith through the proselytising efforts of Aśoka were, according to the Aśok's Edicts and the Ceylonese chronicles, Western Asia, Ceylon and Burma. Buddhism in Western Asia had not a very long lease of life owing to the fact that Western Asia continued for centuries to be a battle-ground of conflicting races and peoples as also to the growing tide of Zoroastrianism.

Western Asia—The epigraphic mention of the mission of Aśoka to the Yona countries as well as the accounts of the same in *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* have long been treated with undeserved cynicism, Prof. Rhys Davids used to regard them as mere "royal rhodomontade", and he was of opinion that "no emissaries had been actually sent" to these countries at all². But Geiger³ and others⁴ have fully proved the trustworthiness of the accounts as contained in the Ceylonese

1. *Dīpavamsa*, viii, 8. 1-13; *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. 12, v. 5.

2. *Buddhist India*, p. 298.

3. *Mahāvamsa*, English Tr., Introduction, p. xix.

4. *Asoka*, p. 77; V.A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., 196.

chronicles and have further proved that the Asokan inscriptions and the Ceylonese chronicles corroborate each other and some items in the accounts are confirmed by external sources as well. Even Sir Flanders Petri thinks from evidences of Indian figures found at Memphis that in the Ptolemaic period Buddhism and Buddhist festivals had already reached Egypt.

The most important information as regards Buddhism in ancient Iran and the adjoining countries is supplied by Hiuen Tsang. The great Chinese pilgrim did not probably visit Persia (Po-la-see), but he was aware of the fact that Lan-Kie (ka)-lo, a country subject to Persia, contained more than one hundred Saṅghārāmas and more than 6000 monks who used to study Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.

At least one evidence of a Parthian prince having become a Buddhist Śramaṇa before A. D. 148 is preserved in Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, App. II, No. 4. From a painting of a four-armed figure of Bodhisattva in the guise of a Persian with black beard and whiskers with a *vajra* in his left hand and found at Dandān-Uiliq in Turkistan,¹ Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri thinks that "such figures are undoubtedly the products of a type of Buddhism which must have developed in Iran." The same scholar also points out the surprising similarity between some Jātaka stories and some of the stories in the Arabian Nights.²

The celebrated Arabic scholar, Alberuni, writing in the eleventh century A.D., says, "In former times Khurāsān, Persis, Irak, Mosul, the country up to the frontiers of Syria were Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Ādharbaijān and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra). His doctrine came into favour with king Gushtasp, and his son

1. Smith, History of Fine Arts in India & Ceylon, p. 310.

2. Political History of Ancient India, 5th Ed., pp. 616-617,

Isfendiyad spread the new faith both in the east and the west....The succeeding kings made their religion the obligatory state religion for Persia and Irak. In consequence the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh....Then came Islam". Prof Ray Chaudhury points out the incorrectness of the above account in certain particulars. He correctly argues that the prevalence of the religion of Śākyamuni in parts of Western Asia in a period considerably anterior to Alberuni and its suppression by Zoroastrianism and Islam, may well be based upon fact. The antagonism of Buddhism to the fire-cult is hinted at in the Bhuridatta Jātaka. It has been suggested by Eliot (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, p. 450) that Zoroastrian scriptures according to some allude to disputes with the Buddhists.¹

Afghanisthan—Buddhist expansion in the regions now included in Afghanistan owes its initiative to the missionary activities of Aśoka. In his inscriptions he claimed to have sent his Dharma-mahāmātras amongst the Gandhāras, the Yavanas and the Kāmbojas. The Ceylonese chronicles which supplement the Asokan inscriptions in this respect show that the Thera Majjhantika was instrumental in preaching Buddhism in Kashmir and Gandhāra. But one cannot be certain if the missionary efforts of Aśoka and of the Buddhist Saṅgha were further extended to the line of the Hindukush.

The Indo-Scythian and Kushan periods saw Buddhism penetrating into the highlands to the west of the Indus as well as Central and Eastern Asia, and it was only natural that the regions now included in Afghanistan

1. For a further study vide Raychaudhuri, H. C.—*Political History of Ancient India*, 5th Ed, 615 ; Sachau, E. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I ; Beal, S.—*Records of the Western World*, II ; Raychaudhuri, H. C.—"Buddhism in Western Asia" in *Buddhist Studies* (Ed. by B. C. Law), pp. 636 ff.

played their role as one of the most important intermediaries in the diffusion of Buddhist religion and culture, for geographically this region was the meeting ground of Eastern and Western cultures from very early times. Instances of this remarkable cultural blend can be seen on the coins of Scytho-Parthian and Kushan kings and no less in the productions of the Graeco-Buddhist school of Art. The first and the most important representative of the Yue-chi tribe to fall under the spell of Buddhism was Kaṇiṣka who distinguished himself as much by his patronage extended to Buddhist scholars like Vasumitra, Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna as by his munificence in the construction of Buddhist monuments. Repeated French Archaeological missions have unearthed from various sites in the Afghan country many ruins of Buddhist stūpas that have yielded a large number of inscriptions on relic caskets and earthen jars preserving the names of pious donors of Buddhist foundations, not a few of whom were by nationality Scythians, Greeks and Bactrians and men of other non-Indian nationalities. One of the most important discoveries is the well-known Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts of the Dhammapada¹ and another of a canonical citation in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription from the Kurram Valley.² All these prove that Buddhist canonical literature perhaps of the Sarvāstivādin school was well-known in these regions.

But the most important evidence of the expansion of Buddhism of the tableland to the west of the Indus is the ruins of Buddhist monuments unearthed by the repeated efforts of the French Archaeological missions in the plains of Jalalabad, at Hadda five miles south of Jalalabad, in the valley of Kapisha, and other places in Afghanistan. In all these places ruins of stūpas and

1. Senart's *Prakrit Dhammapada* by Barua & Mitra

2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, New Series, Vol. 11, p, 155.

monasteries lie scattered in extraordinary profusion. At Hadda numbers of ruined monuments contain fine sculptures of the Gandhāra school. Remains of Buddhist city have been traced on the site of three vast amphitheatres in the Kohistan of Kabul. The ruins of the famous monastery built by the Chinese hostages of Kaṇiṣka and other monasteries and stūpas mentioned by Hiuen Tsang have been discovered in the valley of Kapisha. Abul Fazal writing towards the end of the 17th century estimated the number of rock-cut caves at 12000 and drew an admiring estimate of these wonderful monuments.

In the 5th century A.D., when Fā-Hien visited India, Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in Gandhāra which had a large number of Buddhist establishments. But in the latter part of the 5th and early part of the 6th centuries, the religion suffered a great catastrophe owing to the persecution of the Hūns who had no respect for Buddhism. The well-known Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun (1st quarter of the 6th century) draws a vivid picture of the destructive fury of the Hūns in Gandhāra and of lack of faith in the religion that prevailed in Bamian, Shen-si (Kafiristan) and other places. The beginning of the 7th century A.D. saw the Turks, according to the evidence of Hiuen Tsang, in possession of the entire tract of country from the Karakorum to Persia and from the defile of the iron gates to the Hindukush. Buddhism found in these Turks world champions of its cause. Shi-hu-Kagan, one of the most important chiefs gave a warm welcome to the Buddhist monk Prabhākaramitra and his companions on their way to China in 626 A.D. and 4 years later to Hiuen Tsang. Hiuen Tsang and his brothers in faith who followed him bear eloquent testimony to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in these regions. Balkh boasted of having been a great centre of Buddhist learning and contained

hundred monasteries including the Nava Vihāra and 3000 monks. Bamian contained a large number of Buddhist monasteries with several thousand monks of the Lokottaravadin School and the king of Bamian in the time of Harṣavardhana was a devout Buddhist. So also was the king of Kapisha who boasted of more than 100 monasteries and 6000 brethren, chiefly Mahayanists. Lampaka had more than ten monasteries tenanted mostly by Mahayana monks.¹ Even the Turkish king of the country round Hupian was a jealous follower of Buddha.

I-tsing who visited India towards the last quarter of the 7th century A. D. furnishes us with the biographical accounts of over forty missionaries.² From this we learn that a native of the Kang country (Samarkand) came to India in the 7th century and made a pilgrimage to the Mahābodhi. The people of Tokharistan built at a certain place in Eastern India a temple for the accommodation of pilgrims from their own country. At Mahābodhi a temple of the country of Kapisha was built to accommodate pilgrims from the North. There was also another establishment at Mahābodhi built by certain merchants of the Jaguḍa country for the convenience of pilgrims from that country. All these go to show that Buddhists of Western and North-Western regions maintained more or less direct relations with Eastern India, at least in about 6th and 7th centuries.³

Central Asia—Central Asia⁴ roughly covers the

1. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, 1, pp. 181 ff.

2. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen Tsang*, Intro., pp. xxvii ff.

3. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Afghanistan, see Ghosal, U. N. —*India and Afghanistan*, *Greater India Society Bulletin* Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III.

4. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Central Asia, see Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III; *Chakravarti-India and Central Asia*, *Greater India Society Bulletin*; Stein-*Serindia*; *Ruins of Desert Cathay*; *Innermost Asia*; *Ancient Khotan*.

region that is popularly known as the Chinese Turkestan. It covers an area of 1500 miles from east to west. Most of this huge area is barren tract and sites for human habitation are very limited, the greater part being filled up by the Talamakan and the Lop deserts. But it was this barren tract which was the meeting place for centuries of the currents and cross-currents of various sculptures, religions, languages, trades and conquests, uniting the west-Asiatic countries with the far-east on the one hand and India on the other. Various lines of communication through the Oxus valley comprising the ancient Sogdiana and Bactria and joining the Tarim Basin served as highways of cultural and commercial relations.

The chiefs of the Oases in this barren tract were Kashgar in the west, Kucha, Karashahr, Turfan and Hami lying successively to the north-east and Yarkand, Khotan and Miran to the south-east. The earliest introduction of Buddhism is said to have taken place in Kashgar in about the 2nd century A. D. But little is heard of this region until Fa-Hien visited it in 400 A. D. Fa-Hien refers to the quinquennial religious ceremonies held by the king, relics of the Buddha and a monastery containing about one thousand monks, all students of the Hīnayāna. But the most interesting account of Kashgar as to the prevalence of Buddhism is left by Hiuen Tsang which he visited on his way back home. The inhabitants of this region were all sincere Buddhists and there were many monks of the Sarvāstivādin School. On his return journey he also visited Yarkand and Khotan. He gives a detailed description of the differences in character, languages, scripts and customs of the people. Buddhism was a flourishing religion everywhere; there were numerous monasteries and hundreds of monks, who were mostly followers of the Sarvāstivāda School. But in Yarkand and Khotan there were also

followers of Mahāyāna. The scripts were mostly Indian, but the language of Yarkand and Kashgar differed from that of Khotan. In Tokhāra, roughly equivalent to Badakshan, the traces of Buddhism were seen by the pilgrim, so also in Samarkand, where there were two disused monasteries.

Between Kashgar and Turfan lay the town of Kucha, which was a flourishing city already in the 2nd century B.C. Kucha lives in the history of Buddhism as the place that nurtured the celebrated Buddhist monk Kumārajīva, who was taken captive by Fu-Chien, king of the Tsin dynasty in 383 A. D. and went to China along with the king to become a pillar of the faith in the country. In his youth he was a student in Kipin who on his return to Kucha was converted to Mahayanism and subsequently distinguished himself in China as a translator of important Buddhist works. That Kucha became a centre of Mahayanism is also attested by the monk Dharmagupta who in about 584 A.D. passed through Kucha. Hiuen Tsang who visited the place in about 630 A.D. saw Buddhism in a flourishing condition in the city. He refers to the many monasteries and the large images of the Buddha, to religious processions and ceremonies and says that the monks who numbered more than 5000, all followed the Sarvāstivāda and the "Gradual teaching." The monks were strict "according to their rights" and the monasteries were centres of learning. Even in the time of Wu-Kung who visited the city in 788 A.D. Buddhism was still flourishing.

The most important Buddhist settlement was Turfan that contains the ruins of several cities belonging perhaps to different periods. Extensive literary and archaeological remains have been unearthed from the ruins of Turfan. Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit, Chinese and various Iranian and Turkish idioms have come to light. Already

in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. we find chieftains of the region acting as patrons of Buddhist literature and religion which in the later centuries came to flourish along with Manichaeism and Nestorianism. In the 9th century A.D. there was a massacre of Buddhist priests. Even in 1420 the people of Turfan were Buddhists.

Fa-Hien who visited Khotan in 400 A.D. states that there were innumerable monks mostly followers of the Mahāyāna and the homes of the people were each provided with a small stūpa in front of the door. He himself lived in a monastery having 3000 monks and mentions a new magnificent establishment called the king's new monastery.

Buddhism in Khotan lived side by side with Zoroastrianism. In 644 A.D. Hiuen Tsang visited Khotan on his return journey. Khotan maintained diplomatic relations with China.

Sir Aurel Stein investigated two sites near about lake Lobnor, which must have been once flourishing Buddhist establishments. They have yielded a large number of Tibetan documents and fine specimens of Gandhāra arts and Prakrit manuscripts written in Kharoṣṭhī characters. He also discovered the remains of big library at Tun-Huang datable apparently in the Tan period and containing some Sanskrit Buddhist literature and numerous manuscripts, Sogdian, Turkish and Tibetan.

Explorations of the different sites in Central Asia began as early as the last quarter of the 19th century and have been continued by Russian, German, French and British-Indian Archaeological missions. The repeated hard toils and untiring energies of these explorers and their associates have furnished the students of early eastern civilisation with rich materials interesting from every point of view. Numberless manuscripts have been discovered,

written in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Sogdian, Manacchian, Turkish, Vigir, Tibetan, Chinese and the forgotten languages of Khotanese and Tochanian as well as in undeciphered scripts. Numberless specimens of arts, pictorial and plastic, mostly Buddhistic, have been recovered and thousands of other articles of archaeological and ethnological importance have been unearthed. They marked Central Asia as the meeting ground of Hellenistic, Indian, Persian and Chinese currents of civilisation in which Buddhism played a dominant role. It is now well-known that China received her Buddhist art not directly from India but from Chinese Turkestan and Khotan. From China the same form of art passed to Japan through Korea. Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts, originals of which are lost in India, have been found in Central Asia, either in the original or in Chinese, Tibetan, Tochavian or Khotanese. The deserts of Central Asia have also given us documents written in scripts unknown to India. They are as follows: the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the Prakrit Dharmapada, the Śāriputra-prakaraṇa and the Saundarananda-Kāvya of Aśvaghoṣa,¹ the manuscript of the Sanskrit Udānavarga,² those of the Bhikṣu and Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa of the Sarvāstivādins and similar other Buddhist documents.

That China³ (Cīnaraṭṭha) was known to the early Buddhists is evident from the Apadāna, a Pali canonical

1. First edited by Mm. H. P. Shāstrī and later edited by E. H. Johnstone; translated into Bengali for the first time by B.C. Law and later translated into English by E.H. Johnstone.

2. 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. This text has been translated from the Tibetan Bkagyhur with notes and extracts from the commentary of Prajñāvarman by W. W. Rockhill, London, 1893.

3. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in China, see Bagchi, India and China, Greater India Society Bulletin; Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III; Nanjio, Catalogue of Chinese Tripiṭaka; J. Edkins, Chinese Buddhism.

work. (Apadāna, p.2). Tradition has it that Buddhism was introduced into China by the missionaries of Aśoka in about 218 B. C. Another tradition ascribes the introduction of the religion to the end of the 2nd century B. C. But more substantial and trustworthy story of the introduction of the religion is to be found in another set of traditions which ascribe to King Ming-Ti of the Han dynasty the credit of having sent two ambassadors in search of the followers of the Buddha. The two ambassadors are said to have returned to the Chinese capital with two Indian monks, Kāsyapa Mātāṅga and Dharmaratna who translated the Buddhist texts into Chinese. But even before the days of the arrival of these two monks (68 A. D.) Buddhism had already found its hold in China. For it was towards the close of the first century B. C. that the Buddhist text was brought from the Indo-Scythian court by a Chinese ambassador named Tsiang King. Besides, in the middle of the 1st century A. D. we hear of the existence of Buddhist monks and laymen in the court of a prince in the Imperial family ruling in the valley of Yuan-tsi-Kiang. The earliest epigraphic evidence of the Chinese Theras' visit to India is furnished by one of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions that date from 2nd or 3rd century A. D. (EI., Vol. XX, 22.)

A knowledge of the different routes that linked up India with China is essential for the understanding of the account of Buddhist expansion in China. Equally important is the knowledge of the peoples and places that lay along these routes and as such played an important part in the transmission of the religion from India to China. There were at least two principal routes through Eastern Turkestan. These routes started from Touen Hoang in the province of Kan Son on passing through the gate of Yu-men-Koan towards north-west and the other through Yang-Koan directly westward. Touen-Hoang, already an important centre of

Buddhism in the 3rd century A.D. with its numerous temples, caves and monasteries, did much for the diffusion of Buddhist culture into China.

In the 7th century Hiuen Tsang followed the northern route on his way to India, but on his return journey he followed the southern route.

Another route of communication existed from very early times through Assam and Upper Burma, though the difficulty of the route did not encourage travellers and adventurers very much, and it was thus resorted to only by the barbarians of the south-western province of China.

Lastly, a third land-route of communication between China and India was opened in the beginning of the 7th century A. D. through Tibet. The First Buddhist pilgrim who seems to have travelled to China by this route was a famous monk of Nālandā, named Prabhākaramitra. Towards the end of the 10th century, a Chinese monk, named Ki-Ye, also seems to have followed this route on his way back to China. Regular relation between China and Tibet was maintained along this route in the 13th century.

The sea-route was also equally important. We have historical evidence of the existence of a sea-route along the south-eastern coast lines in the Indian Ocean through further India and Insul-India, when the Hindu settlers reached the country of Indo-China. According to Chinese records the kingdom of Founan was Hinduised by a Brahmin, named Kuṇḍinya in the first century A. D. The Indian colony of Champā is unanimously placed in the 2nd century A. D. It was this sea-route that was followed by the celebrated Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hien and I-tsing. Since the time of the great T'ang Dynasty the commercial and cultural relation of China with India lay along this sea-route.

The most important peoples that played significant roles along the route through Central Asia were the Yueh

—Chis, the Indo-Scythians, the Parthians, the Sogdians, the Kucheans and the Khotanese. Tibet also played well as an intermediary of the transmission of Buddhism to China, but the countries that lay along the sea-route, namely, Kambodia, Campā, Java and Sumatra, were no less responsible for the spread of Buddhism in China.

The Indo-Scythians were probably greatly responsible for the foundation of Buddhism in China. It was towards the end of the 1st century B.C. that China received the first Buddhist text from a Yue-chi prince and it was probably the first direct knowledge of Buddhism that China received. The Scythian conquest of North-western India and the foundation of an empire extending from the Punjab to the valley of the Oxus greatly helped the infiltration of the Buddhist religion and literature in Khotan in the South, and Kucha and other kingdoms in the North. According to Chinese tradition the first India missionaries, Kāśyapa Mātanga and Dharmaratna, who went to China in 68 A.D., were found in the country of the Indo-Scythians. They carried with them Buddhist texts which were but brief expositions of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. From this time onwards Buddhist missionaries, mostly Indo-Scythians by nationality, continued to pour into China. Lokachema, a learned Buddhist monk, came to Ho-nang-fu in 147 A.D., and translated some of the most important texts of the Mahāyāna Canon into Chinese. Towards the end of the same century and till the middle of the next, one of his disciples, also an Indo-Scythian, named Tche-Kien translated over 100 Buddhist texts, a large number of which are still extant. In the 3rd century the most important Indo-Scythian scholar was Dharmarakṣa, who knew not less than 36 different languages and had a direct knowledge of Buddhism. He translated more than 200 Sanskrit texts into Chinese, of which 90 still exist. He also organised

a translation school where the Chinese, Indo-Scythians and Indians worked in close collaboration for the propagation of Buddhism in China.

After the Indo-Scythians came the Parthians who continued the work of their predecessors. Ngan-che-kao or Lokottama the Parthian, scion of a Royal family and a Buddhist monk, translated into Chinese more than one hundred Buddhist texts, of which 55 are still extant and founded a school of translators. Another Parthian named Nagan-Hiuan, formerly a merchant and royal officer, also translated some important Buddhist texts.

After the Parthians the mission of the spread of Buddhism passed on to the Sogdians. Numerous traces of Sogdian translations of Buddhist texts have been discovered in Central Asia. For several hundreds of years the Sogdian monks lived in the Buddhist monasteries of China along with their Chinese brethren. Among the great Sogdian personalities, who have left their stamp on Chinese Buddhist Canon, we hear of such name as that of Kang-Sing-Honei.

From the end of 4th century A.D. Kucha takes a leading part in the interpretation of Indian Buddhism to the Chinese and the most celebrated name we meet with in this connection is that of Kumārajīva who was brought to China by General Li-Kning. Kumārajīva was the first to introduce Mahāyāna into China and translated some of the most important treatises of Mahāyāna, namely the Sūtrālamkāra Śāstra of Aśvaghoṣa, the Daśabhūmivibhāṣā Śāstra of Nāgārjuna, the Śataśāstra of Vasubandhu, the Satyasiddhi Śāstra of Harivarman and the Brahmapāla Sūtra, a Mahāyāna Vinaya work. Altogether 98 works are attributed to him. Besides Kumārajīva we hear of a host of Kuchean monks who contributed much to the work of translation.

Khotan also played an important part in the spread of Buddhism in China. It came into direct contact with China as early as the 2nd century B.C., but it was not till the middle of the 3rd century A.D. that we hear of Sino-Khotanese collaboration in the work of Buddhist expansion. In the year 259 A.D. a Chinese monk named Tchou-She-hing, came to Khotan for the study of Buddhism. He compiled a catalogue of Buddhist texts translated into Chinese and sent a collection of sacred texts to China through his disciple Fou-Jin-Tan. In 291 A.D. another Khotanese monk named Won-Lo-Tcho came to China and translated the famous Mahāyāna text *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Parajñāpāramitā*. In the beginning of the 5th century A.D. a Chinese prince came to Khotan and studied Mahāyāna under an Indian teacher, named Buddhasena. Khotan became in the 5th century such an important centre of Mahayanism that Dharmakṣema, an Indian monk, came from Kashmir to Khotan to study Mahāyāna. Later he went to China and undertook the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* into Chinese.

Buddhism was already on the decline in China owing to the persecution of the Taoists. After various changes of fortune and measures of disputation with the Taoists in religious conferences Buddhism found its position established with Kublai Khan as the head of the Buddhist Church. The Buddhist activities in China and Mongolia were carried on by Tibetan monks. Many Buddhist texts including the *Mūla Sarvāstivāda* were translated into Chinese under the patronage of Kublai Khan. A comparative catalogue of the Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist Canon was compiled by a committee composed of the Chinese, Tibetan and Indian monks. Several editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka were prepared, and some popular Chinese Buddhist texts were translated into Tibetan.

It is needless to say that the most glorious period in the history of Chinese Buddhism was that of the great T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.). During this period some Indian scholars came to China and worked in collaboration with their Chinese brethren. It was also in this period that some well known Chinese Buddhist monks like Hiuen Tsang, I-tsing, Wuk'ung, Song-Yun, came to India to study Indian Buddhism. Many translations were made from Buddhist literature into Chinese, and some Buddhist schools were founded by Chinese teachers who were inspired by the different systems of Buddhist philosophy. Buddhism also exercised a great influence on the secular life of the Chinese, and it was through Buddhism that India gave to China her ideas, models and designs in art, literature and language. But after the tenth century the pure form of Buddhism of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools became almost extinct and came gradually to be overshadowed by Tantrism and later on by Lamaism. The Chinese Tripiṭaka is a monument of Sino-Indian collaboration. It preserves the complete canon of eight different schools of Buddhism and also some Brahmanical works on lexicography and Buddhist monuments of China and magnificent Buddhist sculptures and paintings.

Tibet—Tibet¹ played no such important part in the history of Buddhism until the middle of the 7th century A.D., when the reigning king Srong-tsangam-Po married two princesses, one Chinese and another Nepalese who introduced Buddhism into Tibet. Through these queens Buddhism found a hold in the country. Srong invited Padmasambhava of Udyāna (Uḍḍiyāna?) and also the celebrated scholar Śāntarakṣita to Tibet. Padmasambhava

1. For a systematic study vide Waddel, Buddhism of Tibet ; J. R. A. S. 1903; J. A. O. S. 1918; Journal of the Buddhist Text society 1893 ; J. A. S. B. 1889; Rockhill, Life of the Buddha; Eliot, Hinduism & Buddhism, vol. III., 345 ff.

became the founder of Lamaism in Tibet. The monastery of Sam-ye became a famous centre of Buddhist learning, where monks from different parts of India assembled and translated Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Tibetan. The 9th and 10th centuries saw a decline, but the religion was again revived in the 11th century. It was at this time that the famous Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna appeared in Tibet and with him began a glorious chapter of Buddhism. After the disintegration of Buddhism in India following the Muslim conquest of Bengal and Bihar, Indian Buddhist monks and scholars fled to Tibet and Nepal along with the treasures of learning and religion, and from the 12th century onwards these two countries became the centres and repositories of Indian Buddhism. From there they began to enrich and influence the religion in China and Central Asia till the advent of the Mongolian power in the 13th century.

Fü-nan or ancient Cambodia also played its part in the work of transmission of Buddhism to China. In the 5th century A.D. the Cambodian king Kaundinya Jayavarman is said to have sent an Indian monk Nāgasena to the Chinese Court. Shortly after two other monks of Fü-nan, named Mandrasena and Saṅghabharat, went to China and translated a number of Buddhist texts into Chinese. Campā, however, was not destined to play the same important part, though we know that when this country was invaded by the Chinese General, the then reigning king was thoroughly defeated and the Chinese returned with a rich booty among which there were 1350 Buddhist works, all written in Cham alphabet. From the 7th century at least for about 600 years, the empire of Śrīvijaya (Java and Sumatra) was a great centre of Buddhist learning and activity. The country was visited by several Buddhist celebrities, namely, I-Tsing in the 7th century, Vajrabodhi in

the 8th, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāṇa in the 11th, and Chao Ju-kua in the 13th.

Korea—Korea¹ has its importance in the history of Buddhist expansion from the fact that it was from Korea that Buddhism first entered Japan and the earliest extant edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka known only by a single copy was preserved in Korea and thence taken to Japan. Buddhism entered Korea as early as the last half of the 4th century A. D. In the middle of the 6th century Korea fell out with Japan, and anxious to have an alliance with the Emperor of Japan, sent him presents which included Buddhist texts and images. Korea maintained friendly intercourse with the Tang Dynasty in China and was greatly influenced by Chinese Buddhist culture. In the 7th century the capital of Silla came to be a centre of Buddhist culture and trade. Merchants and missionaries from India and Tibet visited Korea and the Korean pilgrims made journeys to India. From the 10th to the 14th century under the patronage of the Wang and Yuan dynasties Buddhism flourished but in the domain of scholarship and learning it was more or less sterile. Magnificent monasteries were founded and the religion received state patronage in various ways. Towards the end of the 14th century, however, the reigning dynasty was overthrown by a revolution which was mainly due to a section of the nobility that came to be attached to confucianism. In the 15th century restrictive measures, sometimes amounting to persecution, were taken against Buddhism. Buddhist statues were broken or melted down and Buddhist learning was forbidden. Towards the end of the 16th century, Korea successfully withstood a Japanese attack but Buddhism does not seem to have been very much favoured in the succeeding centuries. Since the annexation

1. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Korea, see Eliot-Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III.

by Japan in 1910 conditions have changed and the religion is being encouraged.

Japan—Japan¹ received the doctrine of the Buddha from China through Korea in about the middle of the 6th century A. D.; but there are many points of difference between Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Buddhism in Japan had always an intimate connection with social, political and even military matters of the country and from the 7th century until the Meiji era all Shinto shrines with a few exceptions were according to an agreement handed over to the custody of the Buddhist priests.

Among the undernoted twelve sects of Japanese Buddhists the first eight called by the Japanese *Hasshū* are all imported from China and represent the Buddhism of the Nara and Hei-an periods. The rest are later than 1170 A. D. and were "all remodelled, if not created, in Japan".

The twelve sects are as follows :—

1. Kusha	7. Tendai
2. Jo-jitsu	8. Shingon
3. Ritsu-Shu or Risshu	9. Jodo
4. Sanron	10. Zen
5. Hosso	11. Shin
6. Kegon	12. Nichiren

All Japanese sects of importance are Mahayanists. The Hīnayāna is represented only by the Kusha, Jo-jitsu and Risshu. The first two are extinct and the third still has a few adherents but it is not anti-Mahayanist. It merely insists on the importance of discipline.

Of the above twelve sects, the Tendai and Shingon, for 700 years from the 9th century, played a very great part in the history of Japanese art and literature as well as in

1. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Japan, see Eliot-Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III; E. S. Oberlin, Buddhist Sects of Japan: Their History, philosophical doctrines and sanctuaries.

political and cultural affairs. The culture of the Fujiwara period was almost entirely their contribution. Of the four remodelled sects, the Jodo and Shin-Shū are Amidists, i.e., those who have absolute faith in the mercy of Amida. The Nichiren sect is purely Japanese, which dislikes Amidism and protests against an attempt to restore the historical Buddha to his proper position. Zen is the Japanese equivalent of Chinese Ch'an and is the name given to the sect founded in China by Bodhidharma. It is said to have been introduced into Japan in the 7th century, but died out till it was later revived under the patronage of the Hojo-Regents and specially during the Ashikaga period. Zen monks profoundly influenced the art and literature of Japan.

Ceylon—Ceylon¹ along with Burma and Siam is one of the three countries which still adheres to Theravāda Buddhism. According to tradition Ceylon was colonised by a Kshatriya prince named Vijayasingha belonging to Lālha (Rāḍha) in India but the introduction of Buddhism did not take place earlier than the reign of Aśoka, when the king of Ceylon sought the friendship of the great Emperor and sent an embassy to him with presents. King Aśoka sent two representatives of his own family, Thera Mahinda and Therī Saṅghamittā, to Ceylon to propagate the religion there. The reigning king of Ceylon, Devānampiya Tissa, accorded them a cordial reception and became a patron of the religion, and thus the religion gained a foothold in the island, according to tradition. Even within the life-time of the two vanguards, hundreds of men and women sought refuge in the religion and the religion

1. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Ceylon see Dīpavamsa, Oldenberg Ed.; Mahāvamsa Ed. Geiger; Mahāvamsa Commentary, 2 Vols. (PTS) Ed. by Malalasekera; De Silva, "History of Buddhism in Ceylon" (in Buddhist Studies Ed. by B. C. Law); Eliot-Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III; Geiger-"A short History of Ceylon" (in Buddhist Studies Ed. by B. C. Law); Law, On the chronicles of Ceylon, Monograph of the R. A. S. B. no 2.

was well-established. Monasteries, stūpas and other Buddhist establishments came to be founded, hundreds became Bhikṣus and Bhikṣuṇīs receiving support from the laity, and studies in the three Piṭakas commenced in right earnest. After the death of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā the hierarchy of the disciples was continued in pupillary succession. In the 2nd century B. C. King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi gave an incentive to the religion and during the two centuries that followed Buddhism became almost the sole channel through which the social and cultural development of the island followed. The religion of the Ceylonese people during this period came to be purely and entirely Buddhist, and traditions as recorded in the chronicles of the island indicate much practical activity in religious affairs, both in endowment and maintenance of religious institutions and the practice of religious principles. Towards the beginning of the 1st century B. C. during the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, two important events that concerned the Buddhist religion took place; the first was the committing of the Buddhist teachings into writing and secondly the introduction for the first time of a schism in the Buddhist church of the island. The order of monks at Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura held a convocation and under the patronage of the King appointed scribes to commit into writing the teachings of the religion,

The schism that occurred in the Church of Ceylon in about the 1st century A. D. was due to the infringement of certain rules of monastic discipline. Outside the precincts of the established church there was another Vihāra known as Abhayagiri where the dissentient monks had taken up their abode. They were later on joined by the disciples of Dhammaruci Ācārya. They adopted the Vaitulya-piṭaka and proclaimed it to be the teaching of the Buddha. For centuries the Mahavihāra monks carried on successfully under the patronage of the reigning kings a long struggle

against the Vaitulya fraternities of the Abhayagiri vihāra. But intercourse with India during all these centuries was so frequent that from time to time non-orthodox doctrines and their followers occasionally found their way to Ceylon and were favoured by certain classes of monks. But these had no marked effect on the general progress or the stability of the orthodox church.

In about the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. an ascetic of the Vajraparvata Nikāya clad in the robes of a Buddhist monk came to Ceylon obviously from the mainland of India and converted the reigning king into his secret doctrine. To-day it is difficult to find any books of either the Vaitulya piṭaka or any other heterodox teachings. But the ruins of Anurādhapura and archaeological explorations on other sites in Ceylon have yielded not only inscriptions but also images that are definitely not only Mahayanistic but also Tantric.

To resume the story of the orthodox church one must refer to the activities of the great Thera Buddhaghosa in about the first half of the 5th century A.D. Buddhaghosa came from South India to Ceylon where under the patronage of the reigning king, Mahānāma, he engaged himself in the work of compilation of the celebrated atṭhakathās or commentaries of the Buddhist Piṭakas. His well-known works, the Visuddhimagga, Samantapāsādikā, Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Papañcasūdanī, Manorathapūraṇī, Sāratthapakāsinī and a host of other works were all written in Ceylon. Buddhaghosa thus raised the position and prestige of the Theravāda Church of Ceylon to a great extent.

Towards the end of the 8th century Ceylon suffered severe political unrest and the Ceylonese Church felt the consequences for more than two centuries so much so that towards the middle of the 11th century, it was once

found difficult to get a chapter of ordained monks to continue valid ordinations. This was, however, restored by the help of a number of learned Theras who were brought out from Arakan by king Vijayabāhu. In the middle of the 12th century, under the patronage of the King Parākramabāhu, the religion received infusion of new life. Parākramabāhu restored vihāras and monasteries, built new religious edifices and brought about the unification of the three contending sects, namely, the Mahāvihāra Nikāya, the Abhayagiri Nikāya and the Vaitulya Nikāya, and also brought about the restoration of the power and influence of the orthodox church, the Mahāvihāra Nikāya. He also brought into existence, probably for the first time, a code of regulations for the guidance of the monks. From the time of Buddhaghosa upto the time of king Parākramabāhu, numerous Buddhist works by celebrated scholars were composed in Pali and Sinhalese. During the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great, a systematic compilation of sub-commentaries took place under the guidance of Kassapa Thera. After his death unfortunately there were again political unrests in the island. Within one hundred years the monks were again disorganised, but the sāsana was again restored (1266 A.D.) with the help of monks brought from the Cola country in South India. Monasteries were again established and the monks became very active to further the cause of religion.

The reputation of the Saṅgha in Ceylon became so well established that towards the middle of the 15th century when Burma was faced with a crisis of the cessation of valid ordination, the reigning king of the country sought the help of the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon for restoration of the sāsana. From Burma at a later period the ordination of this Nikāya was carried to Siam. The connection of Burma at this period has an important bearing on the

activity of the Buddhist Saṅgha and on Buddhism in Ceylon. For through these embassies the books that existed in Ceylon were taken to Burma, Siam and Cambodia and the Mahānikāya was established in these countries, which helped Ceylon to get back the books and the ordination at a subsequent period, when ordination had disappeared in the island and the books were lost.¹ About this time the Portuguese arrived at the island, established a fort in Colombo, and introduced Christianity into the island. The then reigning king Bhuvanekabāhu III (1552 A.D.) allied himself with the Portuguese and brought ruin not only upon himself but also upon the religion. But a still more severe blow came from King Rājasingha I. He did havoc with the monks and monastic establishments. The King of Kotte with whom the Portuguese gained influence also followed more or less the same policy. The kings of other provinces also turned against Buddhism. But with the arrival of the Dutch in the 17th century conditions took a better turn. Their attitude was more conciliatory towards the religion and the subsequent kings were able to devote their time and energy to restore the status of Buddhism. During this time a great man arose in Saranaṅkara who was a Sāmaṇera as ordination had disappeared in the island. He informed king Śrī Vijaya Rājasingha (1734 A. D.) that the religion of the Buddha had disappeared in the island because the order of the monks became extinct. He prevailed upon the king to bring out a mission of monks from Siam for restoration of the order. The Siamese mission started for Ceylon but the voyage was eventually abandoned. Saranaṅkara persisted in his attempt and finally prevailed upon the succeeding king Kittisiri Rājasiha to send another mission to Siam. This mission

1. De Silva, History of Buddhism in Ceylon in *Buddhist studies* ed. B. C. Law, p. 502.

was cordially received by King Dhammika of Siam who sent Upāli Thera with a group of ten monks and the Order was eventually restored in Ceylon and Saranaṅkara was appointed Saṅgharājā, the head of the Saṅgha. In 1815 the island came into the possession of the English who pledged for the protection and maintenance of the Buddhist religion.

Burma—Tradition ascribes the introduction of Buddhism into Burma¹ to Aśoka. Four centuries later, in the 3rd century A. D., Chinese evidence points to the existence of Buddhism in a place called Lin-Yang which may be tentatively identified with a place in Burma. From the 5th century onward epigraphic records provide us with definite evidences of a flourishing state of Pali Buddhism in the metropolis of the kingdom of the Pyus, Hwawan and old Prome, indicating at the same time a very intimate intercourse of Lower Burma with the Kadamba-Coḷa countries of South India. Buddhist records in Sanskrit have been found in old Prome pointing to a very close relation with the Magadhan countries of Eastern India. Epigraphic records are supplemented by quite a good number of Buddhist monuments and sculptures and terracotta tablets which have been unearthed in old Prome and are datable from the 6th to the 10th and 11th centuries. All these evidences point to a revival of the religion in the old kingdom of Prome in about the beginning of the 5th century.

In 1057 A. D. took place the fateful invasion of Thaton by Anawrata. The story of this invasion really indicates a very flourishing state of the religion in Lower Burma. The story of the religion now centres round Pagan where the

1. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Burma, see Eliot-Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III; Ray—"Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma" in the Journal of the Greater India Society; Sāsanavamsa ed. by Bode (introduction); Bode, Pali Literature of Burma; B. C. Law, History of the Buddha's religion (Sāsanavamsa Tr.)

royal dynasty and gradually the people found in the Theravāda imported from Thaton, a religion with a more direct appeal and a fresh message of deliverance. The religion slowly but steadily secured a solid ground and spread far and near on all sides. Hundreds of Buddhist monuments and monastic establishments came to be erected and adorned with Buddhist sculptures and paintings. Even during the reign of Ambadatta the fame of Pagan as a centre of Theravāda Buddhism was so well established that she exchanged religious gifts with Ceylon, with which she came gradually to be linked up in all matters concerning the religion. The clergyman of Burma looked up to the brotherhood of Ceylon as the source of all inspiration. This attitude of the Burmese brotherhood was in reality responsible for the introduction of the Sīhala Saṅgha in 1181-1182 A. D.

The Sīhala Saṅgha gradually established itself also in Lower Burma. The splitting up of these two sanghas into various factions naturally led to the degeneration of the religious order. A movement for reform was successfully initiated by King Dhammaceti of Pegu in 1472. The Ceylonese brotherhood again came to the aid of the Burmese church and Dhammaceti's reformation practically led to the final triumph of the Sīhala Saṅgha.

But Theravāda was not the only form of Buddhism in the country. Probably Sarvāstivāda, on the evidence of Sanskrit Buddhist epigraphs as well as on that of I-Tsing, was another form prevalent in about the 7th and 8th centuries A. D. Some sort of Mahayanism and Mahayanist Tantrism had also penetrated into upper Burma. Towards the end of the 17th century the church in Burma began to show signs of slackness of discipline and of transgression of rules by individuals and groups within the Order. The Order divided itself into two factions which came to engage

themselves in a long struggle. The story of the religion in the 18th century is the story of this struggle but eventually the orthodox school won and again the word and spirit of the original teachings of the Buddha were strictly adhered to.

The dawn of the 19th century saw the introduction of a branch of the saṅgha of Burma known as the Amarapura school into Ceylon. This event may be interpreted as the first return gift of Burma to Ceylon. About 60 years later two deputations from Ceylon came to Burma to receive valid ordination from the Burmese Fraternity, and Burma was thus able to return the gift Ceylon had made in the 15th century. The last figure in the history of Buddhism in Burma is that of Mindon-Min who brought another triumph for the orthodox Buddhist church in Burma. Mindon-Min observed with regret that laxity in monastic discipline was much in evidence. He wanted to enforce the disciplinary code of the monks and thought it well to impose a vow enjoining strict conformity to Vinaya discipline.

In 1885 the English occupied Mandalay and thus came in possession of the whole of Burma. It signalled the termination of the old order of things and the beginning of the new.

Siam—The Buddhism of Siam¹ belongs to the Theravāda school. The Siamese belonged to Thai family of a South Chinese people. The history of Thai rule in Siam may roughly be described as a succession of Three kingdoms with capitals at Sukhothai, Ayuthia and Bangkok respectively.

The southern regions of Siam came into contact with Buddhism at a considerably early period. The eastern coasts in India had intercourse not only with Burma but also with the Malaya Peninsula. Epigraphic evidence

1. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Siam see Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III.

proves that the reign of Ligor came into contact with Buddhism at least as early as the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. and it is only probable that Siam was also touched by this wave of Indian religious expansion. In fact, some of the ancient sites of Siam, e.g. Dvārāvātī, have yielded sculptures and other antiquities that are Buddhistic or are affiliated to Buddhism. An inscription of about the 4th century found in Kekah and another of 7th or 8 century from Pratom, both contained the well known-Buddhist formula of causation. The latter inscription and also one from Margui seem to be in mixed Sanskrit and Pali.

In an important inscription found at Sukhothai and now preserved at Bangkok and probably datable in about 1300 A.D., it is stated that the Siamese kingdom of the time extended on the south to the sea as far as Ligor and on the west to Pegu. From the same inscription we derive the knowledge that the court and the inhabitants of Sukhothai were devout Buddhists regularly observing the Vassa and the festival of Kathina and also that there were several arch monasteries, many Buddha statues and Buddhist relics. The form of Buddhism described seems to have differed little from the Hīnayānism found in Siam to-day. In any case it seems that at least during this period the Siamese were acquainted with Pali Buddhism. Whatever may have been the earlier form of Buddhism and wherever we may trace the source of the religion of earlier times, there seems to be very little doubt that when the Thai poured into Siam the religion was a certain kind of Hīnayānism which in all likelihood was imported from Burma. We all know that towards the middle of the 11th century Buddhism in Burma received a great impetus and spread very quickly over the Shan estates and it is not altogether impossible that it found its way to the not very distant kingdom of Siam. In a subsequent

period "the Siamese recognised the seniority and authority of the Sinhalese Church by inviting an instructor to come from Ceylon, but in earlier times they can hardly have had direct relation with the island". A Khmer inscription composed in 1361 or a little later shows that the reigning king, learned both in Buddhist and Brahmanical lore, was cosmopolitan in religious practices. In 1361 he had a Saṅgharājā learned in the Piṭakas brought from Ceylon. He was received with great honour and became eventually the head of the Buddhist Church. Two other inscriptions apparently datable in this period refer to the importation of a branch of the Bodhi tree from Ceylon and certain Buddhist relics, probably from India, which were all installed with great solemnity. To this data may also be referred series of engravings on stone illustrating about one hundred Jātakas.

Towards the middle of the 14th century the seat of power in Siam was transferred to Ayuthia where we have several gigantic images of the Buddha and the ruins of numerous Buddhist establishments. A curious inscription engraved on an image of Śiva found at Sukhothai and dated 1510 A.D., asserts, however, the identity of Buddhism and Brahmanism. At Lophburi some ancient buildings which were originally constructed for the Brahmanic cult, were later on adapted to Buddhist uses. Ayuthia continued to be the capital of Siam until 1767 when it was sacked and ruined by the Burmese who, though Buddhists, did not scruple to destroy and deface Buddhist temples, establishments and statues. Phāya Tāk Sin, a Chinese in origin, repulsed the Burmese attack, made Bangkok the seat of Government but was soon deposed in 1782 by Chao Phāya Chakkri who established a new dynasty. This king convoked a council and had the whole Tripiṭaka revised by monk-scholars and built a hall in which the texts were preserved. During the reign of one of his successors,

Mongkut, who spent 26 years as a monk and then became king, Buddhism in Siam received a new lease of life. During the reign of his successor, Chulalongkorn, an edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka was published and printed in Siamese type.

Indo-China, Campa & Kamboj—The earliest trace of Buddhism in Indo-China¹ is indicated in a Sanskrit inscription palæographically datable in the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian era and found not far from modern Nhatrang. One cannot definitely say that it is a Buddhistic inscription but from some phrases and ideas used in the inscription it can be inferred that it is Buddhistic. Definite information about Buddhism in Campā can be gathered not earlier than the 9th century. In the second quarter of that century, a Buddhist of Pāṇḍurāṅga, Samanta by name, dedicated the monasteries and temples to the Jina and Śiva. This indicates a very close association of Buddhism with Śaivism which remained up to the end as one of the salient features of Indian religious life in Campā, as in other places of Indo-China as well as in Java and Sumatra. The growing importance of Buddhism is affirmed by the foundation of the great monastery of Lokeśvara, a pious work of king Indravarman II. In 902 A.D. a Mahayanist sthavīra set up another Lokeśvara monastery and in the foundation charter one finds a clear resume of the Mahayanist theogony. All these inscriptions prove that Mahayanism was the prevailing form of Buddhism in Campā. At the end of the 12th century a King of Pāṇḍurāṅga boasted of practising the Mahāyāna Dharma and erected in the district of Buddhhaloka an image of

1. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Indo-China See Chatterjee, Indian influence in Cambodia; Majumdar, Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East Vol. I—Champā; Eliot, Hinduisim & Buddhism Vol. III; Outlines of the history of Buddhism in Indo-China by Louis Finot in Buddhistic Studies, 749 ff.

Buddha Lokeśvara. Even as late as the 2nd half of the 13th century a fragment of inscription begins with the invocation "Om Namo Buddhāya" proving that Buddhism was not extinct even at that time. The ruins of Campā have yielded a large number of bronze and stone statues of Buddha Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā. A number of clay medallions bearing images of the Buddha and Lokeśvara were picked up in the caves of Northern Annam. It is likely that Mahayanism in Campā was preceded by Hīnayanism. The Buddhists of Campā in the 7th century A.D. belonged to the Ārya Sammiti School and there were also a few followers of the Sarvāstivāda School. This statement of I-Tsing is open to doubt, for the pilgrim never visited Campā and there has not been found any archaeological evidence to support his contention. Towards the end of the 15th century Campā was seized by the Anaemites who burnt down the capital and took possession of the whole kingdom where they introduced a debased mixture of Mahayanism.

Funan, a great empire that had its centre of power in the modern territory of Cambodia, is known to us only through Chinese historians. The hey-day of its glory occupies the first five centuries of the Christian era. As in Campā so also in Funan Śaivism and Buddhism peacefully existed side by side. I-Tsing testifies that the people of the country were mostly worshippers of Devas but later on Buddhism came to flourish there. By the time the pilgrim wrote his account a wicked king had expelled and exterminated all Buddhists and there were no members of the Buddhist brotherhood at all. Śākya Nāgasena, who went to the court of China as an ambassador in 484 A.D., saw a Buddhist monk. The monks of Funan went to China for the translation of the holy books of Buddhism, among whom were Saṅghapāla and Mandrasena.

In the south of Funan the Malay Peninsula was essentially a Buddhist country. The inscriptions found in Ligor and in the province of the Wellesley prove that in the 4th century A. D., there were some important Buddhistic centres on the coast. Inscriptions discovered on the south of the Isthmus of Kra dating from the 8th and 9th centuries prove that the religion was continued in those countries. One of these inscriptions commemorates the construction of three caityas in honour of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi and Buddha in 775 A. D.

Towards the middle of the 6th century the Kambojas came into prominence and overthrew the kingdom of Funan. An inscription of 664 A. D. praises two eminent monks of the realm. Another inscription of the same period refers to the worship of Maitreya Avalokiteśvara and the Buddha. Lokeśvara, who is often associated with Vajrapāṇi and Prajñāpāramitā, was a very popular Buddhist divinity in the Mahayanist pantheon of Cambodia. Tantrism seems to have exercised very little influence upon the Khmer cults although several images of Hevajra have been found in the ruins of Angkor; cult of Bodhidruma was also a popular one. Sūryavarman I who probably belonged to the Buddhist religion as is shown by his posthumous name Paramanirvāṇapada, was probably indirectly responsible for the first Khmer inscriptions found at Lophburi in Siam. One of these inscriptions makes a distinction between the Sthavīras and Mahayana Bhikshus. It is, however, probable that the regions round Lophburi were places where the Mahayanists of Cambodia often used to meet. The Khmer kings had to abandon their capital in the course of the 15th century and with their disappearance Hinduism and Mahayanism ceased to exist.

Java-Sumatra-Bali—The trace of Buddhism in Java¹ is available in the accounts of Fa-Hien who visited the island in about 413 A.D. The Chinese pilgrim states that in that country there were many Brāhmaṇas but that the Buddhist religion was not of great importance. Prince Guṇavarman of Kashmir who became a monk visited the island in 423 A.D., but we do not know how far he succeeded in preaching the religion in the island. Towards the end of the 6th century Central Java rose into importance which lasted for about two centuries. Towards the middle of the 8th century Java, especially Central and Western, passed from the hands of the Śaiva rulers into the control of a Mahayanist dynasty from Sumatra, known to historians as the Śailendras of Śrīvijaya, who had a mighty empire extending over the Malay Peninsula and Central Java besides Sumatra. These Śailendras were fervent Buddhists professing the Mahayana faith. The temple of Kalasan in Central Java was erected by one of their kings in honour of the Mahayana divinity Tārā in 778 A.D. The magnificent monument of Barabudur in Central Java was also the work of the Śailendras. Towards the end of the 7th century I-Tsing visited Sumatra and described it as a great centre of Hīnayāna culture ; but evidently after I-Tsing it became a great stronghold of Mahayana Buddhism under the patronage of the Śailendras who extended their supremacy over Central Java as well. In the 10th century a Buddhist temple was constructed at Negapatam near Madras at the expense of a king of the Śailendras with the permission of a Coḷa Prince. A copper plate of Devapāla records the grant

1. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Java-Sumatra-Bali see Chakravarty & Chatterjee, *India & Java*, 2nd Ed., G. I. S. Bulletin; Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa* ; N. J. Krom, *The Life of Buddha on Barabudur* ; Eliot, *Hinduism & Buddhism* III, 151ff.

of some villages by the Pala sovereign of Bengal for the upkeep of a monastery at Nālandā which was built at the instance of Balaputradeva of the Śailendra dynasty out of devotion to Buddhism. Dharmapāla the famous guru of Nālandā passed his last days in Sumatra. Under the Pala kings the Mahayana doctrine flourished in Bengal and Magadha as they did nowhere else in India and it was Mahāyāna tinged with Tantrayāna. We find exactly the same blend of Buddhistic and Tantric doctrines in Sumatra, Java, and to some extent in Cambodia. The earliest Mahayana inscriptions of the Śrī Vijaya kings in Java are written in a Central Indian script almost exactly like that of the inscriptions of the 9th century discovered at Nālandā.

The study of Buddhistic literature in Java is proved not only by the discovery of important Buddhist texts but also by the sculptures of Barabudur and other religious monuments which presuppose a wide range of knowledge in its various branches. The later phases of Mahayana Buddhism in India are also met with in Java especially in Eastern Java. We may note in particular the adoption of Hindu gods in Buddhist pantheon, the introduction of minor and miscellaneous divinities, of Tantric mode of worship, etc.

Towards the middle of the 10th century the Śaiva princes who were ousted from Central Java and who settled in Eastern Java, won back their lost territories from the Śailendras and there was a Saivite revival in Central Java which, however, was soon abandoned. The scene now shifts to modern Java where Buddhism took sometime to establish itself. The famous image of Prajñāpāramitā dated the 2nd quarter of the 13th century, which is now in the Leiden Museum, is ascribed to the reign of Ken Arok. To the middle of the 14th century belong the curious inscriptions of Ādityavarman, a prince of Sumatra, who was a

relation of a vassal to the Queen of Madjapahit, the centre of royalty in eastern Java. The language of these inscriptions clearly shows the prevalence of Tantric doctrine in Sumatra and Java. After his death Ādityavarman was supposed to be identified with Avalokiteśvara. It may also be mentioned in this connection that the Tantric practices were ascribed to Kretanāgara by Prapañcha. The Nāgarkretāgama also refers to the Tantric chakra rites diligently carried out by Kretanāgara.

In the reign of Hyam Wuruk, there was a set of royal officials called Bhūjaṅgas or learned priests. They were Brahmanical as well as Buddhistic. The Nāgarkretāgama gives a detailed account of the capital city, namely, Madjapahit. In the southern part of the city lived the Buddhists; the head of the Saṅgha was Sthavīra Rengkarnedi. Contemporary sources seem to point out that Buddhism flourished mostly in aristocratic circles. A large number of the fine Buddhist shrines arose during this period but the religion does not seem to have entered much into the life of the people. Buddhism could not make much headway in Bali, and though the religion still survives in the island, Hinduism is in the ascendant.

Chapter XII

AMITY IN BUDDHISM

Mettā or amity is one of the ten pāramitās (perfections) which are synonymous with Buddhakāra-kā-dhammā¹ i. e., virtues tending towards making a Buddha. Every Bodhisatta who is destined to be a Buddha, has to perform ten supreme virtues one of which is love.² It is only in mettā, as pointed out by Mrs. Rhys Davids, that we come upon the idea of a relation between man and man which is independent of all social and worldly relations.³ The saṃgha upheld the importance of mettā and left it as a worthy legacy to India.⁴

Siddhārtha before attaining Bodhi (enlightenment) fulfilled mettāpāramitā by cherishing love and friendliness towards his friends and foes alike, like water cooling both the virtuous and the sinner.⁵ The Bodhisatta living in a forest used to practise meditation on mettā. He was then tested by Indra by sending him a lion and a tiger. He was not frightened by the ferocious animals which surrounded him while he was practising mettā nor did he betray any fear before others.⁶ The Ekarāja Jātaka, too, illustrates the perfection of love or friendship. Bodhisatta

1. Vide Cariyāpitaka Cammy. (PTS) p.8-evarūpānam nāma Buddhaguṇāṇaṃ hetubhūtā Buddhakāra-kā-dhammā pāramiyo aho mahānubhāvā.....Jāt. I, 20 ff ; some have translated Buddhakāra-kā-dhammā as the precepts which make one Buddha.

2. Dīgha, I, 250; III, 223 ; Visuddhim. p. 295 ; Mahāvvyutpatti, p. 69.

3. K. B. Pathak Commemoration Vol., 1934, p. 63.

4. Ibid., p. 63.

5. Jātaka (Nidānakathā) Vol. I. 24.....yathāpi udakam nāma pāpajanassa pi kalyāṇa-janassa pi sītabhāvaṃ ekasadisam katvā pharati evaṃ evam tvaṃ sabbasattesu mettācittena ekacitto honto Buddho bhavissasīti.

6. Vide Suvāṇṇa-Sāma-Cariyaṃ of the Cariyā-Pitaka (Ed. B. C- Law) p. 45; Cf. Sāma Jātaka, Jātaka, VI, pp. 68-95.

born as a famous king under the name of Ekarāja, used to observe precepts and instruct his subjects to do so. He also 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 plundered his kingdom. Ekarāja always desired mettā for his enemy, although the enemy in his presence cut off his ministers and subjects and seized his wife and son.¹

It has been rightly pointed out by Keith that love of the Buddhists was as truly emotional as that of the Christians, and was neither limited nor motivated by formal rules.² The Apostle Paul has thus summed up the Christian conception of love. 'Owe no man anything but to love one another; for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour.'³

Mahāvīra, the celebrated founder of Jainism, renounced his worldly life to establish a universal religion of love and amity. The goal set by him before mankind was the blissfulness of the entire being. This happy state can be attained through suffering and sacrifice, love and kindness.⁴ According to him there are four ways to meditate on purity of mind: (1) love, (2) love towards the suffering world, (3) love towards the happy, and (4) love towards the criminal or cruel person.⁵

The Mahābhārata contains innumerable references to compassion, piety, non-injury to others, kindness and love

1. Vide Ekarājacarīyam of the Cariyā-Piṭaka (Ed. B. C. Law) pp. 45-46 : Cf. Ekarāja Jātaka, Jātaka, III, pp. 13-15.

2. Buddhist Philosophy, p. 117.

3. Romans. XIII, 8-10.

4. Law, Mahāvīra : His Life & Teachings, p. 54.

5. Ibid., pp. 102-103.

towards all beings.¹ According to the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata-Gītā (Ch. XII, 13-14) he who is free from hatred towards all living beings, who is friendly (maitraḥ) and compassionate towards them, is considered to be a great devotee of Śrīkrṣṇa.

There are traces of the affection of the monks and nuns in their Gāthās and the spirit of affection for the wild beasts of the woods is also noticeable in the life of the Buddhist wanderer. The essential value of love is that it frees the heart (cittavimutti) from desire. As universal feeling it counteracts particular passion.² The true character of Buddhist ethics is well illustrated by the conception of friendship or love.³ In Mahāyāna Buddhism loving words, i. e., kind speech to all sentient beings, gain the hearts of enemies and keep the virtuous peacefully together.⁴

According to the Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva (VIII, 90 ff.) one must treat his neighbour precisely as himself. He who loves himself must not love himself ; to guard himself he must refrain from guarding himself, Every sin committed by us is committed against the saints who suffer from it, and our only method to recompense these blessed benefactors is to show kindness to others. When moved by compassion Buddha's love for the world is that of a father for his sick child.⁵ The Buddha with his heart full of amity requested Ānanda to ordain Nanda to save him from delusion.⁶

1. Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. XXI, 10; Ch. XL, 2-3 ; Śtrīparva, Ch. VIII, 43 ; Śāntiparva, Ch. XIV, 14; Ch. XVIII, 38-39; Ādiparva, Ch. LXXV, 33 etc.

2. Cf. Dīgha, II, 251; Majjhima, I, 297, 351; Ibid., II, 207; Aṅguttara, II, 129.

3. Keith, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 117.

4. Yamakami, Systems of Buddhist Thought p. 306.

5. Keith, Buddhist Philosophy, pp. 280-81.

6. Saundarananda-Kāvya, V, 34.

A disciple of the Buddha, according to the *Milinda Panha*¹, should be endowed with thirty graces (*tiṃsaguṇa-varehi*) one of which is that his heart should be full of affectionate, soft, and tender love (*siniddha-muḍu-maddava-mettacitto*). Anuruddha had a strong will to *mettā*, i. e., good-will to all human beings. This good-will, as rightly pointed out by Mrs. Rhys Davids, was a more positive sentiment than Revata's 'not-harming'². Gotama tried to teach good-will to all men in all worlds and to animals.³ The Buddha brought the fierce elephant Nālāgiri under his control through the exercise of love at his command.⁴

According to the *Buddhacaritakāvya* (XIII, 42) the shower of hot coals scattered full of sparks at the foot of the Bodhi tree became a shower of red lotus-leaves through the exercise of love (*maitrī*) on the part of the best of the sages. In the *Saundarananda Kāvya* of Aśvaghoṣa (XVIII, 11) Nanda says that he had all his desires appeased after the drinking, like a calf from the cow, of the Buddha's teaching "with the teats of benevolence (*maitrī*), the beautiful dewlap of clear expression, the milk of the good Law and the horn of imagination."⁵ This reminds us at once of the stanza 5 of the *Gītāmāhātmya*.⁶

According to the *Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra* (1. 9) the person fit for appointment as councillor or officer is expected to be endowed with the qualities of friendliness and firm devotion (*maitrodr̥ḍhabhakti*). This is echoed in the

1. *Milinda-Pañha* (Trenckner) p. 361.

2. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Gotama the Man*, p. 159.

3. Cf. *Metta Sutta* of the *Khuddakapāṭha* and the *Suttanipāta*.

4. *Vinaya*, II, 194 ff.; *Jātaka*, V, 323 ff.; *Avadanaśataka*, I, 177.

5. B. C. Law, *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 35; *Maitrīstanīm vyanjana-cārusāsnām saddharmadugdhāmpratibhānaśrṅgām I tavāsmi gām sādhu nipīya tṛpta-tṛṣeva gāmuttamavatsavarṇaḥ II*

6. *Sarvopaniṣado gāvo, dogdhā Gopāla-nandanah I Pārtho vatsah, sudhir bhoktā, dugdham Gītāmṛtam mahat II*

following qualities with which Aśvaghoṣa endows his ideal king: "Sauhārdadṛḍhabhaktitvān maitreṣu,¹ "friendship and firm devotion to allies."

Amity and compassion are opposed to enmity and ill-will. Ill-will (vyāpāda) is gradually weakened and at last destroyed by love.² Aśvaghoṣa lays much stress on the fact that the thoughts of amity and compassion should be cultivated towards all beings.³ If mind is disturbed by the excitement of passion, the method of cultivating the idea of amity should be avoided.⁴ If mind is troubled by the vice of malevolence one should cultivate amity.⁵ If mind is troubled by delusion the subjects of amity and impurity are unsuitable.⁶ One who has realised the Noble Truth, being freed by the Noble Path, obtains the perfect knowledge following the Blessed One, and he is satisfied on account of his attainment of love.⁷ One should guard oneself with mind free from danger, with love and compassion.⁸ After having acquired the excellent knowledge due to the performance of many difficult acts, on account of the attainment of love one becomes successful in establishing many in the excellent Nirvāṇa.⁹

Meṭṭā is amity, love, sympathy and friendliness. It means the emancipation of heart through love. It also implies an active interest in others' welfare¹⁰ It is synonymous with avyāpādadhātu which is nothing but

1. Saundarananda Kāvya, II, 18; Johnston translates the above passage as "out of firm devotion to amity with those who were his allies."

2. Anguttara, I, 4.

3. Saundarananda Kāvya, XV, 17.

4. Ibid., XVI, 59.

5. Ibid., XVI, 62.

6. Saundarananda Kāvya, XVI, 63.

7. Ibid., XVII, 33-34.

8. Divyāvadāna, p. 105.

9. Ibid., p. 123.

10. P. T. S. Dictionary, 164.

the state of freedom from malice, or absence of desire to do any injury.¹ It means feeling of affection (majjatīti mettā). It also means wishing well. It is so called because of the state of being a loved one, or because it concerns a loved one.² Mettā or Maitrī³ is defined as benevolence and charity.⁴ Benevolence is personified as the daughter of Daksha and the wife of Dharma.⁵ As a preparatory to soaring into the higher regions of thought must be considered the bhāvanā or cultivation or cherishing of the sentiment of maitrī, karuṇā, muditā and upekṣā.⁶ Johnston has translated maitrīvihāra in the sense of universal benevolence.⁷ According to the Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā (p. 230) mettāvihārī is araṇavihārī.

It is clearly stated in the Vibhaṅga-Aṭṭhakathā (p. 75) that amity is so called because people become friendly by it. Friendship is the state of love. It is the state of one possessed of love. All these means and thoughts constitute amity, The practice of maitrī means to think of all beings as friends. In the Kālakaṇṇi Jataka⁸ it is stated that a friend is one who shows love (mettāyati), produces love (mettiṃ paccupaṭṭhāpeti) and also cherishes affection (sinehaṃ karoti) towards others. By repeated association and constant service friendship is generated, and it is lost by non-association and absence of service⁹.

1. Vibhaṅga (PTS), p. 86.

2. Visuddhim, pp. 317-18; Cf. Atthasālinī p. 192.

3. It means the state of a friend or mitra which occurs in the Rig-Veda (I. 58, 1; ii. 4. 1. 3) as well as in the Saṃhitās, Āraṇyakas and Brāhmaṇas (Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā, XXVII. 4; Taittirīya Āraṇyaka x. 80; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vi. 20. 17 ; Śatapath Brāh. IV. I. 4. 8; V. 3. 5. 13; XI. 4. 3. 20).

4. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, pp. 54, 66.

5. Monier Williams, Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 894.

6. Some have translated it as poise.

7. Buddhacarita-Kāvya, ch. XIII, V. 42.

8. Jātaka, I, 365.

9. Ibid., V, 209.

Mettā cittam is heart full of love.¹ It means heart accompanied by love. meditation on love under the guidance of heart.

Amity is one of the four immeasurables² A monk lives pervading one direction with heart associated with love, likewise the second, the third and the fourth; above, below, around, in all directions and everywhere he lives pervading the whole world with heart associated with love which is great and immeasurable, free from enmity and malice. A monk in the same way pervades the world with compassion, sympathy and equanimity, He should not start by trying to love his enemy, or he will get tried. Love for all includes love for oneself and with love for himself as being the easiest he should start. Dr. E. J. Thomas is right in pointing out that Buddhism did not make the modern opposition between self-love and altruistic love. It is self-love that justifies love to all.³ In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad it is stated that everything is dear to us because we may love the self (IV, 5, 6 ; S. B. E., Vol. XV. 182-83).

Love is the support of one who has obtained emancipation of anything good (subha).⁴ One becomes free from malevolence if his heart is emancipated by love.⁵ When love in bodily, vocal and mental actions is shown by a monk towards his fellow-brethren, both inwardly and outwardly, it brings affection and regard which lead to concord, harmony, union and absence of strife in the Order,⁶

Amity is the root of merit, non-hatred, absence of

1. Mettā saḥagatena cetasā-Samyutta, V, 115 ; Aṅg, 1, 138 ; II, 129 ; IV, 390 ; V, 299, 344 ; Dīgha, II, 186 ; III, 49 ff. ; 78 ; I, 167 ; III, 237.

2. Vibhaṅga, p. 272.

3. Cf. Sam. I, 74 ; Hist. of Buddhist Thought 51 fn.

4. Visuddhimagga, p. 324.

5. Dīgha Nikāya, III, 247 ff. ; "Nissaraṇam h'etam āvuso vyāpādassa, yadidam mettā ceto-vimutti." Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha, Pt. III, p. 233 ; S. B. B., IV.

6. Dīgha Nikāya, III, 245 ff. ; 279 ff.

danger and obstacle, compassion, welfare and kindness.¹ One should cultivate amity being free from anger and fear. After it is attained it should be properly protected like a precious jewel against passion, hatred and delusion.² It is the universal rule that hatred does not cease by hatred here and at any time but it ceases by love.³ The same idea is also found in the famous utterance of Christ : "Love you enemies. Vengeance is mine ; I will repay."⁴ Similarly the Great Epic points out that those who are desirous of victory do not conquer so much by might and prowess as by compassion, piety, virtue and truth.⁵

A *thera* (elect) who is wise, restrained, and controlled and in whom there exist truth and dharma, and who does not do any harm to others, really cherishes amity, as he is averse to non-harming (*ahiṃsā*).⁶

It has been admitted by the brahmin Lohicca that those whose heart would stand fast in love towards others will surely consider their welfare.⁷ A monk lives in this world pervading the first, second, third and fourth quarters with love. He surely lives with mind full of love which is great and immeasurable, spreading throughout the world everywhere and in all directions, above, below and around⁸ free from hatred and ill-will, after putting an end to five obstacles.⁹ He may cultivate love first of all for a very dear person, then for an indifferent person and lastly for an enemy. With a tender heart love may be shown by him

1 Niddesa, p, 488; Cf. Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi, 189.

2 Atthasālinī, pp. 193-94.

3 Dhammapada, v. 5 (Yamakavagga).

4 Matthew. 5. 44.

5 Mbh., Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. XXI, 10.

6 Dhammapada, v. 261,

7 Dīgha, I, pp. 227-28.

8 Dīgha, I, pp. 250-51; Cf. Majjhima, I, 297.

9 Dīgha, III, 78; Dialogues of the Buddha, Pt. III, p. 76.

towards them. He who has a heart full of love towards all beings has no enemy. (Jāt. IV. 71).

King Mahāsudassana had his mind full of great and immeasurable love (Dīgha, II. 186; cf. Ibid. III. 49). A Mahāsāla Brāhmaṇa continued to pervade each of the four quarters of the horizon, everywhere in the wide world with heart charged with love, pity, sympathy, joy, and equanimity, free from wrath and ill-will. (Dīgha, II. 250)

Speaking with love in one's own heart is one of the five points which should be present inwardly to a monk who is desirous of chiding another (Dīgha, III., 236). Brahmins and recluses should be attended to with love in bodily, moral and mental acts (Ibid., III., 191 ; mettena kāyakammena, mettena vaci-kammena, mettena mano-kammena).

As a mighty trumpeter makes himself heard in all the four directions, so of all things that have shape or life there is not one that he passes by or leaves aside, but regards them all with mind set free and full of love.¹

Mettā is counted as one of the four Brahmavihāras or divine states.² It brings emancipation of mind.³ That which is constituted and thought of is impermanent and subject to destruction. A monk who dwells in amity putting faith in the teachings of the Buddha, obtains the peaceful state and happiness due to the cessation of constituent elements or confections.⁴

In four divine states (infinitudes) a monk lives pervading one quarter of the world with thoughts of love pity, sympathy in joy and equanimity.⁵ From the time

1 cf. Tevijja Sutta-Dīgha, I, 251 ff.; Majjhima, II., 207 ff.

2 Visuddhimagga, p. 111; cf. Lalitavistara. Ch. XXI, 310, 4-5.

3 Aṅguttara, I, 38; cf. Majjhima, I, 351.

4 Dhammapada, verse 368; Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 401; Mahāvastu, I, 165.

5 Dīgha, III, pp. 223-24.

when a monk cultivates the heart of love (mettā-cittam) which is free from enmity (averam) and ill-will (avyāpajjham), from that time he lives in this world depending on the emancipation of mind and wisdom, being free from sins after destroying them and realising supernatural knowledge.¹

According to the Khuddakapāṭha² "one who has reached the peaceful condition, is skilled in his weal, able, straight, gentle, without conceit, and contended; he should bear his burden well; he has a few cares and his wants are easily met. He has his senses under control, he is free from arrogance and not greedy in the family (i. e. unattached to the family). He should cherish such thought :

Let all beings be happy and compassionate, Whatever living beings there are, movable and immovable, long or big, middle-sized or short, minute or large, seen or unseen, living far or near, who have come to birth or possibly may come-let all beings be happy. Let none bring another to a lower level nor judge him too highly anywhere in anything. Through enmity and resentful thought let him not wish woe to anybody." Just as a mother guards her one and only son with her own life, so one should think infinitely in this way of all beings. One should think of love infinitely in all the world, upwards, downwards and across, unfettered, free from anger and enmity. He should do so while standing, walking, sitting or lying as long as he is free from drowsiness. He should cultivate this feeling; this is called Brahmavihāra or dwelling in the Brahma world. He does not take recourse to wrong views being virtuous and blessed with insight. He should suppress the greed of sensual pleasures. He is not subject to rebirth. Mrs. Rhys Davids is right in pointing out that the worth of mettā

1. Ibid., I., p. 167.

2 P. T. S. Ed. pp 8-9; Paramatthajotikā, I., P. T. S. Ed., 231 ff; The Minor Anthologies of the Pali canon, S. B. B. Series, P t. I. 154 ff,

in the Brahnavihāras could only be maintained by an implicit belief in the reality of the man when body and mind were discounted. (K.B. Pathak Commemoration Vol, 1934, p. 65).

In short, according to the Metta Sutta of the Khuddakapāṭha and the Suttanipāta¹ he who seeks to avoid rebirth, 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 boundless amity towards all beings and good-will towards all the world.²

A person first of all practises the feeling of friendliness (mettā) to all creatures, then develops sympathy as compassion (karuṇā) in its place, then sympathy in their joy (muditā),³ and then passes to the true end of meditation, the attainment of absolute indifference of feeling (upekkhā), a striking warning against any conception of love as the end of man.⁴

A person should wander alone cultivating in time amity, equanimity, compassion, emancipation and joy, being unobstructed by the whole world.⁵ He who practises amity will keep his promise, will make his determination firm, will offer gifts, will observe precepts, and will not do any harmful act.⁶ He being free from passion should remove hatred, cultivating unbounded thought of amity; being strenuous always, day and night, let him spread infinite goodness in all directions.⁷ He should not commit

1. P. T. S. pp. 25-26.

2. Cf. Khuddakapāṭha, pp. 8-9.

3. Muditā in mettā is disinterested love. Cf. Suttanipāta Commy, (P. T. S.) p. 128—modantivata bhonto sattā modanti sādhu suṭṭhūti ādinā nayena hitasukhāvippayogā-kāmatā muditā—vide also P. T. S. Dict. p. 161.

4. Aṅguttara, I, 183 ; III, 225 ; Cf. Dīgha, III, 224.

5. Suttanipāta, verse 73.

6. Visuddhimagga, p. 325.

7. Suttanipāta, verse 507.

theft ; he should not speak falsehood ; he should touch with amity moveable and immoveable beings ; knowing the agitation of mind he should shun the company of one who belongs to the party of Māra or Kaṇha (the Evil One).¹

Love is extolled as pre-eminent in the Itivuttaka. Whatever materials there are connected with the substrata for the acquisition of virtue, all of them do not equal a sixteenth part of amity in value. Amity which surpasses them, shines, glows and radiates.²

The development of love should begin in the following manner. Having finished his meal and removed drowsiness due to eating, one should first sit comfortably on a seat well arranged in a secluded place and think of the evils of hatred and the advantages of forbearance. By means of this practice hatred should be avoided and forbearance should be cultivated. He should keep his mind apart from hatred the evils of which are seen and he should make his mind associated with forbearance the advantages of which are known. A person should know from the beginning the different kinds of beings or things for whom or for which his love should not first be developed or should not be developed at all. Love should not be developed at first towards these four : (1) unloved persons, (2) very dear friends, (3) neutral beings, and (4) enemies. It should not be developed specifically towards those of the opposite sex and not at all towards the dead. Because by showing love towards these four persons, one gets tired. Anger arises in him who thinks of his enemy. Lust arises in him who develops love towards a person of the opposite sex. Developing love towards the dead one reaches neither ecstasy nor practice of love. Therefore love should first of all be developed by him

1. Ibid., verse 967 ; Cf. Niddesa, p. 488.

2. Itivuttaka (P. T. S.), 19 ff.; cf. Aṅguttara, IV, p. 151.

for his own self repeatedly thinking that he may be free from misery or live happily. The development of love for his own self does not bring ecstasy.¹

It is better to develop love so as to bring ecstasy. Affectionate expressions, tender feeling, virtue, learning and other qualities possessed by his dear, affectionate, and respected persons should be remembered by him to cultivate amity. He should develop love towards those persons thinking that they may live happily.²

A person who has no enemy or who, out of his good nature, does not even entertain inimical thoughts of others who have done him harm, need not develop love towards his enemy. He should dispel hatred, if it arises in his mind, while remembering the offences done by his enemy by constantly cultivating love.³ If hatred, which subsides through compassion, does not cease to exist in his mind inspite of his best efforts to remove it, he should remember the admonitions of the Buddha as well as the Master's virtues.⁴ Love should be cultivated towards all beings in immeasurable spheres.⁵ Through the influence of love one should direct his thought towards his enemy after dispelling hatred, as he does towards a dear friend.⁶ He permeates the whole world together with the world of gods equally through love.⁷

The emancipation of heart through love being practised, thought of, repeated, made the foundation and made familiar with, may be expected to produce advantages. He sleeps happily, happily he awakes, he does not see any bad dream, he becomes dear to men, gods protect him; fire, poison and weapon do not trouble

1. Visuddhimagga, pp. 295 ff.

2. Visuddhimagga, 297 ff.

3. Ibid., p. 297.

4. Ibid., pp. 300 ff.

5. Ibid., p. 324.

6. Ibid., p. 313.

7. Ibid., p. 307.

him as long as he concentrates his thought on amity.¹ Take the cases of female disciple named Uttarā,² the thera named Cūla Siva and the novice named Samkicca.³ He who lives in amity and who is mindful, will be able to get rid of obstacles⁴ The Buddha entered the city of Benares after cultivating the thought on love to avoid any injury or danger.⁵ He who lives in amity is liked by others.⁶ According to the Milindapañha (pp. 198 ff.) on account of one's own thought on amity no harm can be done to him. In illustrating this point the story of the Bodhisatta born as Sāma Kumāra is cited. Sāma although pierced by a poisonous arrow did not die on account of his thought on amity. In the Lohakumbhi Jātaka⁷ we find that the king of Benares performed a religious sacrifice. As soon as the Bodhisatta came to know of this fact by means of his celestial insight produced by practising meditation on love, he went there for the benefit of humanity. According to the Aṅguttara Nikāya (IV. 150) one who practises amity also becomes dear to non-human beings. A monk who lives in amity becomes dear to his fellow-brethren and therefore he lives comfortably being free from malady. He lives happily being protected by gods and liked by them. He also lives happily being honoured by the people everywhere in his begging tour.⁸ There is no deluded death for those who live in amity ; being undeluded he dies as if falling asleep. He who lives in amity concentrates his mind quickly. There is no slothfulness in him.⁹ If a person performs

1. Ibid., p. 305 ; Cf. Milindapañha (Ed. Trenckner), p. 198.

2. Dhammapada Commentary, III, 302.

3. Ibid., II, 240 ; Visuddhi, 313.

4. Nettipakaraṇa, p. 25. 5. Jātaka, I, 175. 6. Visuddhimagga, 324.

7. Jātaka, III, 45.

8. Suttanipāta Commy, P. T. S., p. 54.

9. Visuddhimagga, p. 314.

an act, while thinking of amity, and though he is in the third and fourth stages of meditation under the influence of amity, he is called one who lives in amity.¹ Amity is the desire to bring happiness and welfare.² If a sacrifice is performed by one whose mind has dispelled the darkness of delusion and realised the right view, having placed amity in the forefront, that sacrifice will help him to get rid of anger, delusion and hatred.³ He who cultivates unbounded amity being wide awake, does not find too many fetters for him. He who cultivates amity towards a being with a mind free from evil, gets welfare. Being compassionate to all beings an elect accumulates much merit.

Amity is desired in dwelling places and everywhere. It should be practised thus : "Let this being be free from disease and obstacle."⁴ In this way the thought on love should be cultivated. The thought of amity is cultivated for the attainment of the Brahmaloaka or the highest state of existence.⁵ Not being able to go beyond saintship one obtains Brahmaloaka falling down from that state like one who has awaked out of sleep.⁶

There is the emancipation of mind through love overspreading unspecifically in five forms. There is the emancipation of mind through love overspreading specifically in seven forms. There is the mental emancipation through love pervading quarters in ten forms. All these can be understood by one who has obtained ecstasy.⁷

1. Dhammapada Commy. IV, p. 108.

2. Suttanipāta Commy., p. 128.....hitasukhūpanayanakāmatā mettā.

3. Suttanipāta Commentary, p. 417 ;

4. Jātaka, III, 96.

5. Aṅguttara Nikāya, II, 129 ; Suttanipāta Commentary, p. 418 ; Petavatthu Commentary, 167.

6. Visuddhimagga, p. 314.

7. Ibid., p. 309 ; Cf. Paṭisambhidāmagga, ii, 130.

"Let all beings be free from enmity, ill-will, and harm. Let them live happily." This explains the mental emancipation through love overspreading unspecifically in five forms. "Let all women be free from enemy, let all men, all the elect, all the non-elect, all gods, all men and all who are to suffer in hell after death live free from enmity." This explains the emancipation of mind through love suffusing specifically in seven forms. "Let all beings in the eastern direction live being free from enemy. Let all in the western direction, northern direction, southern direction, eastern direction, all in the western corner, all in the northern corner, all in the southern corner keep well. Let all below, above and around be free from enemies. Let all beings in the eastern direction be free from enemies. Let all women in the eastern direction, all men, all the elect, all the non-elect, all gods and men, all who are destined to hell after death be free from enemy, etc." This explains the emancipation of mind through love pervading quarters in ten forms.¹

To make the mind steady by dhyāna one should think of maitrī or universal love or friendship. In all stages of jhāna (dhyāna) or meditation he lives pervading one quarter with a heart possessed of love. He lives without enmity and ill-will, above, below, across, in all directions, everywhere in the whole world, with a heart full of love, far-reaching, great and immeasurable.²

Love should be practised, increased, and thoroughly known.³ The Buddha instructed his disciples thus: "O monks, you should live touching each direction with a mind associated with love, removing the five obstacles and weakening by means of wisdom the impurities of mind.

1. Visuddhimagga, pp. 309-10 ; Cf. Paṭisambhidāmagga, II, p. 131.

2. Visuddhimagga, p. 308.

3. Saṃyutta, II, 265.

O monks, you should live touching the entire world, above below, around, all quarters with a mind associated with love, great, immeasurable, free from enmity and danger".¹

In order to practise amity one should be free from covetousness, ill-will and bewilderment, attentive and thoughtful. One who cultivates amity which brings the emancipation of heart, can hardly do any evil deed. Amity should be cultivated by both men and women. One who cultivates it knows the effect of his past misdeeds which will not follow him afterwards.² By means of the thought of amity the destruction of sins can be ascertained.³ A monk should observe the new rules of the sabbath with a mind associated with love.⁴ The expression 'mind associated with love' signifies heart accompanied by love from its inception. It also conveys the idea of heart remaining with love in close connection with it.⁵

There are many tales to expound the real Buddhist doctrine that love is the best physician, love is the best sauce, love makes hate to end and reconciles friend to friend.⁶

The Petavattu Commentary (P. T. S. p. 66) refers to a person who lived his life with a heart full of forbearance, love and compassion. His wife did not cry or lament knowing this fact fully well when her husband who was a farmer, died of snake-bite.

According to the Mahāvastu the king of Kośala showed kindness (maitrī) towards a merchant who lost his fortunes in business. The merchant came to the king for financial help to enable him to re-start his business. The king was so much afflicted with pity and kindness for him that he

1. Ibid., V, 115 ff.

2. Aṅguttara, V, 299 ff.

3. Ibid., V, 344.

4. Ibid., IV, 390.

5. Vibhaṅga, pp. 272-73.

6. Hopkins, Ethics of India, p. 160.

asked him to take him to the king of Kāśī as a captured enemy, whereby he could get a reward of money. The merchant did so. But the king of Kāśī was struck with wonder at the act of kindness on the part of the king of Kośala whom he reinstated on the throne. The merchant then got monetary help from the king of Kośala.¹

A hunter was struck with wonder at the amazing love and sacrifice of the deer-queen for her husband.²

A sage when asked replied to a cruel king of Benares that he was averse to hatred, doing injury to others or thinking ill of others. The cruel king greatly tortured him and asked him if he had still been full of piety and compassion. The sage reiterated that he was so. But the king on account of this cruel deed had to suffer in hell³.

The general Buddhist conception of all-embracing love is regarded as a means of attaining perfection. The all-pervading kindness of the Buddhist, as aptly pointed out by Hopkins,⁴ was really a stepping stone from which he was to walk vigorously to reach that absolute serenity in which the love which he formerly desired was implicitly suppressed as all feeling was happily lost. Through this love or kindness he tried to suppress evil passions in himself and subdue them in others till he could obtain the better state of absolute indifference.

1. Mahāvastu (Ed. Senart) Vol. III. p. 349.

2. Ibid., II, 234.

3. Ibid., III, p. 357.

4. Ethics of India, p. 136.

Chapter XIII

SOME DISTINGUISHED MEN AND WOMEN IN JAINISM

Introduction—It is interesting to read the anecdotes of some men and women who became famous in the history of Jainism. They throw some light on ancient Indian life.

In the life of Pārśvanātha who lived some 250 years before Mahāvīra we find that Ahimsā (avoidance of life-slaughter) is the best of all virtues. He himself admitted that it would be a folly to engage in meditation subjecting body to pain. Neminātha taught the people to develop kindness, to speak truth, and observe precepts.

In the account of Kumārapāla it is to be noticed that even the rat had attachment for money. Life-slaughter was prohibited by him. There was no fear of theft in his kingdom. People used to live in peace and happiness and observed Ahimsā. At the time of king Bimbisāra of Magadha in order to reach the harem a trench was cut from outside the town. There were many skilful artists and painters available during his reign. In the market of Kauśāmbī a beautiful girl was brought for sale. Taxation was reduced in those days to improve the condition of the people, as we find in the account of Peṭhaḍakumāra. Agriculture and poultry engaged much attention of the people. Riding and archery were learnt with great care. The tiger was let loose in the city with the object of killing a particular person.

Many beautiful temples and rest houses were built, wells and tanks were dug, and markets were opened in the country for the convenience of the people. A certain physician of Kauśāmbī cured all kinds of leprosy. Two

kinds of art were taught by virtue of (1) a man would not be drowned and by virtue of (2) his body would not be injured by any kind of weapon. The first kind was known as Jalataranī art.

There was the custom of refusing marriage on the ground of inferiority of lineage. It is interesting to note from the account of Abhaya Kumāra as to how the thief was found out, who readily confessed his guilt.

There are several instances of practising self-control and meditation, cherishing unbounded love towards others, and giving up the life of a householder and adopting the life of endurance for the attainment of salvation. In the account of Ṛṣabhadeva we find that men used to live on leaves and vegetables, when there was a dearth of fruits and water.

At the time of Mahāvīra the economic condition of the country was very prosperous. People used to perform sacrifices in which many faultless creatures were immolated. Brahmins and other high caste Hindus looked down upon the Śūdras and deprived them of a share in the administration of the country. Mahāvīra instructed the people thus : "Piety, in the strict sense of the term, cannot be practised by performing sacrifices which involve life-slaughter. The possessor of good qualities is a Brāhmaṇa, and the reverse is a Śūdra. Every human being, a Brāhmaṇa or Caṇḍāla, a male or a female, has the birth-right of practising piety which is by no means the exclusive business of a particular sect only. Aversion to taking life is the best religion. Paramātmās are those whose souls are fully developed".

Ṛṣabhadeva—There was a time when the people used to live in amity and concord in forests. An elephant suddenly appeared and a man named Vimalavāhana sat on it. People used to look upon him as a god.

Disputes arose as to the ownership of the natural produce but they were settled by Vimalavāhana who was elected an arbitrator by the people. Since then he was regarded by the people as their lord and was called kulakara.¹ The seventh in descent from kulakara was Nābhikulakara who had by his wife, Marudevī, a beautiful son named Rṣabhadeva.

Once a beautiful orphan girl named Sunandā was found strolling about in the forest and was brought to Nābhikulakara. She was married to Rṣabhadeva who had another wife named Sumaṅgalā. Sunandā gave birth to twins, a son named Vāhuvalī and a daughter named Sundarī. Sumaṅgalā, too, gave birth to a son named Bharata and a daughter named Brāhmī. On account of want of fruits and water men used to live on leaves and vegetables but they could not digest them. They followed the advice of Rṣabhadeva in eating them. A few days later, they again suffered from the same trouble. At this time fire broke out by means of constant striking of trees against one another on account of heavy storm. The people were astonished at this new phenomenon, and were advised by Rṣabhadeva to keep the fire burning by adding fuel to it. Rṣabhadeva then taught them the preparation of earthen wares and advised them to take cooked food only. The people were cured of indigestion by following his advice. But they felt the necessity of protecting the earthen wares from being broken by wild animals. Rṣabhadeva taught them the art of building huts and the art of painting for adorning the rooms. He then taught them the art of weaving cloth. The people then became

1. The kulakaras were the first kings and founders of families at the time when the rest of mankind were yugalins. The first kulakara was Vimalavāhana, the seventh and last of the line Nābhi (Jaina sūtras, S. B. E., Pt. I, 281 f. n.). According to the Digambara belief there were fourteen kulakaras beginning with Pratiśrutī nābhi.

extremely quarrelsome and lost respect for one another. So they elected R̥ṣabhadeva as their king. Thus R̥ṣabhadeva became the first king. He was also known as Ādinātha. He caused several palaces built and big markets opened, He had the town encircled with big walls. He taught the people to tend cattle. The people began to cultivate lands with the help of cattle. Lands yielded abundant crops and people started business on an exchange basis. To teach the people the practice of piety, R̥ṣabhadeva gave gold coins in charity for one year, gave separate kingdoms to his sons and himself passed his days like a sage completely free from attachment. Bareheaded and barefooted, unmoved by cold or heat, R̥ṣabhadeva kept himself engaged in meditation. In course of his tour R̥ṣabhadeva came to the house of Śreyāṃsa Kumāra, grandson of his son Vāhuvalī, and drank sugarcane juice offered by him. He travelled far and wide and acquired muktijñāna following the acquisition of real knowledge. He advised the people (1) to lead a holy life, (2) to refrain from killing animals, (3) to make friends with everybody, (4) to abstain from committing theft, (5) to accept gift unasked for, (6) to always remain contented, (7) to renounce sinful desires, and (8) to keep company of sages. Those who acted according to his advice, formed a school called Tīrtha. Ādinātha was the founder of the first Tīrtha. He was a well-known Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains. In course of time he attained salvation.

Neminātha—There lived a good king named Samudravijaya in Śauripura, a big town, on the banks of the Yamunā. He had a son named Ariṣṭanemi by his Queen Śivādevī. Ariṣṭanemi was also called Neminātha. He possessed many good qualities and acquired extensive knowledge.

King Samudravijaya had nine younger brothers, the

youngest of whom was Vāsudeva. Many kings and rich men gave their daughters in marriage to Vāsudeva for personal beauty and good quality. Of his many queens, Rohiṇī and Devakī gave birth respectively to Valadeva and Śrīkṛṣṇa who became very powerful.

Not far from Śauripura was a big town, Mathurā, ruled over by a tyrant king named Kāṃsa who was so very cruel that he sent his father to prison and tortured him in various ways. Kāṃsa was killed by Śrīkṛṣṇa and Valadeva who reinstalled Ugrasena on the throne. The powerful king, Jarāsandha, was greatly enraged when he heard of the news of the death of his son-in-law, Kāṃsa. Ugrasena then left his kingdom with his family. On reaching Kathiawar he built on the banks of the sea a very big town which he named Dvārikā. Śrīkṛṣṇa was very powerful, so he became the king of Dvārikā. Big palaces and temples were built and markets were opened. Dvārikā looked pretty. Prettiest of all was the armoury of Śrīkṛṣṇa. One day while walking with his friend Neminātha came to the armoury where he found a beautiful conch. While Neminātha was about to take up the conch with the intention of blowing it, he was advised by the armoury-guard not to make futile attempt at lifting the conch as none but Śrīkṛṣṇa only had the power to do so. Nemināthā smiled, took the conch and blew it hard. Everybody became thoughtful; Śrīkṛṣṇa, too, was greatly surprised. When he learnt from his armoury-guard that his cousin Neminātha had blown the conch, he decided to try the strength of his cousin. His invitation to a duel was accepted by Neminātha who, however, suggested that each would lower down the outstretched arm of the other. Śrīkṛṣṇa accepted this suggestion and stretched his arm which was quickly lowered down by Neminātha. Now, Śrīkṛṣṇa in his turn tried his utmost to bring

down the outstretched arm of Neminātha but all his efforts were in vain. He then believed that Neminātha was surely stronger. Neminātha was asked by his parents to marry but he assured them that he would marry as soon as he would find a suitable girl for him. Rājamatī, daughter of king Ugrasena, was found to be the most suitable bride for him. Necessary arrangements were made for Neminātha's marriage ceremony. The entire town was tastefully decorated. Neminātha was brought in a chariot to the palace of king Ugrasena. Rājamatī, the bride-elect, was delighted to see Neminātha from a distance and considered herself to be the most fortunate for winning such a beautiful husband.

As soon as the chariot brought Neminātha to the palace of Ugrasena he heard the animals shouting for death. On enquiry he learnt that the beasts which would be killed and cooked on the day of his marriage were shouting in a piteous tone. He ordered the charioteer to release the animals. His command was obeyed and he asked his charioteer to return home. His parents saw him turn back and enquired of him why he should not marry after having liberated the animals. Neminātha explained to them that he had been eager to establish a far wider and purer relationship than what it generally takes place in this world. He apologised to his parents and entreated them not to be anxious for his marriage. He did not marry and remained a celibate.

When the princess learnt that Neminātha had gone back, she became unconscious. On regaining senses, she began to think of Neminātha and shed tears. Her maids requested her not to be sorry for such a prosaic husband and assured her that a worthy husband would be brought for her in no time. Rājamatī, however, entreated them not to utter such inauspicious words and told them that

Neminātha was her husband and that she would not accept any other person as her husband.

Neminātha's indifference grew more and he became a sage. He established friendliness with all his relatives and gradually became a cosmopolitan. He used to partake of simple dishes, to lie on the ground, to put on one garment and to suffer heat in summer and cold in winter. He did not feel pleasure or pain. He was the well-wisher of all. Whatever he said was proved to be true. To lead a sacred life he used to roam about from place to place. Sojourn of saints is called a vihāra. After some time Neminātha acquired muktijñāna (knowledge of salvation). The object of acquiring such a knowledge is to attain truth and a thorough grasp of all worldly matters. Neminātha was greatly delighted after acquiring the knowledge of salvation and he began to teach the people thus : (1) 'be frindly with all', (2) 'always speak true and sweet words', (3) 'never take anything without the knowledge of the owner', (4) 'observe sīla', (5) 'always rest satisfied,' (6) 'develop kindliness', (7) 'religion should be dearer than life itself', (8) 'life should be sacrificed for the sake of religion, if necessity arises', etc.

The instructions imparted by Neminātha were carried out by many people, even by Śrīkrṣṇa himself. Many men and women began to lead a saintly life, and many human beings led pure life as far as practicable even being householders. They formed a Saṃgha which was called a Tīrtha. For the establishment of this Tīrtha Lord Neminātha and his 23 successors were called Tīrthaṅkaras or the founders of Tīrthas.

Rājamatī led a pure life of disinterestedness towards worldly things. She followed the example of Neminātha and finally attained salvation. Neminātha enjoying a long span of life attained Nirvāṇa on the mount of Girnar.

Pārśvakumāra—In the past there reigned in Kāśī a king named Aśvasena, whose chief queen was Vāmādevī.¹ One night in pitch darkness Vāmādevī while lying on her bed saw a black snake passing by. She was not frightened to see it. On the next day she spoke about it to the king who said that she would give birth to a mighty son. In due course a son of great beauty, good qualities, and immense knowledge was born to her. He was named Pārśvakumāra.² When he grew up, he became famous for his great prowess. At that time there was a big town named Kuśasthala (identified with Kānyakubja or Kanauj), ruled over by a king named Prasenajit,³ who tried his best to make his daughter Prabhāvatī fully accomplished. When Prabhāvatī grew up, her parents began to search for a suitable bridegroom.

One day while Prabhāvatī was walking in the garden in the company of her maids, she heard a song in praise of Pārśvakumāra. Listening to it Prabhāvatī decided to marry him. After attaining puberty she was engrossed in the thought of her would-be husband. This thought caused remarkable changes in her body. Her maids spoke to her parents about her thought. Her parents were delighted to hear about her decision. Her thought of Pārśvakumāra made her lean and thin. Her parents noticed her weakness and decided to send her to Pārśvakumāra.

By virtue of her beauty, good qualities, and immense knowledge she won the admiration of everybody in the country. Many good kings wanted to marry her. Yavana, king of Kalinga, was very powerful and was almost sure of winning her. Very soon the news of Prabhāvatī's going to

1. Cf. Kalpa sūtra, 150 ; Triṣaṣṭiśālākā, Parva IX. V. 23, p. 196.

2. He lived some 250 years before Mahāvīra (S. Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 31). He was born in Benares about 817 B. C.

3. He was also known as Prasannajita, king of Ayodhyā.

Pārśvakumāra on a Svayamvara spread far and wide. When King Yavana heard of this, he became very much displeased and announced that during his lifetime Pārśvakumāra would not be able to marry Prabhāvatī. He then started for Kuśasthala with a strong army and besieged it.

King Prasenajit began to think about the ways and means of saving himself from the powerful army. It struck him that King Aśvasena alone would be able to help him. Aśvasena when informed of the impending danger of Prasenajit at once came to his rescue. Before he could start with his army towards Kuśasthala his son Pārśvakumāra enquired of him about the enemy with whom he was going to encounter. King Aśvasena told him everything and permitted him to face the enemy in a battle.

King Yavana of Kalinga on the advice of his old minister did not wage war with him as he was too strong a match for him and prayed for forgiveness. Then Pārśvakumāra blessed him and asked him to go back to his kingdom to rule it happily. Pārśvakumāra was then persuaded by the kings named Aśvasena and Prasenajit to marry Prabhāvatī. He told his father that he did not like the married life, but ultimately his father's eagerness made him agree to marry Prabhāvatī. After marriage Prabhāvatī was greatly pleased and considered herself to be the most fortunate of all women.

One day Pārśvakumāra saw many people hurriedly coming out of the town with baskets full of flowers and learnt on enquiry that they would worship an ascetic named Kamaṭha who had kept fire round his seat at the outskirts of the city and had engaged himself in a meditation called Pañcāgni under the scorching sun. Clever Pārśvakumāra came there with his companion and saw a snake being roasted inside a piece of burning wood. He said, 'It is a folly to be engaged in meditation subjecting

body to pain. Meditation is one of the accompaniments of religion. Everything is futile except ahimsā. Ahimsā (avoidance of life-slaughter) is the best of all virtues'. Kamaṭha replied, 'What do you know about dharma? You like to mount horses and elephants; only ascetics like myself know what dharma is.' On hearing this Pārśvakumāra thought thus: 'How much conceited are men who know nothing of kindness, yet think that they are practising dharma?' Then he asked his companion to cut that piece of wood lengthwise. As soon as it was done, a snake almost roasted came out. Pārśvakumāra caused that snake to hear the navakāraṃ mantra. The snake died immediately. At this Kamaṭha became greatly ashamed. He was very angry, yet he continued his meditation. In a short time he also died.

While on his tour Pārśvakumāra came to a hermitage at night and there at the foot of a tree he became deeply absorbed in meditation. He was still in deep meditation, when he was disturbed by a heavy downpour with deafening peels of thunder. A few days after Pārśvakumāra acquired muktijñāna. Advised by him many men and women began to lead sacred and virtuous life. They formed an establishment which came to be known as Tīrtha. For establishing the Tīrtha, Pārśva was called Tīrthaṅkara. Parents of Pārśva, Prabhāvatī, and other members of the family joined the saṃgha.¹ Pārśva attained nirvāṇa in his old age.

Mahāvīra—There ruled in Kṣatriyakunḍa,² a beautiful town in Magadha, a pious king named Siddhārtha.³ His

1. 16000 monks, 38000 nuns, 1,64000 laymen and 3,27,000 laywomen were his followers according to the Kālpasūtra, 161-164.

2. It may be indentified with the modern Basukunḍ (Cambridge History of India. Vol. I. p. 157; Barnett, Antagaḍa-Dasāo and Anuttarovovāiya-Dasāo, Intro. p. VI.

3. Cf. Hoernle, Uvāsagadasāo. II. pp. 5-6.

queen was Triśalādevī, who gave birth to a beautiful and spirited son. As the birth of this child was followed by an abundance of crops and increase of the royal revenue, the child was named Varddhamāna. In his boy-hood Varddhamāna was fearless and far advanced in knowledge. He was also known as Vesālāi or a citizen of Vaiśālī.¹ He had high regards for his parents. He was remarkable for his simplicity, calmness and sweet words. His parents gave him in marriage to a beautiful and accomplished princess named Yaśodā. Varddhamāna was blessed with a daughter named Priyadarśanā. When Varddhamāna was 18 years of age, he lost his parents. His elder brother Nandivardhana ascended the throne. Varddhamāna spent one year in mental development, living only on rice and water. Another year he spent in giving alms and distributing gold coins. On the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha, when all people assembled on a festive occasion in a beautiful garden called Jñātaśīla at the out-skirts of the town, Varddhamāna addressed the gathering saying, 'From this day forth, I shall not commit sin of any kind by speech, body and mind. I shall purify myself completely'. With the permission of the people assembled, he left the kingdom for self-purification at the age of thirty. Sometimes he fasted for four days at a stretch, sometimes for fifteen days, sometimes for twenty days and sometimes for six months. He used to meditate sometimes in the hollows of trees, sometimes in burning places, sometimes in jungles, sometimes in caves, sometimes in temples, sometimes in places infested with dangerous animals.

Disregarding the warning of some milkmen whom he met on the way, Varddhamāna entered a dense jungle and

1. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, 1, 2, 3, 22.

found a venomous black snake named Caṇḍakauśika. The snake tried to kill him first by its hard breath and then by biting the finger of his right leg but its attempts were fruitless. Varddhamāna advised the snake to try to understand things and to think of its own soul. He then left the place. Listening to the holy words of Varddhamāna, Caṇḍakauśika exerted itself for mental development. Varddhamāna then came to Nālandā and stayed there during the cāturmāsa¹ period. Here Gosāla,² a painter's son, who was extremely wicked, declared himself as the disciple of Varddhamāna and followed his master wherever he went with the result that his master had to suffer much with his characteristic patience and forbearance for the numerous misdeeds of his disciple.

Once Varddhamāna in course of his tour came to Rāḍha inhabited by barbarous people who let loose their dogs against him but in vain. On another occasion in winter while Varddhamāna was engaged in deep meditation, a company of merchants stopped near him and passed the cold night there by keeping fire round them. When the merchants left the place on the following morning, fire continued to burn with the result that surrounding grass caught fire and Varddhamāna's legs got scorched but he was not moved until his meditation was finished. Once while he was in meditation, a milkman came to him with two bulls on his way to the village near by and asked him to look after the animals. On his return from the village, the milkman could not find his bulls which had meanwhile entered the forest. The milkman poked Varddhamāna and

1. It commences from the 15th Śuklapakṣa or full-moon of Āsārh ending on the 15th Śuklapakṣa of Kartick and this festival is celebrated during this period from Bhādra Kṛishṇa Trayodashi lasting for 8 days till Bhādra Śuklapancamī (P. C. Nahar, An Epitome of Jainism, p. 671).

2. Bhagavatī Sūtra, XV., I ; Hoernle, Uvāsagadasāo, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 1-29 ; Kalpasūtra, Subodhikā Tikā, p. 102.

wanted to know the whereabouts of his bulls but he got no response. He was very angry with Varddhamāna and left the place. For his strong endurance of pain Varddhamāna was named Mahāvīra. He attained kevalajñāna while absorbed in meditation underneath a śāla tree on the bank of a river.

Many persons, rich or poor, kings or queens, became his disciples. In all 14,000 sages, 36,000 pious ladies, numerous male and female householders received religious instructions from Mahāvīra and formed a saṃgha called the Tīrtha. On account of this Mahāvīra came to be known as a Tīrthaṅkara. He subdued anger and malice completely, so he was called Jina and his followers came to be known as Jainas. Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, then came to Pāvā where he attained nirvāṇa.

Abhaya Kumāra :—Some boys while playing quarrelled with Abhaya, a clever and intelligent boy of a village called Venātata. One of the boys said to Abhaya, 'Oh, bastard ! take your seat there. Bhadra is your grandfather and not father'. On hearing this Abhaya felt insulted. He returned home and enquired of his mother about the whereabouts of his father. His mother said, 'once a tourist possessed of uncommon virtues and beautiful appearance came here. My father gave me in marriage to him. Some time after marriage, a few tourists came here and said something to your father who then went away leaving behind a letter and asking me to lead a chaste life.' She then gave that letter to her son who, on reading it, said that his father was the king of Rājagṛha. Then both the mother and the son started for Rājagṛha. On reaching Rājagṛha, which was then the capital of Magadha, they took shelter in a noble man's house. One day while strolling about in the streets he learnt, on enquiry that the post of the prime minister would be filled up by one who would be able to pick

up a ring from the bottom of a well while standing on the brink. Abhaya succeeded in his attempt to get the ring and was praised. The royal officer reported the matter to the king who asked Abhaya about his name and whereabouts. Abhaya gave his name and said that he was the son of Nandā, the daughter of Bhadra of Venātata. He further said that his mother had been greatly mortified on account of long separation from her husband and had been waiting in a noble man's house. On receipt of this news the king brought Nandā to his palace and made her his chief queen. He appointed Abhaya as his prime minister. One day the king said to Abhaya that the king of Vaiśālī had insulted him by refusing to give his two beautiful daughters in marriage to him on the ground of inferiority of lineage. Abhaya assured his father that he would make this marriage effective within six months. He then had an oil-painting of his father done by a skilful painter and opened a shop in Vaiśālī in front of the palace under the assumed name of Dhanaseṭh. In this shop he kept varieties of beautiful articles for sale at cheap rates. Very soon the fame of his shop spread so much that even the maid-servants of the harem began to purchase articles from his shop. Abhaya used to worship the oil-painting whenever the maid-servants of the harem came for shopping. In reply to the query of one of the maid servants Abhaya said that the object of his worship was Śreṇika, king of Magadha, who was so very beautiful in appearance that he was worshipped as a deity by the members of the royal harem. The maid-servant spoke about king Śreṇika to Sujeṣṭhā the eldest daughter of king Ceṭaka. Sujeṣṭhā desired very much to see the painting. The maid-servant brought it and showed it to her. Sujeṣṭhā was enamoured of the king at first sight. She sent word to Dhanaseṭh requesting him to devise means whereby she could be married

to king Śreṇika. Abhaya Kumāra got a trench cut from outside the city to the harem and placed a chariot in front of the trench. King Śreṇika drove with Celanā, the youngest daughter of king Cetaka.

Once some mangoes were stolen from the garden. King Śreṇika ordered Abhaya to catch the thief. Abhaya was in disguise in the midst of a big congregation of people at whose request he related the following story :-

“Once a girl promised to a gardener that she would spend the first night of her marriage with him. When the girl was married she took permission of her husband and proceeded to meet the gardener. On the way some thieves caught her and wanted to remove her ornaments from her person. She assured them that she would return to them shortly after keeping her promise given to a gardener. The thieves let her go. The girl then proceeded further and was met by a demon who wanted to devour her. She requested the demon to allow her to keep her promise and assured him of her return visit on her way back. The demon too let her go. At last she came to the gardener who said, ‘Sister! I thank you very much for keeping your promise so strictly. Your promise has been fulfilled and you may go now’. The girl then came back to the demon who, on account of her truthfulness, changed his mind and said, ‘Sister! I spare your life. You may go now’. She then came to the thieves who praised her for her keeping promise. The thieves said, ‘Sister! We do not like to rob you of your ornaments. You may go.’ The girl then returned home.”

After finishing the story Abhaya Kumāra asked the listeners to give their opinion as to which of the four, husband, thief, demon and gardener, was the best. Some said, ‘the gardener is the best, for he addressed the

young girl as sister and did not enjoy her company at night.' Some remarked, 'the husband is the best, for he permitted his wife to keep her promise.' Some were of opinion, 'the demon is the best for he let this young girl go away alive.' At this time one man said, 'the thieves are the best for they let her go without robbing her of her ornaments although they got the best opportunity'. Abhaya Kumāra took this man to be the thief who had stolen mangoes. He at once arrested the man who afterwards confessed his guilt.

Once Caṇḍa Pradyota,¹ king of Ujjain, pitched a camp near Rājagṛha to attack it. Abhaya Kumāra filled a pitcher with gold coins and secretly placed it in the enemy's camp. Then he wrote a letter to Caṇḍa Pradyota thus, 'Dear uncle ! you know that I am your well-wisher ; so I inform you that your army has been bribed and won over by my father. You will learn this on enquiry. Please be careful.' A search in the camp revealed a pitcher full of gold coins. King Caṇḍa Pradyota saw this pitcher and was greatly convinced of the truthfulness of Abhaya Kumāra's report. He withdrew his army and returned to his kingdom. A few days later Caṇḍa Pradyota understood that he had been deceived by Abhaya. He became very angry and enquired whether there was anybody who would be able to bring to his kingdom Abhaya Kumāra alive. A prostitute undertook the task. She came to Rājagṛha with two maid-servants and began to live there in the garb of a female ascetic. She used to worship the deity with pomp and grandeur, observed vows and engaged herself throughout the day in performing religious deeds. One day Abhaya came to the temple to offer worship and

1. He was a contemporary of the Buddha Gautama. For a Buddhist account vide *Dhammapada* Commy, I., 191, ff.

was greatly pleased to observe the piety of the female ascetic. He said, 'Sister! who are you and where are you coming from?' The prostitute said, 'Brother! I live in Ujjain. My name is Bhadrā. My husband and two sons are dead. So with my two daughters-in-law I am out on a pilgrimage. Salvation is not attained until one feels consequences of his action to the fullest extent.' She then accepted Abhaya's invitation to a dinner and caused Abhaya to accept her invitation. She mixed poison with food. Abhaya took his meals and became senseless. The clever woman then tied him and placed him on a chariot and drove away. On regaining consciousness Abhaya understood that the woman had deceived him and made him a prisoner.

Once Analagiri, the favourite elephant of king Caṇḍa Pradyota, became mad and uncontrollable. Various attempts failed to cure it. The king consulted Abhaya Kumāra who said that his captive, king Udayana, was well-versed in music. If he would sing songs then the elephant could be brought under control.¹ The king then requested Abhaya Kumāra to ask any boon other than his release from the prison. Abhaya said that he would do so in due course. The three other acts of merit were rewarded with promises of three boons. When the total number of boons was four, Abhaya prayed for the boons thus: '(1) You and your queen Śivādevī should mount the elephant Analagiri and I would sit in the centre', and (2) 'You would prepare a funeral pyre on a chariot and we three would be burnt together.' Abhaya Kumāra's demand caused Caṇḍa Pradyota very pensive. He then set Abhaya free. While leaving Ujjain Abhaya promised that he would take away king Caṇḍa Pradyota somehow or other.

1. Cf. Dhammapada Commentary, I., 191 ff.

To keep his promise Abhaya Kumāra in the guise of a merchant took two beautiful women and came to Ujjain. Once king Caṇḍa Pradyota was charmed to see the two women. He sent word to them through his maid-servant that he would like to visit them at their house but the maid-servant came back disappointed. When the maid-servant went to them for the third time, they said, 'Sister ! we have with us a brother who will go out of town after seven days, at that time the king can come here'. The king was then waiting for the seventh day. Meanwhile Abhaya tied a man to a bedstead and took him to a physician. The man posing himself as a mad man used to cry aloud saying that he was king Caṇḍa Pradyota who was being carried away by those people and that he should be rescued. People used to laugh at the words of a mad man. On the seventh day when king Caṇḍa Pradyota came to Abhaya's house, he was treated like the mad man. Abhaya brought him to Rājagṛha. On seeing Caṇḍa Pradyota king Śreṇika became angry and was about to strike him when he was told by Abhaya that Caṇḍa Pradyota¹ was his relative and should be honourably released. At Abhaya's request Śreṇika set Caṇḍa Pradyota free with due honour. A poor sage was very much insulted by the people. Abhaya Kumāra came to his rescue. He then announced that he would give three valuable articles to the man who would forsake (1) cold water, (2) fire, and (3) wife. The sage got these valuable articles as none but the sage was able to abandon these three things. The people then took him to be a real saint.

Once king Śreṇika enquired of his counsellors about the most valuable thing in the world. Some mentioned

1. According to the Tibetan account he was the son of king Anantanemi. He was called Pradyota because the world was illuminated at the time of his birth. (Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 17).

'diamond' and others, 'pearl'. But Abhaya declared that human flesh was the most valuable thing. Abhaya's opinion was not accepted as true but he promised to prove it to be true. After a few days Abhaya came to a banker and told him that the king had fallen ill and that he would be cured by taking human flesh cut off from the breast. He demanded such flesh from the banker who, however, paid money to Abhaya instead of complying with his demand. Then Abhaya visited several bankers and everybody paid money without meeting his requirement. With the money Abhaya came to the royal court and narrated every thing to the king. On hearing this the counsellors felt ashamed. Thus Abhaya succeeded in proving his opinion to be true.

When king Śreṇika offered the throne to Abhaya,¹ the latter respectfully declined to accept it and took his permission to receive ordination from Lord Mahāvīra. Abhaya then led a holy life.

Kumārapāla—Siddhvarāja-Jayasimha was a powerful king of Gujarat. He was childless. On learning from an astrologer that his throne would, on his death, be occupied by Kumārapāla, Siddhvarāja devised various means to kill Kumārapāla whom he considered to be of low descent. Kumārapāla was the son of Tribhuvanapāla, king of Deṭhali. Bhopālde was his wife. He had two brothers and two sisters. As soon as he received the news of the murder of his father by Siddhvarāja, Kumārapāla fled at night leaving his family behind. Wandering from place to place in the garb of a mendicant he reached Pāṭhana where he was engaged as a priest in charge of the temple. Knowing Kumārapāla's appointment as a priest, King Siddhvarāja invited all the priests on the plea of performing his father's

1. For an account of the birth of Abhaya, son of Bimbisāra by a Licchavi woman, vide my *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, pp. 108, 110. For a Tibetan version of the account of Abhaya vide Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 64-65.

śrādh ceremony. Kumārapāla came to know that this was done to kill him. He fled and took shelter under a tree. There he found a rat taking out of a hole twenty-one coins one after another. As soon as the rat entered the hole with one coin to keep it there, Kumārapāla picked up the remaining twenty coins. On its return the rat could not find the coins and began to strike its head against the floor till it expired. Kumārapāla was extremely sorry to see this incident and thought that a rat, too, had an attachment for money. He then left the place and went on till he lay tired like a dead man on the roadside.

On her way from her father-in-law's house Śrīdevī noticed Kumārapāla in that sad plight, took pity on him and gave him food. Kumārapāla gratefully acknowledged the gift which, he assured her, would never be forgotten. Then Kumārapāla proceeded towards Deṭhali, his native village. The news of his arrival reached Siddhvarāja who employed some soldiers to find him out but in vain, as a potter named Sajjan had kept him concealed. Then Kumārapāla removed his family to Mālava country and himself went on tour. During his sojourn he contracted friendship with a Brahmin named Vosirī who used to give him a share of the alms. After a short while Kumārapāla separated himself from Vosirī and resumed his journey and reached Khambhāta in a moribund state due to starvation. There a Jain teacher named Hemacandra met him and found in him signs of a great man. He prophesied that he would be the future king of Gujarat. He made an arrangement with Udayana, minister of Khambhāta, to stay with him. Siddhvarāja came to know about it and sent his army to find him out. Kumārapāla concealed himself in a room containing books while the house of Udayana was being searched by the army. The army returned disappointed. Hemacandra said to Kumārapāla, 'You will not suffer any longer. You will soon

be installed on the throne of Gujarat.' Kumārapāla was made to believe it and he promised to be a true follower of Jainism if his prophecy be fulfilled. He visited many places before he went to Mālava to be in the midst of his relatives there. He heard of Siddhvarāja lying in death-bed. He then came to Gujarat with his relatives. Siddhvarāja while on death-bed adopted the minister's son as his son so that Kumārapāla might not obtain his kingdom. After his death Kumārapāla arrived at Pāṭhana and he obtained his kingdom. When Kumārapāla ascended the throne, he was fifty years old and he remembered those who helped him. The chiefs who were under Kumārapāla taking advantage of his weakness stopped payment of rents and rebellion took place. Kumārapāla with the help of his strong army subjugated the king of Ajmir and brought under control many smaller chiefs. He then became the ruler of eighteen countries. The extent of his kingdom was up to the Punjab in the north, Vindhyaśāla in the south, the river Ganges in the east, and the river Indus in the west. Kumārapāla used to revere his teacher Hemacandra very much and took his advice in all matters. Hemacandra was one of his sincere well-wishers. Kumārapāla prohibited life-slaughter in all his eighteen countries and repaired the temple of Somanātha and many other temples. In his kingdom there was no fear of theft. People used to live there in peace and happiness. Shooting was prohibited in his kingdom and hence the animals used to move about without any fear of molestation. He spent a large sum of money for good works and stopped taking money from dead persons. He asked the people of 18 countries to observe ahimsā (avoidance of life-slaughter). He reigned for thirty years during which period his subjects lived with ease and comforts. His preceptor died and he became very much afflicted on his death. His end came late in life.

Khemā Dedrāṇi—Khemā was a rich trader who passed his days like a poor man. Being advised by his father Dedrāṇi Khemā undertook to feed the famine-stricken people for 360 days. At this everybody was struck with wonder. He took the party to a cave in a bush close by. All were surprised to see the vast riches stored up there. They praised him for not being proud and conceited, and took him to the Durbar. Questioned by the king as to how many villages he had, Khemā said that he had only two—one a scale and the other a pot. With the help of the former he used to purchase vegetables and with the latter he used to sell oil, ghee, etc. The king was greatly pleased and praised him very much for his exemplary generosity. He then lived a holy life in the sacred city of Satruṇjaya where he breathed his last.

Pethaḍakumāra—On the death of his father, Dedasāha, who was very rich, Pethaḍakumāra gradually lost his inherited fortune and became so very poor that it was impossible for him to maintain himself, his wife, Padminī, and his only son, Jhājhan. With his wife and son he began to pass his days in a monastery in a village at Nimār. Once a learned sage came to the village and advised the villagers to lead a happy life, to practise self-control by meditation and to sanctify their mind by deep devotion to God. At this time poor Pethaḍakumāra was thinking of his bad luck. The learned sage advised him to observe the vow of earning money. Pethaḍakumāra promised to perform pious deeds after keeping something for his livelihood, if he would again receive sufficient riches. Gradually he became poorer and poorer so much so that it was impossible for him to make both ends meet. He then left the village with his family, came to Māṇḍava-garh in Malwa and opened a shop. He used to purchase pure ghee from milk-women of neighbouring villages and

and sell it at a fixed price. He did well in his business on account of his honesty and genial temperament. He made money within a short time. Jayasimha, king of that country, was very much charmed by his intelligence and he liked his son also on account of his wisdom and sagacity. The king appointed him as his chief minister and his son named Jhājhan as his police officer. The old prime minister became jealous of him. He said to the king that Pethaḍakumāra had a citrāvalī which never exhausts one's own store. Pethaḍakumāra being asked spoke the truth and assured the king that citrāvalī would be used for the benefit of the kingdom. The king was very much pleased. Pethaḍakumāra reduced taxation and tried his utmost to improve the condition of the people. He then came to the Mount Abu and saw a beautiful temple thereon. He spent a big amount to build beautiful temples at Māṇḍavagarh and Devagiri, and in different places in order to fulfil his promise. He secretly helped his co-religionists. At the age of thirty-two he led the life of a celibate.

Once Lilāvati, queen of king Jayasimha, was attacked with high fever accompanied by burning sensation all over her body. Her maidservant brought Pethaḍakumāra's cloth and covered her body with it. She felt relieved and slept. A wicked person informed the king that the queen enamoured of the beauty of the chief minister had been lying by putting his cloth on her body. At this the king became very much annoyed, imprisoned the chief minister, and ordered to take the queen to the forest and kill her there. The queen was left in the forest but she was not killed. The queen then changed her dress and returned to the city. Jhājhan-kumāra cleverly brought her to his house.

Once the king's favourite elephant, heavily drunk,

bolted for a while and became senseless. When all attempts to restore the elephant to normal health were fruitless, a maid-servant brought Pethaḍakumāra's cloth and covered the body of the elephant with it. The animal recovered and stood up. The maid-servant then narrated how the queen was cured of her high fever by using this cloth. The king became very much remorseful coming to know the actual fact. He then released Pethaḍakumāra from prison and he regretfully acknowledged his mistake. The king was surprised to learn that the queen had then been living. He sent for the queen, begged her pardon and began to reign happily.

Pethaḍakumāra in his old age accompanied by a big retinue of followers came to Siddhācala or Satruñjaya where he became a great devotee of Lord Ādinātha. He then visited Gīrnār and returned to Māṇḍava. Several good books were written at his request. He passed away peacefully after spending the rest of his life in deep meditation.

Amarakumāra—Śreṇika, king of Rājagṛha, had many skilful artists and painters brought from different places and had a museum built. After the exhibits were hung on the wall, the main door of the Museum fell down and broke. A new door was prepared again but it also fell down and broke immediately after fixing. At this the king became disgusted and consulted an astrologer. It was then announced by beat of drum that a boy having thirty-two marks would be required by the king for sacrifice. A brahmin-begger named Rṣabhadatta had four sons of whom the youngest, Amarakumāra, had thirty-two marks. He used to listen to the advice of religious men. He learnt the Navakāraṃ mantra, the remembrance of which removes distress and difficulty.

Rṣabhadatta sold his son Amarakumāra to the king and the son was afterwards brought to the museum. He was then bathed in the holy water of the Ganges, garlanded and besmeared with sandal paste. He was then kept standing near the sacrificial fire. With the help of the Navakāramantra he escaped injury from sacrificial fire in which he was thrown and everybody was astounded to find him appearing like a saint free from any mark of injury on his person. At this moment the king fell down bleeding profusely and afterwards he felt relieved with the help of Amarakumāra. The king being pleased offered him wealth which he refused. Amarakumāra then went to a forest to engage himself in deep meditation and became a saint. He breathed his last deeply absorbed in good thoughts.

Vimala—Lāhira, a Buddhist monk, was the commander-in-chief of Vanarāja, the first king of Gujarat. He was a very able and influential Kṣatriya. His courageous son Vīra was religious minded. Vīra had by his wife, Vīramatī, a son named Vimala possessed of thirty-two marks. When his son returned home after finishing his education, Vīra advised him to be fearless and to follow the teachings of Mahāvīra. He then left home to receive ordination. Shortly afterwards Vīramatī came to know that many people had been jealous of Vimala, and it was not safe for him to live there. So with her son she left that place and came to reside in her father's house. Since then Vimala used to help his maternal uncle in cultivation and in keeping poultry in the forest. He learnt riding and archery. Very soon he became a reputed archer. Śrīdatta, a merchant of Pāṭana, decided to give his daughter, Śrī, in marriage to Vimala. Vimala learnt from his maternal uncle that this marriage would not be performed until he could accumulate a large sum

of money. Vimala went to a forest with the grim determination to earn money. While he was brooding over this beneath a tree, he accidentally penetrated his stick into a hole and found a pitcher full of gold. He brought that pitcher home and placed it before his mother. Vīramatī was very pleased and fixed the date of her son's marriage. Very soon Vimala's marriage with Śrīdevī was performed with pomp and grandeur. Then he with his mother and wife left his maternal uncle's house and came to Pāṭana. One day he found that none of the soldiers engaged in target practice could hit the target; so he told them that they would not be able to regain the lost kingdom of king Bhīmadeva. Just at this time Bhīmadeva came there but he too failed to hit the target. Vimala smilingly said that all assembled persons were novices and that though they were at the helm of the royal administration, they were incompetent to rule the kingdom. On hearing this Bhīmadeva requested him to display his archery. Vimala said, "Let a boy with 108 betel leaves on his belly lie on the ground and I shall hit those leaves which will be marked by your Majesty and the boy will not be hurt. If I fail to do so you are at liberty to kill me. Further, by your command, I can hit the ear-ring of a woman churning curd. Similarly I shall be punished if I fail to do so." Then Vimala satisfied the king by showing his skill in archery. He was appointed as the Commander of 500 cavalry. He kept the army under his control. Chieftains of Gujarat were afraid of him. Soon he succeeded in securing the post of a minister. He built a very big and beautiful house and increased the strength of his own army. He had deep regard for Jineśvaradeva. His prosperity was not liked by his enemies who informed the king of his raising a big army with the intention

of conquering his kingdom. It was further reported to the king that he had no regard for any god other than Jineśvaradeva. The king came to Vimala's house and was convinced of the genuineness of the report he received. In course of the meeting of the cabinet for devising ways and means to remove Vimala from the kingdom, one of the ministers suggested that at dinner time a tiger should be let loose in the city and Vimala would be asked to bring the tiger under control. The tiger would surely kill him and the end would then be achieved. The king accepted this suggestion. Accordingly on the following day a tiger was set free and it began to run hither and thither. The people became panicky. Vimala caught hold of the tiger by its ears so tightly that it could not escape. He then encaged it. People began to praise him but the king and his ministers were disappointed. A few days later Vimala defeated his rival, Rājamalla, in a boxing and thus frustrated the plan of the king to kill him. Vimala noticed a sudden change in king's attitude towards him and on enquiry he was asked by the ministers to repay the loan of a large sum of money taken by his grandmother. He further came to know from them that that was the reason why the king behaved with some coldly. He at once left the place with many cavalry, infantry and camels loaded with gold, elephants and chariots, fully knowing that conspiracy was going on against him. He proceeded towards the Mount Abu. When the king of Candrāvati, a town near the Mount Abu, heard of Vimala's march, he fled from his kingdom. Vimala acting as the commander-in-chief of king Bhīmadeva, conquered many places and declared the victory of King Bhīmadeva. He defeated Pandiya, the tyrant king of Sind, and he forced Khuṇḍadeva, king of Paramāra, to accept the suzerainty of king Bhīmadeva.

He then ascended the throne of Chandrāvati. King Bhīmadeva sent some presents to him. Vimāla built beautiful temples and rest-houses, dug wells and tanks, and opened markets.

There he was passing his days well. There came one day a priest named Śrīdharmaghoṣa who advised him to lead a religious life and explained to him the essence of dharma. The priest also asked him to build a Jaina temple on the Mount Abu. Vimāla came to the Mount Abu with his relatives and found many temples of God Śiva with eleven thousand worshippers. At that time the influence of the Brahmins was very great. Vimāla purchased a piece of land for building a temple. Several years were spent in constructing the beautiful temple on the Mount Abu, where the image of God Rṣabha was placed. This unique temple still adorns the Mount Abu.

Śrīpāla—He was the only son of King Simharatha and Queen Kamalaprabhā, who ruled Campā in Aṅga. He lost his father when he was a mere boy. The prime minister declared a Council Regency. But Śrīpāla's uncle, Ajitasena, who was a very clever man, conspired with the army and officers of the state and decided to kill the queen-mother and the boy-king. The queen-mother got some scent of this conspiracy. She fled from the palace with her son at midnight and entered straightway into a dense forest which was full of wild animals. She took shelter in a colony of seven hundred lepers. She was kept covered with a white bedsheet. In course of their search, the soldiers of king Ajitasena came there and enquired the lepers about the queen-mother and the boy-king but no clue was found out. The soldiers then left the place.

Having taken his food from the lepers Śrīpāla was attacked with leprosy. He was also known as Umbara Rānā. The Queen-mother, Kamalaprabhā, learnt from a

stranger that a certain physician of Kauśāmbī could cure all kinds of leprosy. She started for Kauśāmbī and asked all the lepers to wait at Ujjain where she would meet them. The lepers acted according to her instruction. At this time there reigned at Ujjain a king named Pratipāla who had two fully accomplished daughters, Sūrasundarī and Maynāsundarī. The king asked them whether they were dependent on destiny or on their father for their livelihood. Sūrasundarī said that she was dependent on her father while Maynā replied that she was a child of destiny. The king was pleased with his first daughter and gave her in marriage to a prince. While searching for an old bridegroom for his second daughter the king found a gang of lepers among whom he met Umbara Rānā and gave Maynā in marriage to him. He said to Maynā, 'Daughter, now feel the consequence of being a dependent on destiny.' Maynā replied, 'If Fortune favours me, I shall be happy'. Maynā and Umbara Rānā then came to the village called Svāminātha and observed a vow for nine times at the instance of the royal preceptor. After the observance of the vow for the third time, Umbara Rānā was totally free from the malady. Seven hundred lepers also observed the same vow and were cured. On her way to Kauśāmbī Kamalaprabhā heard of this and returned to Ujjain. Maynā's maternal uncle who used to reside in that village, brought her and her family to the palace newly built for her.

One day while Śrīpāla was riding in the village, a man pointing his finger towards him, said to another, 'The king's son-in-law is riding'. Śrīpāla was sorry to hear such words and thought thus, 'The best man is he who is known by his merits, next to him is he who is known by the reputation of his father; a mean person is he who is known by his maternal uncle's name and the meanest

is he who is known by the reputation of his father-in-law'. He then decided to go elsewhere to earn money and to regain his lost kingdom. He left his mother and wife assuring them that he would return home after one year. When he reached a mountain, he saw a man trying to be an expert in an art and was requested by him to stay with him for some time. Śrīpāla acceded to his request and that man mastered the art. Greatly pleased with him he taught him two arts, by virtue of one, a man would not be drowned, and by virtue of the other, his body would not be injured by any kind of weapon. Śrīpāla then left the place and reached a port where he found a rich merchant named Dhavala who was about to leave the port for foreign countries with 500 ships loaded with merchandise. Śrīpāla promised to pay 100 gold coins per month and boarded a ship. When the ships were anchored at a port, the port officers demanded tolls. Dhavala refused to meet the demand and was arrested. Śrīpāla thought that Dhavala would be put to death and the merchandise would be forfeited. He asked the guards not to touch a single hair of Dhavala. A great battle ensued with the result that the soldiers were defeated and fled. Śrīpāla escaped injury by virtue of one of the arts he had already learnt. Dhavala was saved and he gave half of the merchandise to Śrīpāla as a reward.

Śrīpāla married the daughters of the kings of Varbbarakota and Ratnadvīpa. He then with his two wives and Dhavala proceeded homewards. Dhavala grew jealous of his (Śrīpāla's) fortune and tried to kill him by throwing him on the sea. Śrīpāla began to swim. Under the influence of the Jalataranī art he reached Kaṅkan where he took shelter in a forest. The king of Kaṅkan had a daughter who was given in marriage to Śrīpāla.

After throwing Śrīpāla on the sea, Dhavala tried

to outrage the modesty of the two chaste wives of Śrīpāla but in vain. Dhavala then reached Kaṅkan and was surprised to find Śrīpāla there. He could not imagine how Śrīpāla had come there. Dhavala then tried to prove that Śrīpāla was of low descent but in vain.

The king of Kaṅkan decided to kill Dhavala but Śrīpāla out of gratitude to Dhavala for having given him shelter at one time, saved him. Śrīpāla was very kind to Dhavala who was not a very good man. He attempted to enter into the inner portion of Śrīpāla's house at midnight with an evil intention but he fell down and died.

Once a princess promised to marry one who would be able to defeat her in playing upon the lute (vīṇā). Śrīpāla defeated her and married her. Once an exquisitely beautiful girl declared her own Svayamvara. When Śrīpāla came there, the girl put the garland round his neck. Once a princess decided to marry one who would be able to complete a certain ballad (dohā). Śrīpāla did so and married the princess. Once a princess was bitten by a poisonous snake, Śrīpāla saved her life and married her. A certain princess promised to marry one who would be able to sing Rādhāvegh ; Śrīpāla did so and married the princess. Thus he married many princesses and earned a good fortune.

Accompanied by his wives and a large number of soldiers Śrīpāla came to Ujjain. The king of Ujjain thought that a more powerful king had come to attack him, so he acknowledged Śrīpāla as his overlord. Śrīpāla met his mother and his first wife, Maynāsundarī and they became very pleased to see him.

Śrīpāla then came back to Campā with a big army and requested his uncle Ajitasena to abdicate the throne and to devote himself to piety. The latter refused to

comply with his request with the result that a big battle ensued. Ajitasena was defeated. Śrīpāla ascended the throne and appointed his uncle as one of his high officers. In course of time Ajitasena took ordination and began to lead a religious life. King Śrīpāla with Queen Maynāsundarī and other queens led a holy life and in due course attained mokṣa.

Dr̥ḍha Prahārī—Durdhara, a brahmin youth, was a veritable rogue, who was greatly insulted and driven out of the kingdom. He pocketed the insult but he determined to take vengeance upon the entire populace. Proceeding aimlessly he entered into a dense forest and spent the night on the top of a tree. At day-break he proceeded till he met some Bhils who took him to their king. Durdhara told the king that he would like to stay with him and to help him in making money. The king of the Bhils understood that Durdhara would be very skilful in stealing, so he gladly agreed. In course of time the king of the Bhils liked him very much, treated him as his son, and gave him the entire property. Durdhara used to kill his compeer in the act of stealing, so he was named Dr̥ḍha Prahārī.

Once he being the chief of a gang of dacoits came to the city of Kuśasthala to plunder it. A member of the gang entered into the house of a poor Brahmin who tried to resist him with a cudgel but was killed by Dr̥ḍha Prahārī. The Brahmin's cow could not see this horrible sight and rushed forward to attack Dr̥ḍha Prahārī who fearlessly killed it. Unable to tolerate this sort of torture, the Brahmin's wife who was pregnant, began to abuse Dr̥ḍha Prahārī, who struck her at the belly with the result that both the woman and the child in the womb died instantaneously. After killing a Brahmin, a cow a woman and a child, Dr̥ḍha Prahārī became very much

remorseful and came to a forest where he met a sage by whom he was ordained. He afterwards became a pious man and was engaged in deep meditation. People who knew him to be a wicked person began to throw stones at him, to beat him mercilessly and to torture him in many ways ; but he patiently bore the injury with the result that he attained complete sanctification and developed love for all creatures. People then took him to be a saint and acted according to his advice. At last he attained salvation.

Ilāci Kumāra—Ilāci, son of Dhanadatta, a merchant of Ilāvarddhana, was one day enamoured of the beauty of an actress and determined to marry her. Questioned by his father as to why he was so very indifferent, Ilāci informed his father of his intention to marry an actress. Dhanadatta told his son that an actress could not be kept at home. He said that he would give him in marriage to any girl selected from within his community. Ilāci agreed to become an actor at the suggestion of the chief actor and joined the company. He wandered about with the actors from place to place for 12 years and mastered their art thoroughly. He showed his skilful performance before the king and queen of Venātaṭa. Many people assembled to see the performance. After the first show was over, Ilāci saluted the king who instead of rewarding him asked to repeat his performance. Ilāci had to repeat the show for four times but was greatly disappointed for the king who had already concentrated his attention on Ilāci's lady-love told him each time that he had not seen the performance attentively. Encouraged by his lady-love who reminded him that a reward from the king would bring about their lawful union, Ilāci started to show a dangerous performance for the fifth time. While he was exhibiting his

skill, standing on the topmost point of a bamboo, he found an exquisitely beautiful lady at the entrance of a house with a silver plate full of sweetmeats, eager to wait upon a sage and the latter turning no attention thereto. Ilāci was surprised to see the sage quite unmoved by the beauty of the lady. Thinking about it he decided to lead the life of a saint. While engaged in this sacred thought, he acquired muktijñāna, knowledge of salvation. The actress made up her mind to strive for the welfare of her soul. While engaged in such a thought she too attained muktijñāna. The king and the queen observed a change in Ilāci and the actress. Their mind became so very pure that they also acquired muktijñāna. In due course these four persons attained nirvāṇa.

Jambusvāmī—Jambu was the only son of Rṣabhadatta, a very rich man of Rājagṛha. When he learnt that Śrī Sudharmasvāmī, a follower of Mahāvīra and leader of the Jainas, had been staying on the Vaibhāra mountain, he came there, listened to his teachings and requested him to wait till he came back with his parents' permission to receive ordination. When he reached the gate of the city, he found no room for entrance as troops were coming out of the city. He came to the second gate and escaped narrowly from being hurt by a heavy cannon ball. He came back to Sudharmasvāmī and prayed for the mantra for taking the vow of celibacy. Sudharmasvāmī granted his prayer. Jambu returned home with great delight and asked for the permission of his parents. 'It is difficult', said his parents, 'to get initiated into an esoteric mantra and to keep the five great vows is also very difficult indeed. It is not possible for you to lead the life of a saint. Moreover you are our only son whom we cannot leave.' 'True it

is', said Jambu to his parents, 'that the practice of self-control is hard and it is hard only to the cowards. I am born of you and I will never break my vow. Unbounded is your love towards me, you will surely feel the pangs of separation very keenly but without endurance there is little hope for salvation. So my dear parents, kindly grant me permission'. The parents said, 'Your strong determination for practising self-control should not cause you to disobey us. You are at liberty to get yourself initiated only after marrying the eight betrothed girls'. Jambu agreed to obey his parents.

Then Rṣabhadatta informed the fathers of the betrothed girls about it and requested them to consider the matter carefully before giving their daughters in marriage to Jambu. The fathers of the girls became pensive; but the girls, seeing their fathers in such a plight, told them that they had already determined to marry Jambukumāra and to follow him merrily. After seven days Jambukumāra's marriage with the eight girls was celebrated in Rājagṛha. In the first night of the marriage he was taken to a beautifully decorated room where he spent the night with young wives without losing his self-control. On the same night some dacoits entered the house. The leader of the gang was Prabhava, who was once a prince and who knew two arts—one of which caused people to fall asleep and the other which caused locks to open. Prabhava applied his arts with the result that his followers took the booty to their satisfaction. While they were about to decamp with the booty, their movement was suddenly brought to a standstill by the influence of Jambu's mantra. Prabhava found Jambukumāra awake and was astonished to find his own art proving ineffective in this case. With folded hands he said to Jambukumāra that he

would be put to death by king Kaunika if he was informed of it. He offered to teach him two arts and in exchange requested him to extend mercy to him and to teach him the art of rendering one motionless. Jambu said that he knew Dharmavidyā only which he would gladly teach him. Prabhava then said, 'I thank you heartily, Jambukumāra, for you are about to receive the mantra after renouncing vast riches and beautiful wives. I am a great sinner engaged in a very mean job for the sake of money. The spell of delusion has now been cast off. The next morning along with all the dacoits I shall receive the mantra.' Just at this time all the wives of Jambu awoke and entreated him to give up the idea of getting initiated. But Jambu maintained the firmness of his determination. His wives too agreed at last to follow him. Then Jambu with many followers received the mantra from Sudharmasvāmī. Shortly afterwards he became well-versed in Śāstras. After the death of Sudharmasvāmī, Jambusvāmī became the head of the Jaina saṅgha. He preached Mahāvīra's teachings and in due course acquired muktijñāna. He afterwards attained nirvāṇa.

Vastupāla-Tejapāla—In the thirteenth century A.D. while the power of the Solāṅkī kings was on the wane, the influence of King Vīradhavalā was on the increase. King Vīradhavalā had a minister named Āśrāja, a Buddhist monk, who used to reside in a village. Āśrāja had by his accomplished wife, Kumāra Devī, three sons, of whom two named Vastupāla and Tejapāla became distinguished, and seven daughters. Āśrāja gave his sons and daughters good education. Of his sons, Vastupāla and Tejapāla had intense thirst for education and regard for religion. They were married respectively to two accomplished girls, Lalitā and Anupamā; after their

father's death, they came to live at Māṇḍala. They took great care of their mother. After her death they went to the holy place of Satruñjaya. Staying there for some time they came to a village named Dholakā where they made friendship with the royal priest Someśvara. At this time king Vīradhavalā sought the help of a brave man to quell the disturbances in Gujarat. The royal priest introduced the two brothers to the king saying that they were good administrators and staunch supporters of Jainism. The King asked them to administer his kingdom. Vastupāla was appointed the chief minister and Tejapāla the commander-in-chief.

Mismanagement in the affairs of the state was noticed by Vastupāla when he began to act as minister. He put a stop to malpractices, bribery, etc. with the result that the revenue of the state increased immensely. Vastupāla made over the entire administration of the kingdom to Tejapāla and himself accompanied the king with his mighty army. He realized taxes from those who stopped payment of revenue. He maintained peace everywhere. Vastupāla then set up a powerful army and tried to conquer the neighbouring states. At this time anarchy prevailed in Kathiawar. He came there and subdued most of the chiefs of that place. Vastupāla was able in course of time to conquer the whole of Kathiawar. He then accompanied the king Vīradhavalā to Gīrnār whence he returned home after performing religious rites.

Vastupāla and Tejapāla built beautiful temples on the mountains named Satruñjaya, Gīrnār and Abu. Many other temples and resthouses were also built and many libraries were founded. Saṅghas were established on the Mounts Satruñjaya and Gīrnār. The generosity of the two brothers extended not only to Jains and people of Gujarat but also to people professing other religions. From

Kedārnāth to Kanyākumārī there was not a tīrtha which did not receive financial help from them.

On the death of King Vīradhavalā, the two brothers installed Prince Viśaladeva on the throne and they managed the administration of the state. Vastupāla, conscious of his death in the near future, started for the Mount Satruñjaya but on the way he breathed his last. His funeral took place on the Mount Satruñjaya on which a Jaina temple was built.

Triśalā—Kṣatṛyānī Triśalā was the wife of the Kṣatriya king Siddhārtha of the Kāśyapa gotra belonging to the clan of the Jñātri Kṣatriyas. She was the mother of Mahāvīra (Kalpa Sūtra, Subodhikā Tīkā, pp. 35-36).

Yaśodā—Yaśodā otherwise known as Videhadattā and Priyakāriṇī was the wife of Mahāvīra. She was a Kṣatriya lady who belonged to the Kauṇḍinyagotra and she gave birth to a daughter named Anojjā or Priyadarśanā (Hemachandra, Triṣaṣṭiśalākā, Pūrva X., vs. 125, 154, p. 16).

Celanā—In the past a just and powerful king named Ceṭaka, the maternal uncle of Lord Mahāvīra, was a ruler of Vaiśālī (identified with Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district). He had seven daughters of whom the two named Sujesthā and Celanā were clever and versed in all arts. They used to read good books, sing good songs, and hold religious discussions. They were noted for their beauty.

Śreṇika, the powerful king of Magadha, sent word to King Ceṭaka that he had desired to marry one of these two daughters. But King Ceṭaka intimated his inability to accede to the request on the ground of inferiority of the family to which King Śreṇika belonged. On hearing this King Śreṇika grew angry.

Sujesthā, the older of the two maids, wanted to marry Śreṇika. She got a trench cut from outside the town to

the harem. On the appointed day Sujeṣṭhā in the company of her sister, Celanā, who liked to be her co-wife, left the harem through the trench. On the way she remembered that she had forgotten to bring the box containing ornaments; so she asked Celanā to take her seat in the chariot waiting outside the trench and herself returned to the harem to take the box. When she came back with the box, she found the chariot running fast and she shouted loudly that Celanā had been kidnapped. At once the royal guards followed the chariot but in vain. This grieved the princess so much that she decided to lead a nobler life. She then took ordination.

Celanā became the most beloved queen of King Śreṇika. She was deeply attached to her husband. She liked Mahāvīra's teachings very much and explained them to the king who became in course of time a great devotee of Mahāvīra. When Queen Celanā conceived, an evil desire for eating the flesh of her husband's chest grew in her and she thought that the child in the womb would be its father's enemy. As soon as a son was born, a maid-servant took him out of the town and threw him into refuses. While the maid-servant was returning home, she was met by King Śreṇika who enquired as to where she had been. The maid-servant spoke the truth and the king rushed to the Aśoka forest and found that a crying child was lying on the ground and that one of its fingers had been eaten up by a hen. At once he took up the child and began to suck its injured part. The child became quiet. The king brought it home and reprimanded the queen who told him that all the signs had indicated that the child would be its father's enemy, whom she would not be able to rear up as the son was not dearer to her than the husband. At the behest of the king the queen began to bring up the son who was called Kaunika on

account of his finger having been cut. Celanā had two other sons, Halla and Vihalla.

At a very cold night in winter Queen Celanā in her sleep spoke out how greatly distressed were the saints due to extreme cold. The king heard her speak and thought that the queen had been speaking in her sleep about some other person to whom she must have been attached. At daybreak the king ordered his son Abhaya Kumāra to set fire to the harem which he considered to have been polluted. Just at that time Mahāvīra had been staying in a garden outside the town and Śreṇika left the palace to see him.

Abhaya Kumāra thought that his father must have been very angry otherwise he would not have given such an order. He did not venture to carry out the royal order. He set fire to a few huts near the elephant-shed and announced that the royal harem had caught fire.

Śreṇika enquired of Mahāvīra as to whether Queen Celanā had one husband or more. Mahāvīra told him that the queen had only one husband in Śreṇika and her fidelity should never be doubted. The King had great regard for Mahāvīra and he found out his mistake. On his way back he met prince Abhaya Kumāra who, on being questioned, said that the royal orders had been strictly carried out. On hearing this he became angry and enquired why the unjust orders had been carried out and how the prince could entertain the idea of burning his mother. Abhaya Kumāra then disclosed the fact. Thenceforth the King's love towards Celanā became deeper and deeper.

Though an heir-apparent Kaṇḍika desired to ascend the throne during the lifetime of his father. So he conspired and soon achieved his object. He sent his father to prison and ordered the warders to prevent

any person from visiting the prisoner. Celanā loved her husband very much and could not tolerate his suffering. She mustered up courage and proceeded towards the prison. Her influence was so very great that the sentinels could not prevent her from seeing her husband in spite of the royal command. She was glad to see her husband but she was greatly mortified to learn that her husband was not being supplied with proper food and drink and that he was being daily beaten. Permitted by King Kaṇḍika Celanā used to visit her husband daily with the hair of her head moistened with a liquid medicine and carrying a ball of leguminous seeds within her chignon. The hungry husband used to eat that ball and drink the liquid medicine.

Kaṇḍika used to love his son very much. He enquired of his mother as to whether there was any other person whose affection for his son was greater than his. He then decided to set his father free, fully realising father's affection towards his son. Kaṇḍika himself took an iron rod and proceeded towards the prison to open it. The warder told Śreṇika that his death was certain as King Kaṇḍika had been coming there with an iron rod. Śreṇika thought it better to put an end to his life rather than being subjected to painful death by Kaṇḍika. So he took poison and died immediately.¹

When Kaṇḍika reached the prison, he found his father dead. He then attributed his father's premature

1. Cf. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I., pp. 134-137. Buddhaghosa's account is different to some extent. The above details may or may not be true but the fact that Bimbisāra was put to death by Ajātaśatru is a historical truth. The tradition is so very strong and persistent with regard to this matter. According to the Ceylonese Chronicles this event took place 8 years before the Buddha's death at the time when Bimbisāra had been on the throne for 52 years (*Dīpavaṃsa*, III. 56-60 ; *Mahāvaṃsa*, II. 29, 30.).

death to his own folly. Celanā was overwhelmed with grief at the death of her husband. At this time Lord Mahāvīra appeared. Thus afflicted with grief Celanā, fully conscious of the impermanence of worldly attachment, gave up household life. By self-control and meditation she made her life sacred. At last living the full span of her life she attained nirvāṇa.

Candanavālā—King Dadhivāhana and Queen Dhāriṇī of Campā were very honest and were always ready to help their subjects and poor people. The people were delightful and free from fear and torture. Premature death was unknown to them. The kingdom was on the banks of the Ganges and there was no dearth of fruits and flowers. Their daughter princess Vasumatī was very beautiful and spirited. She was well-versed in letters and music and had no equal in playing upon a seven-stringed musical instrument (vīṇā). Her religious knowledge was very deep. Every morning she used to remember God Jineśvara before leaving bed. After saying prayers with her mother she used to accompany her to the temple of God Jineśvara and was charmed by the peacefulness of the place. On returning home she used to read good books. Once while the king and queen were engaged in offering prayers to their family deity, some guards hurried to the spot and informed the king that the army of Śatānīka, king of Kauśāmbī, had besieged the kingdom. Then ensued a tough fight with the result that Śatānīka was victorious. King Dadhivāhana fled for fear of life. Queen Dhāriṇī and Princess Vasumatī, too, fled from the harem. King Śatānīka brought the entire city under his control. Queen Dhāriṇī and princess Vasumatī were captured during their flight and were placed on the back of a camel by a camel-rider. As soon as Queen Dhāriṇī learnt that the camel-rider would

make her his wife, she thought it better to die than live an unchaste life, and she fell down from the camel and died. The camel-rider brought Vasumatī to the market at Kauśāmbī for sale. Vasumatī's beauty attracted a large crowd and she stood with head downwards silently imploring the Lord of the universe to save her chastity. At this time there came a banker named Dhanavāha who taking the girl to be of noble birth, bought her at a very high price, and brought her home. The banker's wife, Mūlā, began to bring her up with great care and affection. Vasumatī too looked upon the banker and his wife as her parents, and pleased everybody with her sweet words. She was also called Candanavālā for her words were as pacifying as sandal paste. When her beauty was greatly enhanced with the attainment of youth, Mūlā was afraid lest her husband should marry Vasumatī being enamoured of her exquisite beauty.

One day the banker came home and found no servant to wash his feet. Vasumatī who happened to be standing there at that time brought water. While she was washing the banker's feet, her chignon loosened and fell on the muddy ground; Dhanavāha took up the heavy bunch of long hair and tied it. This was seen by Mūlā. When Dhanavāha went out, Mūlā had Vasumatī's head well shaved and her legs tied together with iron fetters and kept her confined in an outhouse. On returning home Dhanavāha could not find Vasumatī. He enquired about her and grew angry declaring that heavy punishment would be inflicted on all the servants and maid-servants until he was informed of her whereabouts. At last an old woman took courage and made a clean breast of the whole affair. She showed to Dhanavāha the room where Vasumatī had been confined. Dhanavāha came to the room and found Vasumatī

chanting Navakāramantra with tears streaming down her cheeks incessantly. He gave Vasumatī a few boiled leguminous seeds to eat. He then went out to call for a blacksmith to have the iron fetters removed. Vasumatī otherwise known as Candanavālā sat on the threshold with one leg in and another out of room. She began to think of the vicissitudes of her life. Though hungry she did not partake of the boiled leguminous seeds without feeding guests and she awaited the advent of a guest.

A hermit then appeared before Candanavālā but finding no tears in her eyes he left the place. Candanavālā became extremely sorry and with tears in her eyes she implored the hermit to be kind to her and to accept the boiled leguminous seeds. The hermit who was no other than Lord Mahāvīra saw tears in Candanavālā's eyes and stretched his hands, on which Candanavālā placed the boiled seeds. Immediately the iron fetters of Candanavālā fell down, and beautiful hair covered her head. On his return from the blacksmith's place the banker was astonished to find Candanavālā in her former beauty. The banker's wife, too, became pensive. Candanavālā saluted both Dhanavāha and Mūlā and addressing the latter she said that it was through her kindness that she had been fortunate in feeding Lord Mahāvīra. As soon as this news spread, many people, even the king and the queen, came there to see Candanavālā. Then Candanavālā was brought to the palace where she remained engrossed in deep meditation of Lord Mahāvīra, remembering her mother's words that the grandeur and comfort of the palace were but fleeting allurements. Shortly afterwards Mahāvīra attained muktijñāna (knowledge of salvation). Candanavālā took ordination from him and became his first and chief female disciple. She became pure in mind,

body, and speech. Many kings, queens, and ladies became her disciples. She was the chief of 36,000 chaste women. She attained nirvāṇa at a ripe old age.

Prabhāvatī—Prabhāvatī was the accomplished daughter of king Prasenajit of Kuśasthala. She decided to marry Pārśvakumāra (Pārśvanātha). As she was endowed with many good qualities, many kings wanted to marry her but she was married to Pārśvakumāra. After marriage she considered herself to be the most fortunate. She afterwards gave up household life and became a nun.

Śivā—Śiva was the wife of Samudravijaya, a good king of Śauripura. She had a son named Ariṣṭanemi possessed of extensive knowledge. She was anxious for the marriage of her son who remained a celibate. She was a good lady.

Cetaka's daughter Śivā was married to Caṇḍa Pradyota of Ujjayinī. She joined Mahāvīra's order (Āvaśyaka Sūtra, pp. 677, 685).

Padmāvatī—Padmāvatī who was married to king Dadhivāhana of Campā was a great adherent of Jainism (vide Haribhadra's commentary on the Āvaśyaka Sūtra).

Mrigāvatī—Mrigāvatī, the third daughter of Cetaka, was married to king Śatānīka of Kauśāmbī. She was a great devotee of Mahāvīra (Kalpa Sūtra, Subodhikā Tīkā, p. 106).

Jayantī—Śatānīka's sister Jayantī was also a staunch follower of Mahāvīra (Bhagavatī Sūtra, p. 550).

Sulaśā and Revatī were the two devout lay women (śrāvikā). The former is considered as the highest type of the purely domestic women, the faithful wife of a devoted husband, and the latter is regarded as the typical of the generous women, always willing to offer alms to ascetics. She was very hospitable.

Chapter XIV

MAHĀVĪRA AND HIS DOCTRINE

Mahāvīra who was known to the Buddhists as Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta, was the last and most famous of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. He was the son of Siddhārtha, the chief of the Kṣatriya Nāta clan and Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā who was the sister of Ceṭaka, the most eminent among the Licchavi princes. His mother was also known as Videhadattā and Priyakāriṇī of the Vaśiṣṭha gotra. He was born at Kuṇḍanagara,¹ a suburb of Vaiśālī and naturally when he assumed the monk's vocation, he retired to the Cheiyya of his own clan called Duipalāsa, situated in the neighbourhood of Kollāga. He was the most notable scion of the Jñātriaka clan. He was an older contemporary of the Buddha. The greater part of his life coincides with that of the Buddha. He was the head of an order, of a following, the teacher of a school, well known and of repute as a sophist, revered by the people, a man of experience who had long been a recluse, old and well-stricken in years.²

He lived restrained as regards all water, restrained as regards all evils, all evils he washed away and he lived suffused with a sense of evil held at bay. He was called Gatatto (whose heart is gone to the summit i.e. to the attainment of his aim), Yatatto (whose heart is kept down i.e. under command), and Thitatto (whose heart is fixed).³ He figures in the Jaina literature as a supremely gifted Kṣatriya teacher and leader of thought

1. According to the Jain Uvāsagadasāo (Vol. II, pp. 5-6) Mahāvīra was born at Kollāga.

2. Dīgha Nikāya, I, p. 49.

3. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I, p. 168.

who gathered unto him many men and women and was honoured and worshipped by innumerable śrāvakas or lay disciples. He was also called Vesālāi or Vaiśālīka, a citizen of Vaiśālī.¹ His parents fixed his name as Varddhamāna or 'prosperous one', because with his birth, the wealth, fame, and merit of the family increased. He was also known as Jñātriputra (scion of the Jñātri clan) or Śāsana-nāyaka (head of the order). He was also called Nirgrantha because he was outwardly unclothed and inwardly free from all bonds and worldly ties.

In his thirteenth year Mahāvīra married Yaśodā, a Kṣatriya lady, who belonged to the Kaunḍinya gotra and had by her a daughter named Anojjā or Priyadarśanā. In his thirtieth year he lost his parents.

After the death of his parents, he fulfilled his promise of going out to establish a universal religion of love and amity. After 12 years of penance and meditation, he attained omniscience at the age of 42 and lived thereafter for 30 years to preach his religion in Northern India.

For a year and a month since he renounced the world Mahāvīra did not leave off his robe. Thereafter he gave up his robe and became unclothed. He shunned the company of the female sex and the householders. He wandered about disregarding all sights, not being attracted by any worldly amusements. He used to eat only clean food and observed moderation in eating and drinking.

He meditated day and night undisturbed, unperturbed, exerting himself strenuously. He never cared for sleep for the sake of pleasure. Well-controlled he bore all dreadful calamities and different kinds of feelings. Ill-treated he engaged himself in meditation, free from resentment. He endured all hardships in calmness.

1. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, 1, 2, 3, 22.

Well-guarded he bore the worldly pains. Abandoning the care of his body he calmly endured pain, free from desire. He lived on rough food. Sometimes he did not drink for half a month or even for a month; sometimes he ate stale food. He himself did not commit any sin. He meditated persevering in some posture without the smallest motion. He meditated in mental concentration on the things above, below, beside. He never acted carelessly. Thus, as a hero at the head of a battle, he bore all hardships and remaining undisturbed proceeded on the road to deliverance. Understanding the truth and restraining the impulse for the purification of the soul he finally liberated himself from the bondage of this world.¹

Mahāvīra renounced the world at the age of thirty. According to the Jaina Bhagavatī Sūtra, he came in contact with Makkhali Gosāla, a heretical teacher, who afterwards became an independent leader of thought. The considerable similarity between some of the heretical doctrines and Jain or Buddhist ideas is very suggestive and it favours the assumption that both Mahāvīra and Buddha owed some of their conceptions to the heretical teachers of which Makkhali Gosāla was the most famous.

Mahāvīra acquired the highest knowledge and intuition called Kevala which is infinite, sapreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete and full. He was then lost in deep meditation in a squatting position with joint heels, exposing himself to the heat of the sun after fasting 2½ days even without drinking water. At the age of 42, he became a Jina, a Kevalin, omniscient, all-seeking and all-knowing. He knew and saw all conditions of the world of gods, men and demons.

During 30 years of his career as a teacher Mahāvīra

1. Ācārāṅga Sūtra, 1, 8. 9.

spent four rainy seasons in Vaiśālī and Vāṇijagrāma, fourteen in Rājagṛha and Nālandā, six in Mithilā, two in Bhadrīkā, one in Ālabhikā, one in Prañītabhūmi, one in Śrāvastī and one in the town of Pāvā, which was his last rainy season. The Kalpasūtra mentions the places where Mahāvīra spent 42 rainy seasons since he renounced the life of a householder.

Mahāvīra in his life-time had an excellent community of 14000 recluses with Indrabhūti at their head, 36000 female recluses with Candanā at their head, 1,59,000 lay disciples with Śaṅkhaśataka at their head and 3,18,000 female lay disciples with Sulasā and Revatī at their head.¹ Among the immediate followers of Mahāvīra, eleven became distinguished as gaṇadharas, guiding and instructing nine separate groups of nirgrantha recluses placed under them. Thus we see that he had an extraordinary influence over the people of his time. The people of Aṅga and Magadha were proud to think that their country was hallowed by the presence of so great a teacher as Mahāvīra.

The venerable ascetic Mahāvīra died, went off, quitted the world, cutting asunder the ties of birth, decay, and death. He was indeed one of the great teachers of mankind. He was one of those teachers through whom the problem of the perfection of man came to be recognised as the highest problem before progressive humanity. All the rules of religious life which he had enjoined, were intended to be a practical aid to the attainment of perfection of the self. He did not preach to others what he had not practised himself. The goal set before mankind was the blissfulness of the entire being which could not be bought by wealth, pomp, and power

1. Kalpa Sūtra, p. 134.

of the world. This happy state is to be attained through patience, forbearance, self-denial, forgiveness, humanity, compassion and consideration ; in short, suffering and sacrifice, love and kindness. If he died, he died to live as an eternal personality.

Mahāvīra predeceased Buddha by a few years. Dr. Hoernle conjectures that he died some five years before the Buddha.¹ It follows from the evidence of the Abhayarājakumāra Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya that he was aware of the dissension between Buddha and Devadatta. Judging from the documentary evidences Dr. Hoernle's conjecture seems to be somewhat accurate.

He inculcated the doctrine of ahimsā or non-harming to his disciples and followers. This very principle of non-harming had a salutary effect on a man's diet. Those who came under the influence of his personality and teaching gave up the habit of taking meat and fish and adhered to vegetable diet. The same principle served to mitigate the rigour and ruthlessness of the criminal justice of ancient India. Compassion for the suffering fellow beings is just the other side of non-harming. The principle of compassion was at the back of many philanthropic and humanitarian deeds and institutions which he encouraged. The doctrine of action (kriyāvāda) which he taught, went to make men conscious of their responsibility for all their acts, mental, vocal or bodily. The same also awakened the consciousness that salvation was not a gift of favour but an attainment within human possibility. He dispensed with the idea of hereditary priesthood. According to him it is for all persons to decide for themselves whether they will live as householders or turn monks according to their choice and fitness.

1. *Ājīvika*, Hastings' *E. of Religion & Ethics*.

The distant end or ultimate object of Jainism as taught by Mahāvīra is nirvāṇa which consists in peace.¹ Nirvāṇa is mokṣa or liberation, mukti or deliverance. Liberation can only be realised by man in the highest condition of aloofness and transcendentality of himself.² It has been explained as a safe place where there is no old age, nor death, nor pain, nor disease, but it is difficult of approach. It is freedom from pain or perfection, which is, in view of all, the safe, happy and quiet place which the great sages reach. It is the eternal place according to the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra.³ According to Mahāvīra one should practise self-restraint with regard to the body, speech or mind., This is what is called samvara which is just the other aspect of dukkarakārikā or tapas. By the fourfold self-restraint the Buddha meant the four moral precepts each of which is viewed in its fourfold aspect. The practice of penances was to be resorted to as a means of wearing out and ultimately destroying the effects of sinful deeds committed in former existences, and that of the threefold self-restraint as a means of not giving effect to a new karma. From the undoing of the effects of old karma by means of penances and the non-doing of such acts as are likely to produce a new karmic effect, there follows the non-gliding of the self in the course of saṃsāra in future. The sequel of this is the destruction of karma, the sequel of that is the destruction of the painful physical and mental conditions of the self. The three essential things of Jainism are jñāna, or sphere of knowledge and intuition, darśana or sphere of faith and devotion, and cāritra or sphere

1. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, 1, 11. 11.

2. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, 1, 10. 12.

3. XXIII, 81-94.

of conduct and behaviour.¹ The main system of Jainism came to be represented as navatattva or doctrine of nine terms, e.g. jīva, ajīva, bandha, puṇya, pāpa, āśrava, saṃvara, karmakṣaya and mokṣa.² The doctrine of nayas is just what is called syādvāda. The nayas are no other than the seven modes of syādvāda. The syād mode was the real way of escape from the position of the dogmatist and that of the sceptic, from both of which Mahāvīra recoiled. Kriyāvāda is nothing but karmavāda or the doctrine of action.³ Buddhism also was promulgated as a form of kriyāvāda or karmavāda. In the teachings of Mahāvīra, kriyāvāda is sharply distinguished from akriyāvāda (doctrine of non-action), ajñānavāda (scepticism) and vinayavāda (formalism). There are various types of akriyāvāda mentioned in the Sūtrakṛtāṅga which have been well discussed by me in my "Mahāvīra : His Life and Teachings" (pp. 76-78). The Vinayavāda is the same as sīlabbataparāmāsa of the Buddhists. It is a view of those who maintain that the purity of oneself may be reached through the observance of certain moral precepts or by keeping certain vows as prescribed. The upholders of vinayavāda assert that the goal of religious life is realised by conformation to the rules of discipline.⁴ The painful condition of the self is brought about by one's own action. Pleasure and pain are brought about by one's own action.⁵ Individually a man is born, individually he dies, individually he falls from this state of existence and individually he rises. His passions, consciousness, intellect, perceptions and impressions belong

1. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, 1, 6, 14.

2. Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, XXXVIII, 14.

3. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, 1, 12. 21.

4. Ibid., 1, 12. 4.

5. Aṅguttara Nikāya, III, p. 440.

to the individual exclusively.¹ All living beings owe their present form of existence to their own karma. The sinners cannot annihilate works by new works, the pious annihilate their works by abstention from works.² Pleasant things are not produced from pleasant things.

Knowledge, faith and virtue (jñāna, darśana, and cāritra) are the three terms that signify the comprehensiveness of Jainism as taught by Mahāvīra. The Uttarādhyayana Sūtra adds austerities as the fourth to the earlier list of the three terms. Knowledge is characterised as right knowledge, faith as right faith and virtue as right conduct. These three constitute the path to nirvāṇa or liberation or perfect beatitude.

There are five kinds of knowledge according to the Jains :—(1) Śruta or that which is derived from the study of sacred books, (2) Abhinibodhika or that which is derived from one's experience, thought or understanding, (3) Avadhi or that which is co-extensive with the object, (4) Manaḥparyāya-jñāna or knowledge of the thoughts of others and (5) Kevala or the highest knowledge. The Manaḥparyāyajñāna is defined in the Ācārāṅga-sūtra as a knowledge of the thoughts of all sentient beings (II,15.23). The Kevala-jñāna means omniscience enabling a person to comprehend all objects.³

Right knowledge, faith and conduct are the three essential points in Mahāvīra's teachings which constitute the path leading to the destruction of karma and to perfection.⁴ Destruction means the exhaustion of accumulated effects of action in the past. Perfection (siddhi)

1. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, II, 1. 41.

2. Ibid., 1, 12. 15.

3. Ācārāṅga-Sūtra, II, 15. 25.

4. Sūtrakṛtāṅga 1, 2, 1, 21, 22.

consists in the consciousness of one's liberation and liberation means the freedom of soul from its bondage.

The terms *jīva* and *ajīva* comprehend the world of existence as known and experienced. *Jīva* signifies all that has life and *ajīva* signifies the things without life. The study of the category of *jīva* is important because it is in connection or inter-connection with the six classes of beings that the process of karma sets in and the nature of man's conduct is determined. The category of *ajīva* helps us in completing our study of the world of life and of existence.¹

The third category is *bandha* or bondage of soul. Bondage is the subjection of soul to the laws of birth and death, old age and decay, pleasure and pain and other vicissitudes of life brought about by the effect of karma. The soul which is the fifth of the five *astikāyas* represents the principle of intelligence. According to the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (XXVIII, 11), the characteristic of soul is knowledge, faith, conduct, austerities, energy and realisation of its developments. According to Mahāvīra the soul which has no form is conscious.²

The soul in combination with the body is the doer of all actions. One should abstain from killing beings, theft, falsehood, sensual pleasures, and spirituous liquor. A person will suffer the consequences of whatever may preponderate as between an act and forbearance from it. The pious obtains purity and the pure stands firmly in the law. A person of pure faith always realises the truth.

A monk should cast aside all fetters and all hatred. Pious ascetics get over the impassable *samsāra*. Stupid sinners go to hell through their superstitious beliefs. A

1. *Uttarādh. XXXVI.*

2. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, p. 119.

true monk is one who does not care for his life, who abandons every delusion, who always practises austerities and avoids contact with wicked men and women. He who practises self-discipline, who meditates on soul, wise, hardy, calm and who does not hurt anybody, is a true monk. A monk should be steadfast, righteous, content, restrained and attentive to his duties. He should be impartial towards all beings of the world and should be careful to speak truth. He should keep the severe vow of chastity. He should practise mental and bodily penances. He who possesses virtuous conduct and life, who has practised the best self-control, who keeps from sinful influences and who has destroyed karma, will attain mukti. An ascetic will by means of his simplicity enter the path of nirvāṇa. According to the Jains there are three ways of committing sins :—by one's own activity, by commission and by approval of the deed. Each is distinct from the other.¹ A sage should always vanquish his passions. He should expound the law correctly. He should not neglect the smallest duty. The virtuous exert themselves for liberation. A monk should conform himself to the opinion expressed by the Jinas and wander about till he reaches final liberation.

Mahāvīra's great message to mankind is that birth is nothing, and that karma is everything and on the destruction of karma the future happiness depends.

Concentration is indispensable for getting equanimity of mind and consequent spiritual illumination. We have to contemplate on blissfulness, purity of body and purity of mind. The following are the four ways to meditate on the purity of mind : (1) love, (2) love towards the

1. Majjhima Nikāya, I, 372.

suffering world, (3) love towards the happy and (4) love towards the criminal or cruel persons.

In this world of misery, disease, old age, and death, there is no other protection than the practice of the truth. The continual cycle of births and deaths will not be ended and therefore we should make some efforts to free ourselves from it. According to Mahāvīra, a person must be earnest, of sound mind, pleasing by nature, charitable, well-behaved, and of good moral character, compassionate and sympathetic, just and impartial, cautious and honest, polite and intelligent and self-controlled.

In Jainism *leśyā* is said to be that by means of which the soul is tinted with merit and demerit. It arises from yoga or *kaṣāya*, namely, the vibrations due to the activity of the body, mind, speech, or the passions.

Karma is the deed of the soul. It is a material forming a subtle bond of extremely refined matter which keeps the soul confined to its place of origin or the natural abode of full knowledge and everlasting peace. According to Mahāvīra this universe is eternal and it is nothing but sum total of substances which have been existing from eternity and shall remain so for ever. In this universe nothing new is created nor is anything annihilated.

Mokṣa is the essential point in the teachings of Mahāvīra which is generally understood as emancipation. It really means the 'attainment of the highest state of sanctification by the avoidance of pain and miseries of the worldly life. It is the summum bonum or the state of perfect beatitude. It may also mean the final deliverance or liberation from the fetters of the worldly life and total annihilation or extinction of human passion.

Much importance is given to soul and individuality.

Karma plays an important part in the Jain metaphysics. The Jain ethics has for its end mokṣa or liberation. Internal and external tapas are important in Jainism. The former comprises the austerities practised by the Jains and the latter, spiritual exercises. Fasting is the most conspicuous austerity which the Jains have developed and they have reached proficiency in it.

Thus we see that Jainism is a practical religion and as such the tenets of Jainism consist of the following points: longing for liberation, disregard of worldly objects, obedience to the co-religionists, practice of penances, forgiveness, concentration of thoughts, self control, mental independence, freedom from passion and greed, forbearance, sincerity of heart, watchfulness of the mind, speech, and body, discipline of the mind, speech and body, possession of knowledge, faith and virtue, freedom from karma, subduing the organs of sense, conquering anger, pride, deceit, greed, hatred, wrong belief, etc.

Chapter XV

JAIN VIEW OF KARMA

In Jainism Karma may be worked off by austerity, service rendered to ascetics, or to the poor, the helpless and the suffering by giving them food, water, shelter or clothing. Karma does not mean a deed or some invisible mystical force. It is nothing but a complexity of a very subtle matter which is super-sensuous and which pervades the whole world. The word karma is derived from the verb *kr* meaning to do. The Jains believe it to be the result of actions arising out of four sources : (1) the first source of karma is attachment to worldly things such as food, raiment, dwelling place, women, etc ; (2) karma is produced by uniting one's body, mind and speech to worldly things ; (3) karma is engendered by giving the rein to anger, pride, deceit or greed ; and (4) lastly false belief is a fruitful source of karma. In Hinduism we find that God inflicts punishment for evil karma whereas in Jainism karma accumulates energy and automatically works it off without any outside intervention. The Hindus think of karma as formless while the Jains think of it as having form. The Jains divide karma according to its nature, duration, essence and content. Karma is intimately bound up with the soul. According to the Jains there are eight kinds of karma : the first kind hides knowledge from us (*jñānāvaraṇīya karma*), the second kind prevents us from beholding the true faith (*darśanāvaraṇīya*), the third kind causes us to experience either the sweetness of happiness or the bitterness of misery (*vedanīya karma*), the fourth kind which is known as the *mohanīya karma* bemuses all the human faculties. It results from worldly attachments and indulgence of the passions. The

fifth kind determines the length of time which a jīva must spend in the form with which his karma has endowed him (āyu karma), the sixth karma known as nāma karma decides which of the four states or conditions shall be our particular gati. There are many divisions of nāma karma. The seventh kind is gotra karma. It is the gotra or the caste which determines a man's life, his occupation, the locality in which he may live, his marriage, his religious observances and even his food. There are two chief divisions of this karma. It decides whether a living being shall be born in a high or in a low caste family. The last and the eighth kind is the antarāya karma; the karma which always stands as an obstacle, e. g., lābhāntarāya, bhogāntarāya, upabhogāntarāya and vīryāntarāya.¹

The Jains hold that the soul while on the first step (mithyāttvagunasthānaka) is completely under the influence of karma and knows nothing of the truth. The soul whirling round and round in the cycle of rebirth loses some of its crudeness and attains to the state which enables it to distinguish between what is false and what is true. A soul remains in an uncertain condition, one moment knowing the truth and the next doubting it. A man has either through the influence of his past good deeds or by the teachings of his guru obtained true faith. He then realises the great importance of conduct and can take the twelve vows. The Jains believe that as soon as a man reaches the state of an ayogikevalīgunasthānaka, all his karma is purged away and he proceeds at once to mokṣa as a siddha.

According to the Pāli Nikāyas an ancient householder teacher of India was the first expounder of the

1. Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 188.

doctrine of action.¹ The Jaina Sūtrakṛtāṅga speaks of various types of kriyāvāda then current in India (I. 6. 27 ; I. 10. 17). Buddhism was promulgated as a form of kriyāvāda or karmavāda. According to Mahāvīra kriyāvāda of Jainism is shortly distinguished from akriyāvāda (doctrine of non-action), ajñānavāda (scepticism) and vinayavāda (formalism), precisely as in the word of the Buddha. Kriyāvāda of Buddhism is distinguished from Sathāyadrṣṭi involving various types of akriyā, vicikitsā (scepticism) and sīlavrata-parāmarśa (sīlabbataparāmāsa, formalism).² To arrive at a correct understanding of the doctrinal significance of kriyāvāda of Jainism it is necessary not only to see how it has been distinguished from akriyāvāda, ajñānavāda, and vinayavāda but also from other types of kriyāvāda.

According to the Sūtrakṛtāṅga the types of akriyāvāda are as follows :—

(1) On the dissolution of the five elements, e.g., earth, water, fire, wind and air, living beings cease to exist. On the dissolution of the body the individual ceases to be. Everybody has an individual soul. The soul exists as long as the body exists.

(2) When a man acts or causes another to act, it is not his soul which acts or causes to act.³

(3) There are five elements and the soul is a sixth substance. These six substances are imperishable.

(4) Pleasure, pain, and final beatitude are not caused by the souls themselves, but the individual souls experience them.

(5) The world has been created or is governed by the gods. It is produced from chaos.⁴

(6) The world is boundless and eternal.

1. Majjhima Nikāya, I, p. 483.

2. Khuddakapāṭha, p. 5 ; Cf. Suttanipāta, verse 231.

3. Cf. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, I, 1. 1. 13.

4. Ibid. I. 1. 3. 5-8.

All these views are reduced to four main types that correspond to those associated in the Pali Nikāyas with four leading thinkers of the time, e.g., atheism like that of Ajīta, eternalism like that of Kātyāyana, absolutism like that of Kāśyapa and fatalism like that of Gośāla.

The ātman is a living individual, a biological entity. The whole self does not outlast the destruction of the body. With the body ends life. No soul exists apart from the body. The five substances with the soul as the sixth are not created directly or indirectly. They are eternal. From nothing comes nothing. All things have the ātman, self or ego for their cause and object, they are produced by the self, they are manifested by the self, they are intimately connected with the self, and they are bound up in the self. One man admits action, and another man does not admit it. Both men are alike, their case is the same because they are actuated by the same force i. e., by fate. It is their destiny that all beings come to have a body to undergo the vicissitudes of life and to experience pleasure and pain. Each of these types stands as an example of akriyāvāda, inasmuch as it fails to inspire moral and pious action or to make an individual responsible for action or to make an individual responsible for an action and its consequences.¹

According to the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra the inefficiency of knowledge is the real upshot of ajñānavāda. In the Sūtrakṛtāṅga the upholders of ajñānavāda are represented as those thinkers who pretending to be clever reason incoherently and do not get beyond the confusion of their ideas.² The Vinayavāda may be supposed to have been the same doctrine as sīlabbataparāmāsa in Buddhism. The sīlabbataparāmāsa is a view of those who hold that

1. Cf. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, II, I, 5-34.

2. Ibid., I, 12. 2.

the purity of oneself may be reached through the observance of certain moral precepts or by means of keeping certain prescribed vows. The upholders of vinayavāda assert that the goal of religious life is realised by conformation to the rules of discipline.¹

The types of kriyāvāda that do not come up to the standard of Jainism are the following :—

(1) The soul of a man who is pure will become free from bad karma on reaching beatitude but in that state it will again become defiled through pleasant excitement or hatred.

(2) If a man with the intention of killing a body hurts a gourd mistaking it for a baby, he will be guilty of murder. If a man with the intention of roasting a gourd roasts a baby, mistaking him for a gourd, he will not be guilty of murder. According to Mahāvīra the painful condition of the self is brought about by one's own action, and not by any other cause. Pleasure and pain are brought about by one's own action. Individually a man is born, individually he dies, individually he falls and individually he rises. His passions, consciousness, intellect, perceptions, and impressions belong to the individual exclusively. All living beings owe their present form of existences to their own karma. The sinners cannot annihilate works by new works, the pious annihilate their works by abstention from works.² The Jain doctrine of nine terms (navatattva) developed from the necessity for a systematic exposition of kriyāvāda which is in its essential feature only a theory of soul and karma. Karma consists of acts, intentional and unintentional, that produce effects on the nature of soul. It must be admitted that soul is susceptible to the influences of karma. The categories of merit and demerit

1. Ibid., I, 12. 4.

2. Cf. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, I, 12. 15.

comprehend all acts, pious and sinful, which keep the soul bound to the circle of births and deaths. Nirjarā¹ consists in the wearing out of accumulated effects of karma on the soul by the practice of austerities.

In short Mahāvīra's great message to mankind is that birth is nothing, that caste is nothing, and that karma is everything, and on the destruction of karma the future happiness depends. Karma is the deed of the soul. It is a material forming a subtle bond of extremely refined karmic matter which keeps the soul confined to its place of origin, or the natural abode of full knowledge and everlasting peace. There are four kinds of destructive karma (khātiyakarma) which retain the soul in mundane existence. They are as follows: (1) knowledge-obscuring karma, (2) faith-obscuring karma, (3) karma which obstructs the progress of the soul, and (4) karma which deludes the soul. Karma plays an important part in Jain metaphysics. Jainism as a practical religion teaches us to purge ourselves of impurities arising from karma.

1. Cf. Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, XXVIII. 11.

Chapter XVI

AŚVAGHOŚA'S PHILOSOPHY

Aśvaghoṣa was not only a poet but also a dramatist and a teacher. He was a contemporary of the great Kuṣāṇa king Kaṇiṣka. He flourished later than Vālmīki to whom he refers as the ādikavi and dhīmān, and was earlier than Kālidāsa and Bhāsa. I should like to say a few words about his philosophy.

The Four Noble Truths form the main burden of his interpretation of Buddhism. Disease, decay and death are the unavoidable accidents of individual life, which has its beginning in birth. Old age, disease, and death are the great dangers of this world. According to Aśvaghoṣa there is suffering which is continuous and whose essence is affliction ; there is the cause of suffering whose essence is origination ; there is the destruction of suffering whose essence is escape, and there is the path to tranquillity whose essence is rescuing.

Vādhātmakaṃ duḥkhamidaṃ

prasaktaṃ duḥkhasya hetuḥ prabhavātmako'yam ।

Duḥkhakṣayo niḥsaraṇātmako'yam

trāṇātmako'yam praśamāya mārgaḥ ॥

Suffering has its origin in mind and body (duḥkhaṃ tathā cittasarīrayoni). The cessation of suffering proceeds from exhaustion of the cause. Nirvāṇa is the state in which there is neither birth, old age, death, disease nor contact with what is unpleasant, neither failure of wishes nor separation from the pleasant, which is peaceful, final and imperishable.

Yasminna jātir na jarā na mṛtyur na vyādhayo nāpriyas-
amprayogaḥ ।

Necchāvipanna priyaviprayogaḥ kṣemaṃ padaṃ naiṣṭi-
kamacyutaṃ tat ॥

Just as a lamp which is extinguished does not depart to the earth or the sky, or any of the quarters or intermediate quarters, but from exhaustion of the oil merely goes out, so the saint who has reached nirvāṇa does not depart to the earth or the sky, or any of the quarters, but from the extinction of the sins merely goes to peace.

Dīpoyathā nirvṛtimabhyupeto naivāvanim gacchati
nāntarikṣam ।

Diśam na kāñcidvidiśam na kāñcit snehakṣayāt kevala-
metiśāntim ॥

Evam kṛtī nīrvṛtimabhyupeto naivāvanim gacchati
nāntarikṣam ।

Diśam na kāñcidvidiśam na kāñcit kleṣakṣayāt kevala-
metiśāntim ॥

The means to attain this end is the noble and straight path with its three divisions and eight steps. By entering on this path one eliminates the faults which are the causes of suffering and reaches the supremely blessed stage.

Triskandametam pravigāhya mārgam
prapaṣṭamaṣṭāṅgam mahāryamārgam ।
Duḥkhasya hetunprajahāti doṣān
prāpnoti cātyantasivam padam tat ॥

He who perceives suffering as it really is, its origin and its cessation, attains peace by the Noble Path. In the first truth we should think of suffering as disease ; in the second, of the faults as the cause of disease ; in the third, of the cessation of suffering as good health, and in the fourth, of the path as the medicine.

As long as this saṃsāra, which is nothing but the gliding of individuals in the cycle of repeated births and deaths continues, being led by craving which is rooted in ignorance, so long continue the calamities of many

kinds. The bodily existence is attended with disease, decay and death, hunger and thirst, heat and cold, while the existence of mind involves suffering, such as grief, dejection, anger, and fear. Suffering is the fate of corporeality. It is Nirvāṇa that stands in contrast to the world. Nirodha, nirmokṣa, nirvṛti and nirveda are its different synonyms. Nirvāṇa is the blissful, peaceful element—the refuge which is free from the passion of craving. The Noble Eightfold Path which is the sure way to Nirvāṇa is just another name for the Middle Path which discards the two extreme courses of life, one consisting in the practice of self-mortification, and the other in a free indulgence in sensual pleasures. Neither of them affords us the way to the highest wisdom nor do they bring us to true release. Of the eight factors which constitute the Noble Eightfold Path, right speech, right action and right livelihood are to be practised in the sphere of conduct for the mastery of the actions (Sīlāśrayaṃ karmaparigrahāya); right view, right resolve and right effort are to be practised in the sphere of knowledge for the destruction of passions causing affliction (prajñāśrayaṃ kleśaparikṣyāya), and right mindfulness and right concentration are to be practised in the sphere of tranquillity for the control of mind (samāśrayaṃ cittapari-grahāya). Thus the Noble Eightfold Path involves the threefold practice of sīla, samādhi and prajñā. Concentration leads to the tranquillity of mind and thorough knowledge. Aśvaghoṣa's presentation of Buddhism is in complete agreement with the trend of Buddha's teachings in the Sūtra Piṭaka.

As long as the real truth is not known, so long faith does not become strong. When a man by restraining his senses with self-control sees the truth, the tree of his faith bears fruit and becomes the means of

further advance. His description of Nirvāṇa is similarly based upon the Sūtra texts. Śraddhā (faith), vīrya (energy) and other moral faculties, the immoral mental states with their unwholesome effect and creating fetters and hindrances are all interpreted by him in consistency with the Sūtra line of development of these psycho-ethical concepts. The real urge to the higher and progressive life comes from śraddhā meaning faith, belief, confidence, as well as aspiration. Vīrya (energy) which is released after the seed of faith is sown in the proper soil is the means by which one may proceed to accomplish what is to be done. It must be employed for the sake of tranquillity which is the essence of Nirvāṇa.

According to Aśvaghoṣa śaraṇa (refuge) not only implies that a person seeks a refuge, being driven by the fear of an impending danger, but also that the refuge sought for is one which is the most secure and safest, hence the very best that is available. In the Buddhist idea of śaraṇāgati the seeker of the refuge is primarily the ārtta or one who is upset and in the course of seeking he becomes the enquirer, eager to know the things as they are, desirous of attaining to the best that is available, and becomes wise, emancipated and living with the satisfaction that all that had to be done has been done. If the śaraṇāgati and śaraṇa be relative ideas, one implying the other, the best kind of śaraṇāgati must have for its object the best of the śaraṇas. The śaraṇāgati is psychologically defined as the birth of a religious aspiration which impels a person to believe: 'This is my refuge, this is my ideal.' In the Bhagavadgītā we find that Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva is regarded as the best and only śaraṇa for all the four classes of devotees. So according to Aśvaghoṣa the Buddha is considered as the best refuge. Aśvaghoṣa has rightly pointed out that

as a personality the historical founder of Buddhism, who is the first refuge, proved himself to be the Tathāgata, Sugata, Jina, Dharmacakrapravartaka, Vināyaka, Sārathī, Maharṣī, Mahāmuni, Hitaiṣī, Mahākāruṇika, Śāstā, Mārgakovidā, Śalyoddhārakartā, (puller of the dart), Śokasyahartā Śaraṇāgatānaṃ (stealer of sorrow from the seekers of refuge) and śokasyakartā pratigarvitānaṃ (causer of sorrow to the proud and conceited). Aśvaghoṣa's object is to establish the superior worth of the Buddhist Triad, the Tathāgata, the Mokṣa-Dharma, and the Āryasaṅgha.

If it be the task of philosophy to offer a rational and satisfactory explanation for pleasure and pain in the world, in individual lives, this explanation is to be found in the Buddha's doctrine of causation or dependent origination and not in God, not in the primordial matter, not in time, not in nature, not in faith, not in chance, not even in the Śāṅkhya principles of puruṣa and prakṛiti.

Pravṛtti-duḥkhasya ca tasya loke

trṣṇādayo doṣaganānimittam |

naiveśvaro na prakṛtir na kālo

nāpi svabhāvo na vidhīryadṛcchā || (S. XVI. 17).

Since an individual is a mere creation of the saṃskāras, there is neither the agent nor the internal percipient. The world is devoid of any abiding entity, Since the world has no motive force of its own and is not self-dependent and since there is no human being who exercises paramountcy over actions, and since the states of being arise from dependence on other states, the world is understood to be without a soul.

Yataś ca saṃskāragataṃ viviktaṃ

na kārakaḥ kaścana vedako vā |

Sāmagṛyataḥ sambhavati pravṛtṭiḥ

Śūnyaṃ tato lokamimaṃ dadarśa ||

Yasmānnirīham jagadasvatantram

naiśvaryamekaḥ kurute kriyāsu
tattat pratītya prabhavanti bhāvā
nirātmakaṃ tena viveda lokaṃ ॥
(Saundarananda kāvya, XVII, 20-21),

Aśvaghoṣa has faithfully given the scholastic Hīnayāna definition of cause as a combination of circumstances (paccayasāmaggi), sufficient in itself to account for the happening of events and discarded all theories seeking to account for such happenings by any single cause or agent. For such expressions as karmayoga, abhyāsayoga, and indriyānindriyārthebhyo Aśvaghoṣa was indebted to the Bhagavadgītā. The account of the practice of dhyāna or yoga in the Saundaranandakāvya (xiv, 1-9) is nothing but a replica of the Gītā account of the abhyāsayoga.

Aśvaghoṣa¹ speaks of śīla as śaraṇa or āśraya for a religious aspirant: "Śīlaṃ hi śaraṇaṃ saumya kāntāra iva daiśika." His idea of śīla reminds us of what is significantly brought out in the Milinda-Pañha (p. 34); śīla is the foundation of moral life, the root of increase in goodness, and the starting point of the teachings of all Buddhas.

1. For a detailed study of Aśvaghoṣa's doctrinal and philosophical knowledge, vide B. C. Law, Aśvaghoṣa.

Chapter XVII

TIRUKKURAL AND DHAMMAPADA—A COMPARATIVE STUDY

The Tamil text of the Tirukkural of Tiruvalluvar is regarded as one of the holy scriptures by the Tamilians like the Bhagavad-gītā of the Hindus and the Dhammapada of the Buddhists. It consists of three parts, the first dealing with Aram, the second with Poruḷ and the last with Kāma. It really treats of Dharma, Artha, and Kāma. The probable date of its composition is the first or second century B.C. This important text, which is considered as the Tamil classic, contains invaluable moral teachings. Prof. Dikshitar of the Madras University has quite recently translated it into English with the Tamil text transcribed in Roman script for the Adyar Library series. The Dhammapada which is the second book of the Khuddakanikāya of the Suttapiṭaka contains the sublime teachings of the Buddha. The verses are compiled from various sources and nowhere do we find any mention of the authorship of each of the verses. They are mostly detached. The majority of them is found in other canonical texts. There are various recensions,¹ and different editions and translations.² It is highly esteemed in Ceylon as a classical work. It is really indispensable to students of Buddhism.

An attempt has been made here to bring to the notice of the readers the teachings common to both the texts of the Tirukkural and Dhammapada. The Bhagavad-gītā has some similar ideas too.³

1. My History of Pali Literature, Vol. I, pp. 215-222.

2. Ibid., I, 223-25

3. Cf. The Original Gītā with comments and notes by R. Otto and translated and edited by J. E. Turner M. A., Ph D. (Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London).

According to the *Tirukkuraḷ*¹ those who have attained the feet of the Lord, will be free from all troubles. Those who have sought refuge in the feet of the Lord, can shake off anxiety, and those who have gained the feet of the Lord, cross the ocean of births.

In the *Śrīmad-Bhagavad-gītā*² those of base birth, even women, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, if only they take their refuge in the Lord, reach the highest path; how much more pure are the brahmins and royal sages, if they are devoted to the Lord.

According to the *Dhammapada*³ he who takes refuge in the Buddha is free from all pain. He who pays homage to the Buddha or his disciples, who have crossed the flood of sorrow, acquires much merit⁴

The *Tirukkuraḷ*⁵ says that Dharma should be practised by one to the best of his ability. In the *Dhammapada*⁶ a wise man always finds delight in Dharma expounded by the Elect. He who is the drinker of Dharma lives happily with a serene mind. Nothing is higher than Dharma; to forget it is wrought with greatest evil. Do not cease to practise Dharma on all possible occasions to the best of your ability. Happiness springs only from Dharma.⁷ One who practises Dharma lives happily in this world and in the next. One should practise Dharma properly.⁸

If one practises righteousness daily he is not subject

1. *Tirukkuraḷ*, vv. 4, 7, 10.

2. *SBG.*, IX, 32-33.

3. *Dh.*, vv. 190, 192.

4. *Ibid.*, vv. 195, 196.

5. *T.*, v. 33.

6. *Dh.*, v, 79; Cf. *Milinda*, p. 345.

7. *T.*, vv 32, 33, 39.

8. *Dh.*, v. 168; Cf. *Milinda*, 213.

to rebirth.¹ Those who follow the law which has been well explained to them, will overcome death.² In the Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā³ he who does not believe in righteousness must return to the path of death and saṃsāra.

Be pure in mind That is Dharma. All else is but pompous show. That course of conduct that steers clear of every desire, wrath and offensive speech, is alone Dharma. To do good and to avoid evil must be the law of our being.⁴ Not to commit any sin, to do good and to purify one's mind⁵—that is the teaching of the Awakened.⁶ One should follow the law of virtue and should not follow that of sin.⁷

There is no greater life if it is free from reproach. The householder who keeps others in the right path and himself does not deviate from his, does greater penance than anchorites.⁸ It is the supreme virtue of a householder to fulfil his obligations to his ancestors, gods, guests, relatives and himself.⁹ A wise man should be watchful regarding himself.¹⁰ Let him direct himself first to what is proper, and then let him teach others. If evil is not done by oneself he or she is purified.¹¹ One is sanctified if his speech be holy. He who forestalls blame is one who is restrained by modesty in all the world.¹² A true brahmin, although he has committed no offence, is one who can endure reproach. According to the Buddhist idea instead of being free from reproach, if he can endure it without having committed any offence, he will thereby make him perfect.¹³

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1. T., v. 38. 2. Dh., v. 86 ; Cf. Aṅguttara, V, 232.
 3. SBG., IX, 3. 4. T., vv. 34, 35, 40. 5. Cf. Sūtrakṛitāṅga, 243.
 6. Dh., v. 183 ; Cf. Dīgha, ii, 49 ; Nettī, 43, 81, 171, 186 ; Mahāvastu, iii, 420.
 7. Dh., v. 169 ; Cf. Avadānaśataka, Ed. Speyer, Vol. I, pp. 220 and 222.
 8. T., vv. 48, 49. 9. Ibid., v. 43.
 10. Cf. Bṛh. Up., I, 4, 8 ; 2, 4 ; 4, 5. 11. Dh., vv. 157, 158, 165.
 12. Dh., vv. 96, 143 ; Cf. Sūtrakṛ. 253 ; Uttarādh., 3. 13. Dh., v. 399,

A woman, if she is chaste, is regarded as great.¹ A monk is worthy of being a monk if he remains chaste and if he is above good and evil.² Misconduct (*duccaritam*) is the flaw of a woman like stinginess in the case of a donor, and evil things are undoubtedly flaws both in this world and in the next.³

A life devoid of love is barren. If one's heart is devoid of love his outward feature becomes free from grace.⁴ It may be applied to the case of the disciples of Gotama also who, according to the *Dhammapada*,⁵ are always wide awake and find delight in non-harming day and night.

Virtue grows in one who speaks kind, sweet and inoffensive words.⁶ In the *Dhammapada*⁷ a monk is one who utters sweet words, who holds his mouth under control, who speaks the mantra, who is not arrogant, and who teaches weal and Dharma. In the *Tirukkural* it is stated that a man knowing the pleasure that sweet speech gives, should not use harsh words.⁸ According to the *Dhammapada*⁹ harsh words should not be spoken to any man, for he may reply in the same manner. Provocative talk gives pain and retaliation may take place. In the *Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā*¹⁰ he by whom the world is not provoked, and who is not provoked by the world, who is free from joy, anger, fear and emotion—he is dear to the Lord. Speech which does not offend others, which is truthful, pleasant and useful, and also reciting holy writ, is called asceticism in word.¹¹

A wise man holds the scales evenly unmindful of prosperity or adversity.¹² A wise man makes no show

1. T., v. 54. 2. Dh. v. 267 ; Cf. *Samyutta*, I, 182.

3. Dh., v. 242 ; Cf. *Ang.* IV, 195. 4. T., vv. 78-79.

5. Dh., v. 300. 6. T., vv. 96-98

7. Dh., v. 363 ; Cf. *Suttanipāta*, 850. 8. T., v. 99. 9. Dh., v. 133.

10. *SBG.*, XII, 15. 11. *Ibid.*, XVII, 15. 12. T., v. 115.

of ups and downs either in happiness or in sorrow.¹ In the Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā² he who is the same to foe and friend, honour and dishonour, to heat and cold, maintaining equanimity in pleasure and pain, and freed from attachment, silent whether praised or blamed, even-minded, content whatever may befall, without a home, firm in faith and greatly devoted, is dear to the Lord.

In the Tirukkuraḥ³ the wealth of the upright never dwindles but it passes on to posterity. Give up ill-gotten wealth, though it brings prosperity. In the Dhammapada⁴ he who does not desire his own prosperity by dishonest means, is virtuous and wise. One should not covet other's wealth for evils come out of covetousness.⁵ One should not desire wealth for his own self or for others.⁶ He who desires prosperity by dishonest means is not wise, virtuous and righteous. One should take care that greediness and vice do not bring him to grief for a long time.⁷ A person earns wealth for rendering help to the deserving.⁸ The Dhammapada deprecates thirst for wealth.⁹ It states that wealth slays a wicked person but not those whose quest is the beyond. A wicked person on account of his thirst for wealth not only kills himself but also kills others.

In the Tirukkuraḥ¹⁰ we find that whatever else you may not control, control your tongue lest you should repent for your indiscreet words. A word of evil will lead one to trouble. One will surely lose the fruit of his good deeds if he utters the word of evil. In the Dhammapada¹¹ one should control his tongue. He should give up all offence in speech and should be careful in not using angry words. He should also practise virtue with his speech. In the Tirukkuraḥ¹² the god of righteousness loves one who

1. Dh., v. 83. 2. SBG., XII, 18-19. 3. T., vv. 112, 113. 4. Dh., v. 84.

5. T., v. 177. 6. Dh., v. 84 ; Cf. Uttarādh., 5. 4. 7. Dh., v. 248.

8. T., v. 219. 9. Dh., v. 355 ; Cf. Sūtrak., 309.

10. T., vv. 127, 128. 11. Dh., v. 232. 12. T., v. 130.

is above anger and attains self-control through knowledge.¹ In the Dhammapada² those sages who do not harm anybody and who are always well-restrained in body, go to the place where there is no death and where there is no grief. The Srimad-Bhagavad-Gītā³ points out that one should persevere in strenuous self-control. The wisdom of one whose senses are under control, is well-founded. He who is self-controlled is awake.⁴

Right conduct exalts a person.⁵ He who is possessed of good conduct and insight (sīladassana) is dear to us.⁶ Good conduct brings happiness and bad conduct leads one to misery.⁷

One should strive hard to walk in the right path.⁸ The Dhammapada⁹ points out that the eightfold path is the best. This is the way towards the attainment of purity. One will put an end to suffering after reaching the right path.

In the Dhammapada¹⁰ one who does a sinful act suffers¹¹ in this world and in the next. One who does a good deed finds delight in this world and in the next. He is pleased looking at the purity of his deed. An evil doer suffers at the thought that an evil deed¹² has been done by him. He suffers all the more after having gone to hell. A doer of a meritorious deed is pleased here and in the next. He is pleased at the thought that a meritorious deed has been done by him. He is pleased all the more after having reached the blessed region.

The action that is necessary should be done. Action is better than non-action. Even the maintenance of one's body would not be achieved if he did not act.¹³ Intelligence

1. Cf. Uttarādh., 161 ; Sūtrakṛ. 251.	2. Dh , v. 225.
3. SBG, II, 61.	4. Ibid., II, 69.
5. T., v. 131.	
6. Dh., v. 217.	7. T., v. 138.
8. T., v. 132.	9. vv. 274-275 ; Cf. Brh. Up., 4. 4. 8.
10. Dh., vv. 15-18.	
11. Cf. Sūtrakritāṅga, 298.	12. Ibid., 251.
	13. SBG., III., 8.

is considered to be more excellent than action.¹ By merely refusing to undertake action man attains no release from the bonds of Karma, nor by mere renunciation of action does he attain perfection.²

In the Tirukkuraḥ³ the envious do not prosper. The wise do not commit any wrong out of envy, for they know the evils arising out of it.⁴ In the Dhammapada⁵ one should put away conceit⁶ (*mānaṃ*). It is the aspiration of a fool that both the laymen and monks should think that this has been done by him and that what is to be done or not to be done should be deferred to him. His wishes and conceit grow (*icchā māno ca vaddhati*). Even the gods envy him who is free from pride and free from sins.⁷ The Buddhas are free from vanity, but the world delights in vanity. Those who are sages do not harm anybody.⁸ One should not envy others, Fortune forsakes the envious. Envy which is a deadly sin leads one to hell. Envy never thrives. Fortune never forsakes one who is free from envy. An envious, stingy, and dishonest man does not become good by talking too much or by the excellence of his complexion.⁹

In the Tirukkuraḥ¹⁰ adultery should not be indulged in. In the Dhammapada¹¹ one should not visit other's wife because the king inflicts severe punishment. Those who visit others' wives get four things: (1) demerit, (2) uncomfortable bed (i. e., not getting rest), (3) blame, and (4) hell.¹² Misconduct is the woman's flaw. It is an evil thing both in this world and in the next.¹³ The life of a shameless man is easy to live.¹⁴ For one who ever

1. Ibid., III, 1. 2. Ibid., III, 4.

3. T., v. 135. 4. Ibid., v. 164. 5. Dh., v. 221.

6. Cf. Sūtrakṛitāṅga, 302; Sam, I, 23. 7. cf. Netti, 162.

8. Dh., vv, 74, 94, 254, 225, 9. T., vv. 161, 167, 168, 170; Cf. Dh., v. 262.

10. Ibid., v. 150. 11. Dh., v. 310. 12. Ibid., v. 309.

13. Ibid., v. 242. 14. Ibid., v. 244.

seeks the 'pure, being detached and not assertive, pure in life, life is hard to live.¹

If one wishes to maintain character, one's conduct must be marked by patience.² Patience is the supreme austerity (khanti param tapo).³ He who patiently bears harsh words, is the trained man who is the best among men.⁴ In the Tirukkural⁵ one should forbear the harm done to him by another. In the Dhammapada⁶ the Buddha says that forbearance is the excellent waning out.

One who endures the insolent words of the transgressor is greater than an ascetic.⁷ In the Dhammapada⁸ he is not a recluse who does injury to another. One who has renounced the world does no harm to others.

In the Dhammapada⁹ contentment does not lie in sense-desires. The wise know that sense-desires are sufferings and distasteful.¹⁰ One does not find delight even in celestial sense-desires.¹¹ A learned man (paṇḍito) should give up sensual pleasures.¹² Delightful are the forests where the people come not to take pleasure; they will find delight being free from passion; they are not in search for sensual pleasures.¹³ Those who move about being alert for beauty, unrestrained in senses, immoderate in food, slothful and inert, are easily overcome by Māra the sinner.¹⁴ In the Śrīmad-Bhagavad-Gītā¹⁵ the senses are disturbing. They deprive the wise man of his reason. If a man meditates on the sense objects, interest in them arises; from interest desire is born; from desire anger is produced. Through anger comes bewilderment; through bewilderment the wavering of prudence; the loss of prudence entails

1. Ibid., v. 245.

2. T., v. 154.

3. Dh., v. 184.

4. Ibid., v. 321.

5. T., v. 158.

6. Dh., v. 184.

7. T., v. 159.

8. Dh., v. 184.

9. Ibid., vv. 186-87.

10. Cf. Vinaya, ii, 25; Divyā, 224.

11. Cf. Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, v. 6503.

12. Dh., v. 88.

13. Dh., v. 99.

14. Ibid., v. 7.

15. SBG., II, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65.

injury to the capacity for judgment and the power of resolution. This is spiritual destruction. He who draws near the objects of sense with his senses free from inclination and aversion and under the firm control of the self, attains to serenity. In this serenity he gains release from all evil. He who controls the five organs of action, yet at the same time reflects in his mind on the objects of the senses, is called one who is given up to illusion and bad conduct.¹

In the Tirukkuraḷ² one should not be guilty of slander. In the Dhammapada³ if one finds fault with others and always of captious mind, his own sins grow. Men blame the silent sitter, they also blame the much talker, they also blame those who talk moderately. There is none in this world who is not blamed. There is none in this world who is solely blamed or who is solely praised.⁴ The wise remain unmoved either by praise or by blame.⁵

In the Tirukkuraḷ⁶ he who utters silly words is despised by all. It is better not to utter empty words.⁷ A good man will never indulge in vain words.⁸ A well uttered speech becomes fruitless if it is not carried into action and vice versa.⁹

One does not become learned and righteous by talking much. He should guard his speech. A monk should be restrained in his speech.¹⁰ He who holds his speech under control utters sweet words.¹¹

One should be afraid of evil deed. If one really loves oneself he or she should not do any harm to others. Sorrow hardly comes to a person who does not deviate from right.¹² A man should entirely avoid evil things. One

1. Ibid., III, 6.

2. T., v. 181.

3. Dh., v. 253.

4. Dh., vv. 227, 228.
Milinda, 386.

5. Ibid., v. 81 ; Cf., Sūtrakṛ., 300 ; Vin. I, 185 ;

6. T., v. 191

7. Ibid., v. 194.

8. Ibid., v. 196.

9. Dh., vv. 51, 52.

10. Cf. Uttarādh, 8. 1.

11. Dh., vv. 258, 259, 281, 361, 363.

12. T., vv. 202, 209, 210,

should repel his mind from evil deed. Suffering comes from evil. The fool who offends the person who is pure and free from fault, suffers from the very evil. Those who perform sinful deeds go to hell. One cannot escape from evil deed whether he may be in the sky, or in the mid-ocean, or in the hill-cave. Evil does not come to a person who has not done anything wrong.

Far nobler than one thousand oblations to fire is an act of abstinence from taking flesh.¹ One should not kill anybody or cause another person to kill,² making his own self the type, because life is dear to all.³ One does not become an elect because he kills living creatures. One becomes so by avoiding life-slaughter.⁴ One becomes a true brahmin who does not kill nor cause slaughter⁵

Non-killing is the sum-total of virtues. Do not commit any act of violence.⁶ A man is called an elect because he has pity on all living creatures and because he does not injure them.⁷ He is not just if he carries a matter by violence.⁸

Nothing lasts except one's fearless renown.⁹ One who is blessed with fame and riches, is honoured wherever he goes.¹⁰ The scent of the pious goes against the wind. A good man pervades all directions. Odour of virtue is supreme among all sorts of perfumes.¹¹

The unblemished truly live.¹² One becomes a true brahmin if he is blameless.¹³ One should be compassionate.¹⁴ A monk who behaves with compassion is sure to reach Nirvāṇa.¹⁵

True charity lies in the gift to the poor alone.¹⁶ The gift of Dharma conquers all gifts.¹⁷

1. T., v, 259, 2. Cf. Sūtrakritāṅga, 311

3. Dh., vv. 123, 116, 117, 125, 126, 127, 124, 129, 130; Netti, 130; Jāt, III, 292; Divyāṇv, 339; Uttarādh, p. 3; Mahābh. xiii. 5568.

4. Dh., v, 270, 5. Ibid., v, 405, 6. T, 321, 327,

7. Dh., v, 270, 8. Ibid., v, 256. 9. T., v, 233,

10. Dh. v, 303. 11. Ibid., vv, 54, 55; Cf, Aṅg., I. 226; Milinda, 333,

12. T., v. 240. 13. Dh., 386, 388. 14. T., v. 242.

15. Dh., v, 368; Mahāvastu, III, 421, 523, 16. T., v. 221. 17. Dh., v, 354.

The weak should not be oppressed.¹ One should be cordial in his ways and one should be righteous in his deeds.² This is applicable not only to the monks but also to the laity. One should not expect any return for the service done.³ In the Śrīmad-Bhagavadgītā⁴ we find that the Lord has no desire for the fruit of action. Whosoever has abandoned attachment to the fruit of actions, ever contented in himself and independent, even though he is occupied in action, nevertheless he involves no karma for himself.⁵

The Dhammapada does not contain the idea that nothing should be expected in return for the service done. But in the verse 166 it is pointed out that a person should not neglect his own duty for the sake of another's welfare, however great. He should always be attentive to his duty after knowing it. According to the Śrīmad-Bhagavadgītā⁶ it is better to fulfil one's own duty, even though inadequately performed, than another's duty, even though well done. Better is destruction in fulfilling one's own duty than the gain of happiness in the fulfilment of duty not one's own.

The true form of penance is to put up with all pains and to abstain from injury.⁷ In the Dhammapada⁸ penance is the supreme austerity.⁹ He is not a recluse who strikes and insults others. Penance is only possible for the disciplined.¹⁰ Men who have not observed proper discipline, perish.¹¹

A man loses his saintly behaviour if his mind is

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1. T., v. 250.	2. Dh., v. 376.	3. T., v. 211.	4. SBG., IV, 14.
5. Ibid., IV, 20.	6. Ibid., III, 35.	7. T., v. 261.	
8. Dh., v. 184 ; Dīgha. ii, 49.			
9. Cf. Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, 49.			
10. T., v. 263.			
11. Dh., v. 155.			

bent on evil.¹ He is advised to avoid evil deeds.² If he commits any sin, let him not do it again, because the accumulation of evil is painful.³ According to the Śrīmad-Bhagavadgītā⁴ the knowledge of evil-doers who are the lowest of men about the Lord is carried away by their infatuation with Māyā because they have betaken themselves to a vicious nature. They do not take refuge in the Lord. Doers of good deeds praise the Lord. They are of four kinds.⁵ The possessor of knowledge who is one of the four, is pre-eminent. The Lord is dear to him as he is dear to the Lord.⁶ If a man does what is good, let him do it again, because the accumulation of good is delightful.⁷ One should not think lightly of evil. A fool becomes full of evil even if he gathers it little by little.⁸ An evil-doer sees happiness so long as his evil deed does not ripen. But when his evil deed becomes ripe, then the evil-doer sees it.⁹ It is quite clear from the Dhammapada (Ch. IX) that an evil-doer really loses his saintliness. If persons abstain from evil deeds there is no need either for tonsure or for matted locks.¹⁰ He is a true brāhmaṇa when he is rid of evil. He does not offend by deed, word or thought.¹¹ For a fool it is no good having plaited hair. His inside is dirty. It is no good cleaning outside.¹²

He who wants to command respect must guard his mind against robbing others.¹³ Those who know stealing only will indulge in an unrighteous act and will forthwith perish.¹⁴ He who takes what is not given him brings about his own ruin.¹⁵ A true brahmin is one

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1. T. v. 272.	2. Dh., v. 123.	3. Ibid., v. 117.	4. SBG., VII, 15
5. Ibid., VII, 16-17.	6. Ibid., VII, 17.	7. T., v. 188.	
8. Dh., v. 121 ; Cf. Jāt. III, 169.	9. Dh., v. 119.	10. T., v. 280.	
11. Dh., vv. 388-391 ; Cf. Netti, p. 183.	12. Dh., v. 394.		
13. T., v. 281.	14. Ibid., v. 289.	15. Dh., v. 246.	

who takes nothing in the world that is not given him.¹ One should be truthful.² He who is endowed with truth, temperate, free from sins and virtuous, is indeed worthy of yellow robe.³ They who know truth in truth and untruth in untruth arrive at truth.⁴ One should banish anger from his mind.⁵ Do not get angry with anyone.⁶ He who restrains his anger shows real restraint.⁷ Men given to anger are the companions of the devil, and those who are free from it live with the immortals.⁸ One should give up anger.⁹ One should not yield to it.¹⁰ He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot is called a real charioteer.¹¹ He will go near the gods by removing anger.¹² If one fails to control bodily anger, anger of the tongue, and anger of the mind, he is sure to suffer.¹³

It is a supreme virtue not to do even the slightest injury to others.¹⁴ Avoid all that causes pain to others.¹⁵ One should not commit any sin but he should do good to others.¹⁶ One should not strike others causing injury.¹⁷ It is further enjoined by the Dhammapada¹⁸ that a man should hasten towards the good and keep his thought away from evil. Evil-doers go to hell, and the righteous people go to heaven.¹⁹

One should properly understand what is stable and

1. Ibid., v. 409.

2. T., v. 297.

3. Dh., v. 10 ; Jāt., II, 198.

4. Ibid., v. 12.

5. T., v. 309.

6. Ibid., v. 303.

7. Ibid., v. 301.

8. Ibid., v. 310.

9. Dh., v. 221 ; Sūtrakṛ 302 ; Muṇḍakopaniṣad, II, 3. 8.

10. Dh., v. 224.

11. Ibid., v. 222.

12. Ibid., v. 224.

13. Ibid., vv. 231-233.

14. T. v. 817.

15. Ibid., v. 316.

16. Dh., v. 183 ; Dīgha, II, 49 ; Mahāvastu, III, 420.

17. Dh., v. 185 ; Udāna, IV, 6.

18. Dh. v. 116 ; Jāt. IV, 490.

19. Dh. v. 126 ; Mahāv. II. 424.

what is unstable.¹ A true brahmin is one who is thoughtful, steady, free from doubts, free from attachment, and who has reached the other shore.²

A man does not suffer pain from renunciation. Ascetics renounce the world.³ Renunciation is the essence of Yoga ; only he who renounces all interests is an actual Yogī.⁴ One should cut off all attachments.⁵ One should seek refuge in him who is free from desires.⁶ One should dig up the root of thirst.⁷ Wise people cut off the fetter and leave the world, free from cares.⁸ He is a true brahmin who is free from all attachments although he may be poor.⁹ He is a true brahmin who has abandoned all his longings.¹⁰ One is a true brāhmaṇa whose passions are extinct, i. e., who has subdued his senses.¹¹ A monk is really freed from all pain.¹² One should give up his longings. There is no sorrow for those who are free from desires.¹³ One becomes happy when his desire dies out.¹⁴ Ascetics fear desires.¹⁵ When a person overcomes his thirst, he becomes free from sufferings.¹⁶ The extinction of thirst overcomes all pain.¹⁷ The root of thirst should be removed.¹⁸ A just person has obtained confidence because he has obtained the

1. T. v. 331. 2. Dh. v. 414 ; Cf. Aṅg iv. 290. 3. T., vv. 341, 344

4. SBG., VI, 2. 5. T., v. 349. 6. T., v. 350.

7. Dh. v. 337 ; Cf. Dh., v. 216 ; Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, 17. 8 ; Netti, p. 42 ; Muṇḍakopaniṣad, II, 3. 2 ; Jātaka, iii, 387.

8. Dh., v. 346. 9. Ibid., v. 396. 10. Ibid., v. 416.

11. Ibid., v. 420 ; Cf. Mahābhārata, xiii, 113. 7.

12. Dh., v. 361 ; Saṃ, I, 73 ; Milinda, 399.

13. T., vv. 368, 370. 14. Ibid., v. 369. 15. Ibid., v. 366.

16. Dh., v. 336 ; Cf. Kathopaniṣad, 3. 14. It is also stated in the Dhammapada that sorrow and fear come from the beloved. When one becomes free from the beloved, he has neither sorrow nor fear. Dh., v. 212 ; Cf. Avadānaśataka Ed. by J. S. Speyer, Vol. I, 191.

17. Dh., v. 354. 18. Ibid., v. 337.

extinction of desires.¹ One cannot be an ascetic if he is given up to desire and greediness². He who forsakes all desires and moves about devoid of all aspirations, being free from attachment and self-conceit, attains to peace.³ He who is trained attains to final peace through freedom from attachment; but he who is untrained is bound through his attachment, the result of his lusts.⁴

Men of pure vision dispel darkness. One should seek the truth to remove delusion.⁵ One should do away with lust, anger and delusion which lead to rebirth.⁶ He in whom there exist truth, virtue, pity, restraint, moderation, wisdom, and freedom from impurity, is called an elder.⁷ Mankind is ruined by passion, hatred, delusion and lust. A gift bestowed on the passionless and on those who are free from hatred, delusion, and lust, brings great reward.⁸ One should speak the truth and make a gift, however small, and thereby he will go near the gods.⁹ In the Śrīmad-Bhagavadgītā (XI. 55) he who does the action of the Lord, who turns towards the Lord as to his highest goal, who is devoted to the Lord, free from attachment to the objects of sense, without hatred to any being, comes to the Lord.

Pleasure and pain are all the workings of fate.¹⁰ They who see sin where there is no sin and see no sin where there is sin, such men embracing the false doctrine enter the evil path wherein lies suffering. They who see sin where there is sin and no sin where there is no sin, such men embracing the right doctrine enter

1. Dh., vv. 271-72 ; Mahāv, iii, 422.

2. Dh., v. 264.

3. SBG., II, 71.

4. Ibid., v. 12.

5. T., vv. 352, 358

6. Ibid., v. 360.

7. Dh., v. 261.

8. Ibid., vv. 356-59.

9. Dh., v. 224.

10. T., v. 379.

the good path wherein lies happiness.¹ Not done is better than ill-done, ill-done afterwards brings pain; a good deed is better done, for having done it one does not repent.²

The duty of the learned is to delight men by their company. The precious wealth of a man is his learning.³ The learned man who shows you what is to be avoided, should be followed.⁴ Let him admonish, teach, forbid what is improper, he will be beloved of the good.⁵

Wisdom saves one from evil.⁶ A wise man should be watchful.⁷ If a man holds himself dear, let him watch himself carefully. A wise man will not suffer because he will see what is proper.⁸ Wisdom of a child is not only the delight of his father but also the delight of the whole world.⁹ It is pleasant to have attained wisdom¹⁰

The world lives through kindness.¹¹ The disciples of Gautama always find delight in compassion.¹² The monk who behaves with kindness, who is happy with the doctrine of the Buddha, will reach Nirvāṇa.¹³

Exertion is one's real possession.¹⁴ It is one's wealth, and it is one's strength. Earnestness is the path of Nirvāṇa.¹⁵ Those who are earnest do not die. By earnestness vanity can be removed.¹⁶ He who is earnest and meditative obtains ample joy.¹⁷ Earnestness is always praised. By earnestness Indra attained the lordship of gods.¹⁸ A monk who

1. Dh., vv. 318-19

2. Dh., v. 314 3. T., vv. 394, 400. 4. Dh., v. 76 ; Theragāthā, 993.

5. Dh., v. 77 ; Theragāthā, 994. 6. T., v. 421. 7. Cf. Uttarādh. 6. 4.

8. Dh., vv. 157-58. 9. T., v. 68

10. Dh., v. 333 ; Sukho paññāya paṭilābho.

11. T., v. 572. 12. Dh., v. 300.

13. Ibid., v. 368 ; Mahāvastu, iii, 421, 523.

14. T., vv. 591, 592, 600 15. Dh., v. 21 ; Netti, 34.

16. Dh., v. 28 ; Mbh. xii, 151. 12 ; Milinda, 387.

17. Dh., v. 27 ; Theragāthā, 883-4. 18. Dh., v. 30 ; Sam. I, 229.

delights in earnestness, moves about like fire burning all fetters.¹

Slothfulness should never be encouraged.² It is always blamed.³ A wise monk should keep noble friends whose life is pure and who are not slothful.⁴

According to the Tirukkuraḥ a man's friends bring prosperity to him.⁵ It is easy for one to say but it is difficult to do.⁶ The friend of the wise resembles the waxing crescent ; the friendship of the unwise fades like the waning moon.⁷ Better to have solitude than the alliance of the wicked.⁸ Better to abandon than make friendship with the low people who do not help you in adversity.⁹ It is wise to avoid friendship with those who befriend you at home but betray you in the public.¹⁰ The stupid people are shameless, negligent and arrogant.¹¹ Hatred is a foul disease that brings discord among men.¹² Out of modesty springs one's greatness.¹³ Greatness is all humility.¹⁴ Good conduct is the virtue of the great.¹⁵ The noble would rather die than lose modesty.¹⁶ Ignoble men envy others and slander them.¹⁷

Friends who have stood by you in hour of sorrow should not be abandoned.¹⁸ According to the Dhammapada¹⁹ one should serve good friends and not bad friends. The friendship of virtuous men should be secured.²⁰ The company of the wicked is the greatest evil.²¹ One should not have wicked people as his friends.²² He who walks in the company of fools suffers.²³

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1. Dh., v. 31.	2. T., v. 602.	3. Dh., v. 30.	4. Dh., v. 375.
5. T., v. 651.	6. T., v. 664.	7. T., v. 781.	
8. Ibid., 814.	9. Ibid., 816.	10. Ibid., v. 820.	
11. Ibid., v. 833	12. Ibid., v. 851.	13. Ibid., v. 960.	14. Ibid., v. 978
15. Ibid., v. 982,	16. Ibid., v. 1017.	17. Ibid., v. 1079.	
18. Ibid., v. 106.	19. Dh., v. 78 ; Cf. v. 207 ; T., v. 106.		
20. T., v. 441 ; Cf. Dh. v. 78.	21. T., v. 460.	22. Dh., v. 78.	23. Dh., v. 207.

According to the Dhammapada one cannot lead a holy life if he talks much that is proper but he seldom acts accordingly.¹ The words of a person who does not act accordingly, are fruitless although they are fine. The words of a person who acts accordingly, are both fine and fruitful.² If an intelligent man be associated only for a minute with a wise man, he will soon perceive the truth.³ If a fool be associated with a wise man throughout his life, it would be difficult for him to perceive the truth.⁴ If a traveller does not meet with one who is his better or his equal, let him firmly keep to his solitary journey.⁵ One should not have low people for friends.⁶ He who walks in the company of fools suffers a long way ; company with fools as with an enemy is always painful.⁷ The Dhammapada gives the characteristic of the stupid people who are described as fools in several places. It refers to them as thoughtless people. Those who are thoughtless are as if dead.⁸ A thoughtless man has no share in the priesthood, but he is like a cowherd counting the cows of others.⁹ The fools are described as men of evil wisdom who follow after vanity.¹⁰ The fool who knows his foolishness is wise so far, but a fool who thinks himself wise is called a fool indeed.¹¹ An evil deed follows the fool.¹² There is no shark like hatred.¹³ Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time ; it ceases by love.¹⁴ When any evil thought is not harboured, hatred will cease.¹⁵ In the Śrimad-Bhagavadgītā¹⁶ he is surely dear to the Lord, who is without hatred to any being, who is friendly and

1. Ibid., v. 19.

2. Ibid., vv. 51-52 ; Therag. 923-24

3. Dh., v. 65.

4. Ibid., v. 64.

5. Ibid., v. 61.

6. Ibid., v. 78.

7. Ibid., v. 207.

8. Ibid., v. 21.

9. Ibid., v. 19.

10. Ibid., v. 26.

11. Ibid., v. 63.

12. Ibid., v. 71 ; Netti, 161.

13. Dh., v. 251.

14. Dh., v. 5 ; Cf. Matthew, 5, 44 ; Mbh. Bhīṣmap. XXI, 10.

15. Dh., v. 4

16. SBG., XII, 13-14.

compassionate, free from selfishness and arrogance, level-minded in weal and woe, patient, ever contented, a firmly resolute yogī, self-controlled with heart and mind dedicated to the Lord and himself devoted to Him. Life is easy to live for a man who is shameless, mischief-maker, bold, an insulting and wretched fellow.¹ Life is hard to live for a modest man who always looks to purity, who is unselfish, quiet, spotless and intelligent.² Good conduct is pleasant, lasting till old age.³ A man does not become noble by doing injury to others. An envious, stingy and dishonest man does not become respectable by means of much talking or by the beauty of his complexion.⁴

1. Dh., v. 244.

2. Ibid., v. 245.

3. Ibid., v. 333

4. Ibid., v. 270,

Chapter XVIII

THREE BUDDHIST COMMENTARIES

Buddhaghosa who lived and worked in the 5th century A. D. for the propagation of the Buddhist faith and for the interpretation of the Buddhist literature, was a well-known commentator on Theravāda Buddhist texts, whose detailed study has already been made in my *Buddhaghosa* published in 1946. He was the author of several commentaries including the Samantapāsādikā, Papañcasūdanī and Sāratthappakāsinī. In the following pages readers' attention has been drawn to some new and important topics dealt with in these three commentaries.

The Samantapāsādikā—The Samantapāsādikā is a voluminous commentary on the five books of the Vinayapiṭaka. At the request of the Thera Buddhāsiri, Buddhaghosa wrote it. This work has been edited for the P.T.S., London. Takakusu has published a translation of it based on the Chinese version in the J.R.A.S., 1897. Sinhalese, Burmese, and Siamese editions are available. This work is written in an easy language and is free from an elaborate tangle of similes and metaphors unlike other commentaries of this nature.

According to Buddhaghosa Udaya was another name given to a brahmin named Verañja by his parents. He was called Verañja because he was born and brought up at Verañjā.¹ He invited the Buddha and the monks and at the end of the meal he presented a set of three robes to the Buddha and a pair of robes to each of the monks. (Samantap. I, 170 ff). Asoka built 84,000 monasteries in the whole of Jambudīpa by spending 96 crores.² King Bindu-

1. Samantapāsādikā, I, III.

2. Ibid., I, 115.

sāra had one hundred sons, all of whom were killed by Asoka except his uterine brother Tissa. Asoka became the paramount sovereign in Jambudīpa. His suzerainty was extended to the subterranean region, one yojana below the surface of the earth, and also to the sky above.¹ Bindusāra, father of Asoka, used to give alms to 60,000 brahmins and heretics. Asoka also followed the example of his father for some time in making donations to non-Buddhist ascetics and institutions. He afterwards was dissatisfied with them and stopped further charities but he was very kind to the Buddhist monks.² At the end of the Third Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputta under the patronage of king Asoka, Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, the president of the Council, sent missionaries to India and Ceylon to preach Buddhism. It seems that almost all these missionaries were residents of Magadha.³ Asoka came from Pāṭaliputta, crossed the Ganges by boat and reached Tāmalitti (Samantap., I, 90 ff). Buddhaghosa points out that Asoka had a daily income of 4,00,000 coins from the four gates of Pāṭaliputta. In the council hall he used to get 1,00,000 coins a day. Asoka spent these 5,00,000 coins daily in the following ways :—

- (1) 1,00,000 paid to the Thera Nigrodha ; (2) 1,00,000 paid to the monastic establishment for purchasing flowers, garlands, etc. ; (3) 1,00,000 spent for the Dhamma to enable the bhikkhus to have their requisites ; (4) 1,00,000 to the Saṅgha (Church) ; and the remaining 1,00,000 for supplying medicines in the four gates of Pāṭaliputta.⁴

Buddha passed away in the eighth year of Ajātasattu's reign⁵ on the full moon day of the month of Vesākha between the two sāla trees at Kuśinārā, a town

1. Ibid., I, 41.

2. Ibid., I, 44.

3. Ibid., I, 63-4.

4. Ibid., I, 52.

5. Ibid., I, p. 72

of the Mallas (I, p. 4). In that year Vijaya, the first king of Tambapaṇṇi, made a human settlement there for the first time. Vijaya died in the 14th regnal year of Udayabhadda, king of Jambudīpa. In the 15th year of Udayabhadda's reign Paṇḍuvāsudeva became the king of Tambapaṇṇi. In the 20th regnal year of Nāgadāsaka, Paṇḍuvāsudeva died after a reign of 30 years. Abhaya succeeded him. Pakuṇḍakābhaya, a Tamil usurper, became the king of Ceylon by defeating the Ceylonese king. In the 14th regnal year of king Candagutta, Pakuṇḍakābhaya died and Mūṭasiva became the king of Ceylon, who was succeeded to the throne by king Devānampiyatissa.

After the death of Buddha, Ajātasattu reigned for 24 years, Udayabhadda for 16 years, Anuruddha and Muṇḍa together for 18 years, Nāgadāsaka for 24 years, Susunāga for 18 years and Kālāsoka for 28 years. The nine Nandas together reigned for 22 years and after them came Candagutta who reigned for 24 years and then came Bindusāra who ruled for 28 years. After him his son Asoka occupied the throne.¹ Two months after the Buddha's death Ajātasattu helped the monks who took part in the First Buddhist Council (Samantap. I. 10-11).

King Devānampiyatissa went to see the courtyard of the Kaṇṭhaka monastery and saw all the 68 chambers, which were intended for the monks, situated round it.²

The Licchavis had a republican form of government (gaṇa), all the leading members of which were called rājā.³ Buddhaghosa refers to the Andhas and Damiḷas who were regarded as foreigners (milakkhā).⁴

A therī named Uppalavaṇṇā was the daughter of a very rich banker of Sāvattī. She was very beautiful.

1. Ibid., I, 72-3.

2. Ibid., I, 82.

3. Ibid., I, 212.

4. Ibid., I, 255.

She was called Uppalavaṇṇā because her skin was of the colour of blue lotus.¹

Vassakāra, a brāhmin, was called Magadha-mahāmatto either because he was the chief minister in the kingdom of Magadha or because he was the chief minister of the king of Magadha who was the possessor of much wealth, pomp and grandeur.² Bimbisāra was known as Māgadha because he was the lord of the Magadhans. He was called Seniya because he was the master of a huge army (senāyasampanno).

During the reign of king Bhātiya of Ceylon there was a dispute on a doctrinal point between the monks of Mahāvihāra and Abhayagirivihāra. Dīghakārāyana was appointed by the king to settle the dispute.⁴

Supatitṭhitacetiya was a palm grove in Buddha's time. It was also known as Banian shrine.⁵ In Buddha's time there were 18 monasteries at Rājagaha. After the death of the Buddha the inmates left them. In course of time they were very much damaged but they were afterwards repaired by king Ajātasattu on the eve of the First Buddhist Council.⁶ There was a lake called the Aravāla in Kasmīra-Gandhāra in which lived a nāga king Aravāla who was converted by the thera Majjhantika⁷

The Sineru was the highest mountain which formed the centre of the earth. The Yugandhara, the Īsadhara, the Karavika, the Sudassana, the Nemindhara, the Vinat-aka and the Assakaṇṇa were the seven mountain ranges which surrounded it. The continent called Aparagoyāna, according to Buddhaghosa, is 7,000 yojanas in extent. The extent of Uttarakuru is 8,000 yojanas. The name of the continent of Jambudīpa is derived from a Jambu

1. Ibid., I, 272-3.

2. Ibid., II, 294.

5. Ibid., I, 158

3. Ibid., II, 297

6. Ibid., I, 9.

4. Ibid., III, 582-3.

7. Ibid., I, 65.

tree which stands with its outspreading branches, 50 yojanas in length.¹ Bhaddiya was a city of the Anga kingdom. Near it there was a grove which was so called because shrubs of nutmeg flowers used to grow there in plenty.²

Rājagaha was so called because it was the abode of ancient kings like Mandhātā and Mahāgovinda. Buddhaghosa says that this city was populous in Buddha's time. But in later times it became an abode of the Yakkhas.³ Rājagaha had a population of 18 crores. It was the chief city in Aṅga-Magadha which was 300 yojanas in extent and contained 80,000 villages.⁴

The grounds of the Jetavana were densely covered with trees and looked like a forest (Samantap. III. 532). The building of the Asokārāma was looked after by a therā named Indagutta (Samantap. I., 48-49).

Gijjhakūṭa which was one of the five hills encircling Rājagaha was so called either because its peak was an abode of many vultures or because its peak was of the shape of of a vulture's beak.⁵

As regards the Isigili mountain Buddhaghosa says that 500 Paccekabuddhas went there to practise meditation. They were seen entering the mountain but not coming out. Those who observed it thought that the mountain swallowed up the sages. So it was known by the name of Isigili. There is a reference to a mountain named Ahogaṅga where Thera Moggaliputta Tissa once stayed (I, p. 37).

Vesālī was so called because its area grew bigger in course of time with the result that the boundary walls had to be extended for the third time round the city.⁶

1. Ibid., I, 119.

2. Ibid., I., 280.

3. Ibid., II, 285.

4. Ibid., III, 614.

5. Ibid., II. 285.

6. Ibid., II, 393.

The Mahāvana was a natural wood near Vesālī. The wood known as the Mahāvana, which lay near Kapilavatthu, reached the Himalayas on one side and the sea on the other ; but the Mahāvana near Vesālī was not like that.¹

As regards Tapodā which was a large lake below the Vebhāra hill, Buddhaghosa points out that the water of the stream flowing from the lake was hot. The lake Tapodā was the playground of the Nāgas and the stream flowed down from this lake. Its water was hot because it flowed through Lohakumbhi hills which lay below Rājagaha.²

The grove Veluvana near Rājagaha was so called because it was surrounded by bamboos. It was protected by a wall 18 cubits high and adorned with beautiful gates and towers which were decorated with *lapis lazuli*.³

There was a woodland called Kalandakanivāpa at Veluvana. The place came to be so named as food was regularly given here for squirrels.⁴

Sāvattthī in Buddha's time contained fifty-seven hundred thousand families and was the chief city in Kāśī-Kosala which was 300 yojanas in extent and contained 80,000 villages.⁵

Kiṭāgiri is described as a janapada (III, 613).

There was a shrine at Vesālī called the Gotamaka shrine where the bhikkhus were permitted by the Buddha to use three robes for the first time.⁶ There was a golden cetiya (dagoba) built by Prince Uttara (III, 544).

Viñjhātavi was a forest without any human habitation.⁷ Bhagga was the name of a town. Sumsumāragira was a city. Bhesakalāvana was a grove near the city. It got the name of Migadāya because deer were allowed to

1. Ibid, II, 393.

2. Ibid., II, 512.

3. Ibid., III, 575.

4. Ibid., III, 575.

5. Ibid., III, 614.

6. Ibid., III, 636.

7. Ibid., III, 655.

roam about freely.¹ As regards Uruvelā, Buddhaghosa says that it stands for a great sand bank (mahāvelā). Before the advent of the Buddha, many young noble men gave up household life and became ascetics. They discussed among themselves the question of bodily or vocal actions. Whenever any evil thought arose in any one of them, he was instructed to carry a handful of sand to a place nearby. The sand thus carried formed a great bank in course of time. A monastic establishment was made later on.² Latṭhivana was a palmyra grove (tāluyyāna).³ Ghositārāma was named after Ghosita, the banker (III, 574). There was a village in Magadha called Andhakavinda which stood at the distance of a gāvuta from Rājagaha.⁴

Buddhaghosa refers to three kinds of mountains : (1) a mountain with clean dust (suddhapamsupabbata), (2) a mountain with clean stone (suddhapāsāṇapabbata), (3) a mountain which is a combination of both, i. e., clean dust and clean stone (ubhayamissakapabbata).⁵

Buddhaghosa says that the Bhaddavaggiyas were so called because they used to move group by group. They were beautiful in body and mind.⁶ He refers to three kinds of saddhamma : (1) pariyatti saddhamma, the saddhamma comprising the study of the contents of the three piṭakas, (2) paṭipatti saddhamma, i. e., the saddhamma which brings good conduct, and (3) adhigamasaddhamma, the saddhamma which leads to the attainment of the four noble paths, the four advantages resulting from recluseship and nirvāṇa.⁷

According to Buddhaghosa, there were four kinds of slaves : (1) slaves born in families, (2) one purchased for slavery, (3) one who originally belonged to an enemy, but when defeated and captured he was employed as a

1. Ibid., IV, 867.

2. Ibid., V, 952.

3. Ibid., V, 972.

4. Ibid., V, 1049.

5. Ibid., V, 1036.

6. Ibid., V, 971.

7. Ibid., I, 225.

slave, and (4) one who adopted the life of a slave of his own accord.¹ Buddhaghosa refers to woollen embroidered coverlets known as Yonaka-Damīḷa. They were thick.² Soṇa Kuṭīkaṇṇa used to wear an ear ornament worth one crore.³

Buddhaghosa refers to seven modes of pregnancy : (1) pregnancy due to sexual intercourse and other bodily contacts, (2) pregnancy due to putting the semen in the female sexual organ by holding it first in a piece of cloth as in the case of the wife of the thera Udāyi, (3) pregnancy due to drinking the urine of a male by a woman during her menstruation period, (4) pregnancy due to touching the navel of a woman during her menstruation, (5) pregnancy due to reflecting upon a male by a woman during her menstruation, (6) pregnancy due to hearing the sound as in the case of peahens, and (7) pregnancy due to smell as in the case of cows.⁴ Buddhaghosa refers to rustic behaviour and conduct of the village people.⁵ He speaks of four kinds of vehicle : (I) portable bed, (2) a kind of chariot, (3) chariot, and (4) cart. Of these the first looks like a shed covered all round and well-planked ; the second conveyance is supported by gold and silver beams on both sides.⁶ Ānanda looked after the sick when the Master had his afternoon rest (Samantap. III., 651)

One Magadha nālī corresponds to 12½ pala. It is said to be the standard weight ; that of Ceylon is greater in weight while that of the Damīḷa country is lesser in weight than the standard weight.⁷

The Paṇcasudani :—The Papañcasūdani is a commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka

1. Ibid., V. 1000.

2. Ibid., V, 1086.

3. Ibid., V, 1087.

4. Ibid., I, 214.

5. Ibid., I. 221.

6. Ibid., II, 334.

7. Ibid., III, 702.

written by Buddhaghosa at the request of a thera named Buddhhamitta in the style more or less of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, which is a commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, written by the same commentator. This voluminous commentary on the *Majjhima Nikāya* has been edited for the Pali Text Society. The Sinhalese and Burmese manuscripts of this commentary are available along with the printed editions in Sinhalese, Burmese and Siamese. This work is full of interesting information of varied nature, historical, geographical, ethical, moral and religious.

According to Buddhaghosa the city of *Ukkatṭhā* was so named because it was built by the light of the torches at night, so that it could be completed within the auspicious time.¹

Subhagavana at *Ukkatṭhā* was a beautiful wood. People went there for festivities on account of the romantic nature of its surroundings.²

There were two kinds of forest : one in which the trees and plants were planted and another in which they grew up spontaneously. *Jetavana* and *Veluvana* were the groves in which trees grew up spontaneously. *Andhavana*, *Mahāvana* and *Añjanavana* were groves in which trees were planted. In the *Subhagavana* trees were planted.³

According to Buddhaghosa the city of *Sāvatthī* was so called because it contained the abode of the sage *Savattha*. Buddhaghosa records another tradition according to which there was a caravan there and the people who assembled there asked each other what they had. The reply was that everything was there and hence the name of the city was *Sāvatthī* (*sabbam-atthi*).⁴ *Girivraja*

1. I, p. 10

2. I, p. 11.

3. I, p. 11.

4. I, p. 59.

was so called because it stood like a vaja (cattlefold) surrounded on all sides by mountains.¹

Adhikakkā was so called because it contained bathing requisites. It was a well-known bathing ghāt.² Buddhaghosa refers to Payāga as a ghāt of the Ganges. Here the palace occupied by king Mahāpanāda was submerged.³ Bāhukā, Sundarikā, Sarassatī and Bāhumatī are described as four rivers. Buddhaghosa says that none of them was of any use for internal purification.⁴

The region where the people of Pubbavideha lived in former times came to be known as the Videha kingdom. The regions where the people of Aparagoyāna and Uttarakuru formerly lived, came to be known as the kingdoms of Aparanta and Kuru respectively.⁵ Kammāsadhamma was a town of the Kurus. According to Buddhaghosa this town was spelt differently, Kammāsadhamma and Kammāsadamma. It was called Kammāsadamma because an ogre named Kammāsapāda was subdued by the Bodhisatta. Buddhaghosa offers an explanation for the name of the ogre Kammāsa who was also called Kammāsapāda. According to him Kammāsa was the actual name. The term pāda was added to his name because of a wound he once received, which, when healed up, left a scar like a piece of well-grained timber. The Kurus had a code of honour called the Kuruvattadhamma. It was here that Kammāsa was converted and made to accept this code; hence the name of the place was such.⁶

Buddhaghosa describes the Himalayan regions to be 3,000 yojanas in extent.⁷ Vesālī was so named because of the successive increase in its size. Buddhaghosa gives an account of the origin of this name.⁸ The Vajji territory

1. I, p. 151.

2. I, p. 178

3. I, p. 178.

4. I, p. 178

5. I, p. 225-6.

6. I, p. 225-6.

7. II, p. 6.

8. II, pp. 19 ff.

was thrice increased by one gāvuta each time. As it was increased again and again, the city came to be known as Vesālī.¹

The territory of the Śākyaas was called Sakka as it had been the residence of the Śākya princes. Kapilavatthu was so named because the sage Kapila lived here. The Śākyaas are said to have built their city and named it after the sage Kapila. A Śākya prince named Nigrodha had a monastery built in his own pleasure garden and then he handed it over to the Buddha with the garden.²

The Gijjhakūṭa mountain was so called because the shape of its peak was like that of a vulture. Buddhaghosa gives another explanation. The mountain was so called because the peak was the abode of the vultures. The ridge of a black rock stood by the side of the Isigili mountain.³

Sumsumāragiri was a city in the Bhagga country and its capital was so called because, on the very first day of its construction, a crocodile made a noise in a lake near by.⁴

According to Buddhaghosa Migadāya was so called because it stood at the place where assurance of fearlessness and safety was given to beasts and birds.⁵

Rājagaha (lit. the abode of kings) was so called because it was the residence of the kings like Mandhātā, Mahāgovinda. According to another tradition it was a human habitation during the time of the Buddha while at other times the city was deserted and turned into an abode of demons.⁶ Rājagaha stood at a distance of 60 yojanas from Kapilavatthu and 15 yojanas from Sāvattī.⁷ Kalan-

1. II, p. 19.

2. II, p. 61.

3. II, p. 63.

4. II, 65.

5. II, p. 65.

6. II, p. 134.

7. II, p. 152.

dakanivāpa was a wooden land at Veluvana, It was so called because food was regularly given here to the squirrels. It is said that an ancient king once came here for sports and being overdrunk fell asleep. Seeing him asleep his followers went out in search of fruits. A cobra being attracted by the smell of liquor began to approach the king. Seeing the imminent danger of the king a tree spirit assumed the form of a squirrel, and roused the king by its chirping. The king awoke and saw how his life was saved by a squirrel. He then gave orders that henceforth the squirrels of that locality would be regularly fed. The place therefore came to be known as Kalandakanivāpa.¹

Before the advent of the Buddha, the Paccekabuddhas spent a week on the Gandhamādana mountain in meditation. Rising up from meditation they washed their faces at Anotatta lake, took their garments and alms-bowls and then they came through the sky and got down at Isipatana. They then went back to Gandhamādana mountain after taking their food which they received on begging. The place was called Isipatana because the sages on their way through the air came down here and left this place for their Himalayan abode,²

The distance from Buddhagayā to Gayā was three gāvutas.³

Nādikā is described as a pond near which stood a village known by the same name.⁴ Gosīṅgasālavana was a forest tract near Nādikā. According to Buddhaghosa the forest was so called because the branches grew up like the horns of a cow, from the trunk of a big sāla tree which stood in this forest.⁵ Mahāvana was a big natural wood at Vaiśālī. It stretched in a line from Kapilavatthu to the Himalayan region and therefrom to the sea. It was

1. II, p. 134.
more than two miles.

2. II, p. 188.
4. II, p. 235.

3. II, p. 188—One gavuta = a little
5. II, p. 235.

marked by a boundary.¹ The territory of Aṅga was named after its princes who were also known as the Aṅgas.² The country of Kosala was the abode of Kosalan princes. Buddhaghosa gives a curious explanation of the origin of its name. It is said that when nothing could make the prince Mahāpanāda smile, his father offered a handsome reward for him who could do this. People came to the king's palace and tried in vain to please Mahāpanāda. After seven long years Sakka sent a celestial actor who was successful in making him smile. After this men started going back to their respective homes and on the way meeting friends and relations began to ask, 'How do you do? Are you all right?' The place where this took place came to be called Kosala on account of the repetition of the word 'kusala'.³

Buddhaghosa offers two explanations for the name of Kosambī : (1) it was so called because Kosamba trees grew in plenty in and around the country ; and (2) the city was so called because it was built near the hermitage of the saint Kusumba.⁴ Ghositārāma was built by a banker named Ghosita. Jambudīpa has been described as a forest (vana) while Pūbbavideha as an island (dīpa).⁵ According to Buddhaghosa Campaka trees were in abundance in the city of Campā. The lake Gaggarā was near the city. It was dug by the queen Gaggarā. On its banks there was a large grove of Campaka trees famous for their sweetly scented flowers. Buddha stayed here on many occasions.⁶ The small village of Beluva stood near Vesālī towards the south of this city.⁷ Uttarāpa was the region which lay to the north of the river Mahī. This region was also known as Aṅgutarāpa, because it formed a part of Aṅgadeśa on the other side of the river

1. II, p. 267.

2. II, p. 312.

3. II, 326.

4. Ibid., pp. 389-390.

5. Ibid., 423.

6. III, p. 1.

7. Ibid., 12.

Mahī. Jambudīpa was 10,000 yojanas in area. Of this vast area, 4,000 yojanas were covered with water and in the area of 3,000 yojanas people used to live. On an area of 3,000 yojanas stood the Himalaya mountain which was 5 yojanas in breadth and adorned with 84,000 peaks and 500 rivers. In the Himalaya region lay seven big lakes, covering an area of more than 2,000 yojanas. The lakes were Kaṇṇamuṇḍa, Anotatta, Rathakāra, Chaddanta, Kuṇāla, Mandākinī and Sīhappapāta. Of these the Anotatta was surrounded by five hills and mountains, e. g. Sudassana, Citrakūṭa, Kālakūṭa, Gandhamādana and Kailāsa. Sudassanakūṭa, which was of golden colour, stood covering the Anotatta lake. The Citrakūṭa was covered with all kinds of jewels; while the Kālakūṭa was as black as collyrium. The Gandhamādana range was crowned with a table-land and its colour was green. It contained many kinds of medicinal herbs (III. 34).

Pāvārika-ambavana was a mango grove belonging to a banker named Pāvārika of Nālandā, which was used as a pleasure grove. Pāvārika built a monastery here, being pleased with the Master, after listening to his discourse. He dedicated it to the congregation of monks headed by the Buddha (III, 52).

Koliya was so called because it was the abode of the Koliyan princes (III, 100). The town of Haliddavasana was so called because at the time when it was being built, men in yellow dress observed the nakkhatta festival which was a ceremony held to observe a particular auspicious star or stars (III, 100). Makhādeva-ambavana was made by king Makhādeva of Videha (III, 309). The palace of the prince Bodhi called Kokanada was built in the design of a hanging lotus (III, 321). There was a monastery in the Nigrodhārāma surrounded by a wall and fitted with doors and windows and adorned with a dining hall, a pavilion, etc. (IV, 155).

Majjhimadesa which belonged to the Jambudīpa was 300 yojanas in length, 250 yojanas in breadth and 900 yojanas in circumference. It was the abode of the Buddhas, Paccekabuddhas, senior disciples, 80 great disciples of the Buddha, paramount sovereigns, and many eminent brahmin and kṣatriya householders (IV, 172). Tapodārāma was so called because of the hot-water lake situated in it. At the foot of the Vebhāra hill there was a big abode of serpents comprising an area of 500 yojanas. At that place there was a big lake in which serpents indulged in sportive amusements. From that lake flowed the river Tapodā, the water of which was hot (V, 4-5). The rivers named Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī take their rise from the Anotatta lake (II, 586, Sinhalese ed)

The chieftains from the Kuru country were known as the Kurus and the country was later named after them.¹

King Mahāmandhātā was a Cakravarttirājā, a title which he had acquired for having had a Cakra-ratana with the help of which he could go to any place he liked. He conquered Pubba-Videha, Aparagoyāna, and Uttarakuru. While returning from Uttarakuru a large number of inhabitants of that country followed Mahāmandhātā, and the place in Jambudīpa where they settled, came to be known as Kururaṭṭham.²

Sundarika Bhāradvāja was a brahmin belonging to Bhāradvāja gotra. He was of opinion that a dip in the river Sundarikā would remove all sins committed by a man.³

Bimbisāra was called Māgadha because he was the king of Magadha. He was called Bimbisāra because he was possessed of the beauty and prosperity of the body.⁴ According to some he was of golden colour. King Pukkusāti was his contemporary (V. 46).

1. I, 225.

2. I, 225-226.

3. I, 177.

4. II, 65

The celebrated physician in Buddha's time, named Jīvaka, was born as the son of a courtesan of Rājagaha named Sālavatī. Wrapped up in rags he was thrown into a dust heap. Seeing the baby the crows began to cry and the prince Abhaya enquired of it. He being informed of the real state of things sent for the child and got him reared up. As he was found living in the dust heap, he was called Jīvaka. He was called Komārabhacca because he was brought up by the prince. He out of devotion towards the Blessed One, built a monastery with all its necessary halls, private chambers, etc., and presented it to the Saṅgha headed by the Buddha.¹

Kassapa was his personal name. Buddha asked his followers to call Kassapa. They asked him as to which Kassapa the Master wanted to see; the Blessed One then named him as Kumārakassapa, and this name continued till his death.²

According to Buddhaghosa Pūraṇa Kassapa was so named because with his birth the number of slaves in the family reached hundred. He fled from his master's house and on the way was robbed of his clothes by thieves. He entered a village being naked where he was considered by the people as virtuous and offered food. He afterwards renounced the household-life.³

Makkhali Gosāla—Makkhali was his personal name and Gosāla was his epithet. Buddhaghosa takes Gosāla as his second name because he was born in a cowshed⁴.

Ajita Kesakambalī—Ajita was his personal name. He was given the epithet of Kesakambalī as he used blanket made of human hair.⁵

Pakudha Kaccāyana—Pakudha was his personal name and Kaccāyana was his family name. He always used hot

1. III, 45-46. 2. III, 65. 3. II, 293. 4. II, 293. 5. II, 293.

or tepid water. He considered it a sin to cross a river. According to Buddhaghosa his teaching has been described as nissirikaladdhi, i.e. the view which has lost its grandeur or splendour.¹

Buddhaghosa mentions four kinds of slave : (1) a born slave ; (2) one purchased for slavery ; (3) one captured by the enemy and employed as a slave ; and (4) one who has taken up slavery as his profession. The commentator also refers to a messenger (pesanakāra) and to one maintained by food and salary (bhattavetanabhattā).²

Buddhaghosa refers to Santhāgāra which was a big hall. Before the hall was built, the chiefs stood discussing with one another such topics as 'Let here be the elephant-shed, let here be the horse-shed, let charity be made here.' As they had such discussions the hall was called Santhāgāra. Returning back to their respective houses, they found that the floors of their abodes were being plastered with mud and cowdung. They went back to the place where the Santhāgāra was built and they carried on their discussions there for two or three days. In this hall the chiefs discussed about their own welfare. As the chiefs were simply tribal chiefs they could not do anything without taking the opinions of other fellow chiefs. So they all used to meet together in order to discuss various matters including even the time for ploughing, sowing, etc.³

Buddhaghosa refers to the languages of Damiḷa and Andhaka (Damiḷabhāsā-Andhabhāsā). The languages of the Tamils and Andhras may roughly be said to be almost akin to the Telegu language.⁴

Buddhaghosa refers to 21 kinds of professional people, e. g., medical man, gambler, money-lender, trader

1. II, 293-294.

2. III, 1.

3. III, 16.

4. I, 137-38.

in arms, trader in slaves, seller of spirits and liquor, butcher, trader in poison, etc.¹

Buddhaghosa refers to Māra as Pajāpati because he lords over a large assembly.² According to the scholiast there are three kinds of gods : (1) Sammati-devā, conventional gods, ie. kings, queens, princes, etc.; (2) Upapatti-devā, beings in a heavenly state, divine beings beginning with the Cātummahārājikadevas ; and (3) Visuddhi-devā, divine beings of great religious merit, such as arahats, Buddhas (Vol. I, 33). The commentator refers to four kinds of āsavas (sins and depravities) : (1) kāmāsava (sensuality), (2) bhavāsava (lust of life), (3) ditṭhāsava (speculation), and (4) avijjāssava (ignorance). These sins have been destroyed and given up by the arahats and there is no chance for them to grow again as they have been burnt by the fire of wisdom (Vol. I. 42).

Buddhaghosa gives eight reasons for calling the Buddha a Tathāgata. As the previous Buddhas came for the welfare of all beings, so did the Blessed Gotama. As the previous Buddhas attained enlightenment by fulfilling the ten pāramitās, so did the Buddha. Just after his birth Buddha Gotama walked seven steps towards the north as the previous Buddhas did. Taking his seat under a white umbrella he looked all around and said : 'in this world I am the foremost and the best.' He 'destroyed desires for sensual pleasures by renunciation, malevolence by non-injurious desire, sloth and torpor by his right vision, doubt by the analysis and exposition of Dhamma and ignorance by his knowledge. He fully realized the true characteristics of the four elements. He also realized the Four Noble Truths and Dependent Origination. He heard, knew, touched, tasted,

1. I, 115 and 186.

2. I, 33.

and thought of all that was in existence in the human world as well as in the world of gods. He took the role of a preacher. What he preached and taught was complete, correct and perfect in meaning and exposition and to the point. His action was in agreement with his speech and vice versa. He overcame everything commencing from the highest Brahmaloḥa to the Avīci hell (Vol. I. 45-51). The goal of the Brāhmaṇas is Brahmaloḥa ; that of the Tāpasas is Ābhassaraloḥa ; that of the Paribbājakas is Subhakiṇṇara loka ; and that of the Ājīvikas is Anantamānasa (II, I foll.).

Buddhaghosa divides the right view into lokiya and lokuttara. The knowledge of a work done and the knowledge of a matter which leads to truth come under the first category ; while wisdom which comes under the Noble Eightfold Path falls under the second category.¹

According to Buddhaghosa slaughtering or killing of beings should be avoided. Pāṇātipātā is applied to the bodily and vocal doors of one who is conscious that the being is alive and who produces an effort to cut off the living force in that being.² As regards theft, the intention of stealing and producing the effort to take something with the consciousness that it belongs to others comes within the definition of theft. The five constituent factors in theft are the following : (I) taking of other's property, (2) consciousness of doing so, (3) intention to steal, (4) effort to steal, and (5) the actual theft.³

According to the commentator men have got no right to approach ten classes of unmarried and ten classes of married women. The ten kinds of unmarried women are : a woman under the guardianship of her mother, father, parents, brother, sister, relative, clan, religious belief, a woman

1. I, 196.

2. I, 198.

3. I, 198-199.

under engagement and a woman undergoing punishment. The ten kinds of married women are as follows: one bought by wealth, one becoming a wife through her free will, through love of property, through love of dress, one lawfully wedded by her parents, one who is taken from the poor classes, a slave-wife, a servant-wife, a woman captured in war and a mistress kept for the time being.¹

Buddhaghosa points out that the characteristic of falsehood is the volition of one desirous of representing to others an untrue thing as true.²

As regards covetousness Buddhaghosa explains it as the process of inclining towards another's property when confronted with it. It has got two constituent factors: (1) another's property, and (2) the desire to have another's property.³

Ill-will is that which destroys welfare and happiness. Wrong view is that which sees wrongly. It has the characteristic of purported views and the offence varies according to the permanency and impermanency of the wrong views taken.⁴

The Saratthappakasini—The *Sāratthappakāsinī* is a commentary on the *Samyutta Nikāya* of the *Sutta Piṭaka* written by Buddhaghosa at the request of a thera named Jotipāla. The Pali Text Society of England has published this work. There are palm leaf Mss. and incomplete Sinhalese editions of this important commentary.⁵ This book can be had in print also in Burma. It is rich in historical and geographical information and throws a flood of light on the social, political, moral, ethical and religious history of India.

1. I, 199.

2. I, 200.

3. I, 201

4. I, 202.

5. B. C. Law, *A History of Pali Literature*, II, 499.

Aṅga and Magadha are described as having plenty of food.¹ Jetavana was the forest of Prince Jeta who made, improved and looked after it. In it a hermitage was built by Anāthapiṇḍika, a householder, at a cost of fifty-four koṭis of wealth, which was made a gift to the congregation of bhikkhus headed by the Blessed One.² Sāvattthī was the place where Buddha used to go on alms and Jetavana was the place where he lived.³ As regards Tapodārāma,⁴ the ārāma was so called because it had a lake the water of which was hot. At the foot of the Vebhāra hill there was an abode of the nāgas which looked like a devaloka for its splendour. In the playground of the nāgas there was a big lake. According to Buddhaghosa, there were two lohakumbhī hells round Rājagaha and as the river flowed through these hells, the water became hot. Tapoda is the name of the stream which flowed into and fed the Tapoda lake. Buddhaghosa explains the Pali Giribbaja as meaning 'an enclosure of hills' (II, 159). Giribbaja or Girivraja may, therefore, be taken to simply mean a 'hill-girt city'. Buddhaghosa speaks of antonagara and bahinagara, 'the inner city' and 'outer city' of Rājagṛha, each of which contained a large population, nine crores of people, as he estimated (I, 313). The figure given is obviously an exaggerated one.

Sītavana was the name of a susānavana or cemetery grove.⁵ The site was used for a sivathikā or charnel field where the dead bodies were thrown or left to undergo a natural process of decay. Nearby was the Sappasonḍikappabhāra, a snake-hood-like declivity of the neighbouring rock.⁶

1. Sāratthappakāsinī (P. T. S.), I, 15.

2. Ibid., I, 13.

3. Ibid., I, 13.

4. Ibid., I, 38.

5. II. 368 : ; Sītavane ti evaṃ nāmake susānavane.

6. II. 368 : Sappasonḍikappabhāre ti sappaphaṇa-sadisatāya evamladdhanāme pabbhāre.

The deer-park at Maddakucchi¹ was an important site in or about Rājagṛha. Buddhaghosa takes Maddakucchi to be the actual name of the park where the antelopes were allowed to live freely, without fear, and offers the following fanciful explanation for the origin of the name. The park came to acquire the name Maddakucchi¹ or 'Rubbed-belly' from the circumstance that here Bimbisāra's queen, mother of Ajātasattu, tried to cause abortion with a view to killing the inimical child in the womb by getting her belly rubbed (I, 77). Maddakucchi¹ must have been very close to Gijjhakūṭa, otherwise there is no reason why the bhikkhus should think of carrying the Master in a stretcher to it after he had got hurt by a piece of stone.¹ Paṭibhāṇakūṭa was only a boundary rock which looked like a large mountain. The Pali scholiast may be so far right when he suggests that the kūṭa marked a boundary, but he has altogether missed the significance of its name Paṭibhāṇa (the echoing). No other meaning can be reasonably made out of the word Paṭibhāṇa.² Indakūṭa hill which is in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha, derived its name from the Yakkha or the Yakkha derived his name from the hill.³ The Sanskrit 'Indraka' is an architectural term, meaning 'a council hall'. It might be that the abode of the yakkha concerned was just a hall-like stone structure marked by the presence of a sacred tree. Sappinī occurs as the name of a river or rivulet in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha. It, as its name implies, was a stream with a winding course. Buddha used to sojourn occasionally on its bank.⁴ A Buddhist establishment was

1. I, 78 ; te Tathāgataṃ maññasivikāya maddakucchiṃ nayimsu.

2. Siamese edn., III, 413 : Paṭibhāṇa-kūṭo ti eko mahanto pabbatasadiṣṭo mariyādāpāsāṇo.

3. I, 300 ; Indakassa 'ti Indakūṭanivāsino yakkhassa yakkhato hi kūṭena kūṭato ca yakkhena nāmaṃ laddhaṃ.

4. I, 219 ; Sappinī-nāmikāya nadiyā tīre.

founded at Ekanālā in Dakkhinagiri. Ekanālā was a brahmin village in Dakkhinagiri, an important locality which lay to the south of the hills of Rājagaha.¹ Buddha-ghosa points out that the period covered by the evolution of invertebrates is much longer than that of the evolution of vertebrates. The history of the Vepulla mountain is to be traced from an intermediate period when the vertebrates proper had not appeared in this earth (II, 158). Mahāvana was a natural forest, the trees of which grew up naturally and they were not planted. This big forest stretched in a line with the Himalayas without any break (I, 67). Aggālava cetiya was the chief shrine of Ālavī. Before the advent of the Buddha the Aggālava and Gotamaka shrines were inhabited by the yakkhas and nāgas. When the Buddha was born they were driven out by men who built many monasteries there (I, 268). The Mandākinī pond lay in the Chaddantavana and was fifty yojanas in extent. The half of this pond contained transparent water and the water of the other half was waist deep and was full of white lotuses (I, 280 ff). Gayā has been described as a village (I, 302). Gaṅgā and Yamunā are referred to as great rivers (II, 54). The city of Suṃsumārāgiri in the territory of the Bhaggas was so named because when it was being built, an alligator made a sound and after the voice of the alligator the city got its name (II, 249). Badarikārāma stood at a distance of one gāvuta² from the Ghositārāma (II, 316). The mango-grove of Ambapālī, a famous courtesan of Vaiśālī, contained a monastery built by Ambapālī who dedicated

1. I, 242 ; Dakkhinagirimiva ti Rājagaham parivāretvā tñitassa giriṇo dakkhiṇabhāge janapado atthi. Tasmim janapade, tattha viharassāpi tad eva nāman...Ekanālā ti tassa gāmassa nāman.

2. A little less than two miles,

it to the Buddha whose doctrine she adopted when she heard the Master preaching it (III, p. 177). In the city of Nālandā there was a mango-grove called Pāvārika-ambavana. A merchant who was the owner of this grove became devoted to the Buddha when he heard the latter preaching Dhamma. The mango-grove was handed over to the Buddha for the use of the saṅgha (III, p. 207). Añjanavana was so called because the flowers of the garden were collyrium-coloured (III, p. 247). The way to Upavattana, the sāla grove of the Mallas, lay on the other side of the river Hiraññavati (I, p. 222). The people of Ayujjhanagara built for the Buddha a vihāra in a spot surrounded by a forest near the curve of the river Sarayū (II, 320). Sukarakhata was a cave. It was made during the time of Kassapa Buddha. In course of time it was buried in the earth. A pig dug the earth near it. After a shower of rain the earth was washed out and the cave became exposed. A forester (vanacaraka) saw it and removed the earth round it. He cleaned the cave, fenced it, built its doors and windows and furnished it with all the requisites. He then handed it over to the Buddha for his residence (III, p. 249). The Salalāgāra hermitage was so named because it was full of sweet scented salala trees. According to the commentator it got its name from the fact that a salala tree stood at its gate (III, p. 263). The city of Vaiśālī was so named because it grew big in size by the walls which went round the city thrice.¹ The Rājakārāma monastery was so called because it was built by king Pasenadi of Kosala. The heretics being jealous of the popularity of Buddha intended to build a monastery for themselves near the Jetavana. They made a

1. III, p. 265.

present of a hundred thousand kahāpaṇas to Pasenadi so that he might not raise any objection. When Buddha learnt of the evil intention of the heretics because of the great uproar they made while preparing the preliminaries of the building, he sent Ānanda to Pasenadi to have the construction stopped. But Pasenadi refused to see Ānanda or even Sāriputta or Moggallāna as he was already bribed by the heretics. Thereupon the Buddha with a large number of bhikkhus went to Pasenadi who received him and the monks very cordially and entertained them to a meal. At the end of the meal Buddha gave a discourse on the evil of the bribery and of creating an opportunity for the virtuous people to quarrel among themselves. Listening to the discourse Pasenadi filled with remorse had the heretics expelled from that place and built a monastery for his own use at the spot where the heretics intended to build one for themselves and with the same materials which the latter had collected.¹ Isipatana was so called because the sages on their way through the air got down here or started from this place. On their aerial journey, on the Gandhamādanapabbata, paccekabuddhas having spent seven days in contemplation bathed in the Anotatta lake and came to human habitations through the air.²

Mallikā was the chief queen of Udena of Kosambi. she was the daughter of a poor garland-maker. One day while returning home after purchasing a cake from a shop she found the Blessed One going on alms surrounded by the bhikkhus. She instead of taking the cake offered it to the Master who accepted it. When Ānanda asked him about the merit of this gift, Buddha replied that she would be the chief queen of Kosala on that very

1. III, p. 283.

2. III, p. 296.

day. On that day Udena being defeated by his nephew Ajātasattu at Kāsīgāma, on his way back to Kosala stopped in front of the shop of Mallikā's father waiting for the army. Mallikā did him service. The king being pleased with her service took her to the royal palace and made her his chief queen.¹

Migāramātā was born as the daughter of a banker named Dhanañjaya, son of Menḍaka of the Bhaddiya city. She was named Visākhā. She was married to Punṇavaḍḍhana, the son of a Sāvattian banker named Migāra who used to call his daughter-in-law as mother. So she was named Migāramātā (p. 148).

Kisāgotamī—Her name was Gotamī. As she was very lean and thin she was known as Kisā. It is said that once in Sāvattī treasure amounting to 80 koṭis belonging to a merchant appeared to have turned into a charcoal. The owner thinking that certainly there must be a virtuous man present here by whose virtue this treasure would get back its original appearance, filled the jars with those pieces of charcoal, and kept them in a shop. He took his seat by their side. A poor girl with a piece of half māśaka came to the shop to bring fuel. Seeing gold in the jars she asked him, 'When you have got so much treasure in the shop, how much do you possess in your house?' The merchant seeing gold in the jars was astonished and thought that she must be a virtuous one. Her very presence was the cause of turning the charcoal into gold. He then requested the father of the girl to give her in marriage to his son. His request was complied with.²

Akkosaka Bhāradvāja.—He was so called by the

1. I, p. 140.

2. I, p. 190.

Saṅgītikāras as he is said to have reviled the Tathāgata with 500 verses.¹

Sundarika Bhāradvāja—Bhāradvāja was called Sundarika as he is said to have made fire oblation (aggī-juhāṇa) on the bank of the river Sundarikā.²

Vaṅḡisa—This thera, in his previous birth, during the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, seeing an intelligent disciple, gave him some charities, and after fulfilling the pāramitās (perfections) for hundred thousand kalpas was born at the time of Buddha Gautama as the son of a female wanderer. He went round the whole of Jambudvīpa with the branch of a jack-fruit tree in his hand. He had many theories of his own. He in the course of his wanderings with a retinue of 500 disciples reached Sāvattī. He then came to the Blessed One with his disciples. The Lord knew about his powers through his supernatural vision, gave him the skull of an arahant and asked him the whereabouts of its owner. But Vaṅḡisa could not make anything out of this skull and joined the order to learn the secret from the Master, who pointed out to him the 32 processes of meditation (kammaṭṭhānas), by practising which he attained arahantship.³

The Śākyas and the Koliyas used to draw water from the river Rohiṇī which formed the boundary between their territories. Once in the month of Jaiṣṭha when the crop was withering, the cultivators of the two territories met together. Thereupon the Koliyas said, 'If both of us use the water of this river, it will not serve the purpose of either of us. So you better allow us to use this water.' At this the Śākyas retorted, 'You shall have your treasuries filled and the granaries full

1. I, p. 229.

2. I, p. 233.

3. I, pp. 285 ff.

by using this water. We shall have to go to your doors for grains with bags in the hands and money in the pockets. No, we shall not be able to do that'. The Koliyas disagreed and a quarrel ensued. The Koliyan cultivators said, 'You go away with your own men. You, of late, carried on sexual intercourse with your own sisters like dogs and jackals.' The Śākyas replied, 'You go away with your diseased children. You lived on a jujube tree (Kolarukkha) like helpless and wretched animals.' In this way the quarrel continued.¹ A rich householder of Rājagaha had a seven-storied house fitted with gates.² The commentator points out that Santhāgāra is a hall where any art or craft is learnt and taught.³

The Brahmaloкас which are the abodes of the anāgāmis and the arahats (Khīnāsavas) are designated as pure residences.⁴ Restraint of the senses, dhutaṅga practices, patience and self-torment—all these are involved in the practices of morality.⁵ Saddhamma is explained in the commentary as the term which includes the five sīlas, ten sīlas and four objects of recollection or mindfulness.⁶

As regards the heretical teachers, Pūraṇa was his name and Kassapa was the gotta to which he belonged. Makkhali was called Gosāla as he was born in a cowshed. Pakudha belonged to the lineage of Kātyāyana. Ajita was called Kesakambala as he used to wear blankets made of fur.⁷

There was a class of Brahmin teachers called Saṅkhyāpāsaṇḍa brāhmaṇas who roamed about in the country instructing the masses in the law of karma by means of pictures of happy life in heavens and miserable life

1. I, p. 68.

2. I, p. 313.

3. Santhāgāre ti sippagaṇhanasālāyaṃ—III, 301; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 19.

4. I, p. 75.

5. I, p. 94.

6. I, p. 55.

7. I, p. 180

in hells that were labelled with appropriate inscriptions.¹

Māra was called pāpimā or the sinful one because he engaged himself in committing sins and led others to adopt the sinful path. He had many other names such as Kaṇha (the black one), Adhipati (the ruler), Vasavattī (the domineering), Antaka (the bringer of an end), Namuci, and Pamattabandhu (friend of the slothful).²

There are various kinds of loka (world): (1) the world of sensory aggregates (khandhaloka), (2) the world of elements (dhātuloka), (3) the world of the sphere of perception (āyatana loka), (4) the world of prosperity and splendour (sampattibhava loka), and (5) the world of failures and misfortunes (vipattibhava loka).

One world : all beings live on food.

Two worlds : mind and matter (nāma and rūpa)

Three worlds : threefold feeling (tisso vedanā)

Four worlds : four kinds of nutriments (cattāro
āhārā).

Five worlds : the factors of the fivefold clinging
to existence.

Six worlds : the sixfold inward spheres of per-
ception.

Seven worlds : sevenfold phases of mental life.

Eight worlds : the eight worldly conditions.

Nine worlds : ninefold abode of sentient beings.

Ten worlds : the ten spheres of perception.

Twelve worlds : the twelve spheres of perception.³

Buddhaghosa refers to the five kinds of seeds : mūlabīja, khandhabīja, phalubīja, aggabīja, bījabīja or plants propagated by roots, cuttings and joints, buddings, shoots and seeds. They are called seeds because they have the characteristic of germinating.⁴

1. II, p. 327 ; cf. Expositor, I, 85 (Atthasālinī).

2. I, p. 169.

3. I, p. 201. 4. I, p. 250.

According to Buddhaghosa, there is no hell known by the name of Pahāsa niraya. This name is given to one of the closed apartments of the Avīci hell where beings sing and dance.¹ In the Roruva hell beings were burnt by fire.²

The commentator refers to the four kinds of Buddha : (1) sabbaññubuddha, the Buddha who has attained sambodhi (enlightenment) by practising pāramitā, (2) paccekabuddha self-dependent Buddha ; he is so called because he has attained perfection by practising pāramitās for hundreds and thousands of kalpas ; (3) catusacca Buddha, the master of the four truths ; (4) suta Buddha who has heard much, i. e. learned (bahussuta).³

Oghas (floods of ignorance and vain desires which sweep a man down—he is far away from the security of emancipation) are four in number : (i) kāma-ogha, sensuality—the exciting desire for five kinds of pleasurable attachment ; it takes its birth in the eight kinds of desires ; there are two other floods, e. g. diṭṭhi-ogha (speculation) and avijjā-ogha (ignorance).⁴

Gods while coming down to the human world give up their natural complexion and power and approach human beings well-adorned, taking a coarse and material appearance and endowed with supernatural power.⁵

Once many sea-faring merchants sailed in a boat on the sea. While proceeding at a great speed waves dashed against the boat and filled it with water. While the boat was sinking, the merchants remembered the names of the gods for rescue. One of them sat crosslegged like a saint pondering over his own moral virtues. Others asked him why he remained patient and unafraid of. He replied that he had taken refuge in the three

1. III, p. 103.

2. I, p. 81.

3. I, 25.

4. I, p. 17.

5. I, p. 14.

gems. Others expressed their desire to take refuge in them. He then divided them into seven batches, each containing 100, and taught them five moral precepts. Seven hundred merchants were drowned and after death were reborn in Tāvatiṃsa heaven on account of their accepting the moral precepts while dying. The merchant who played the role of the preceptor was reborn in the Golden-Vimāna.¹

Kokālika bhikkhu was the son of the merchant Kokālika who belonged to the city of Kokālika. He after renunciation used to live in the monastery built by his father. Once when the Buddha was living in Sāvattī, two senior monks reached the city and came to the monastery of Kokālika who offered them his services. They asked him not to make public the fact of their presence in his monastery. At the end of the rainy season when those monks wished to go away, Kokālika requested them to wait for a day more. He then entered the city and informed people of their presence in his monastery. People began to come in batches with gifts for them. They did not accept the gifts. They at first showed that they were not at all avaricious, but they afterwards became greedy. This was the opinion of Kokālika about them.²

Buddhaghosa refers to the wind of the belly, i, e, the stomach-aching. The stomach-aching of the Buddha was due to the bad food which the Lord used to take during six years of extreme penances prior to the attainment of his enlightenment. This disease often gave him troubles even after his Buddhahood.³

The Buddha is known as Dasabala because he is possessed of ten powers which may be classified under

1. I, p. 54.

2. I, p. 216.

3. I, p. 258.

two heads : physical strength (kāyabala) and the strength of wisdom (jñāṇabala). The physical strength of the Blessed One is to be compared with that of the elephant. One cannot be a Buddha only by physical strength because it forms only the outward strength of a man which is considered insignificant. This strength cannot help a man for full comprehension of suffering, for abandoning the origin of suffering, for the cultivation of the path, and for the realization of the fruit. There are other ten powers which help one to become a Tathāgata (i. e. the Buddha). These powers are characterized by stability and support which are really the forces of wisdom.¹

The commentator gives an explanation why the Buddha roared like a lion. A contrast has been made between the lion and the Tathāgata. The Tathāgata is described as the lion because he possesses the capacity of restraining himself from the worldly powers. He has also the powers of putting down the views and theories propounded by other teachers. The Tathāgata like the lion was not afraid of anything in this world and he was the most skilful amongst the members of eight assemblies of human and divine beings.²

Buddhaghosa refers to two kinds of measure, nāli and doṇa, but he has not explained them.³ He says that the sandal of Benares (kāśika candana) was very smooth.⁴ He also refers to the cow-killer (goghātaka) who not only kills cows but severs flesh from the bones and sells it ; thus he earns his living.⁵ He mentions four kinds of lions : (1) grass-eating lion (tiṇasiha), (2) black lion (kāḷasiha), (3) light yellow lion (paṇḍusiha), and (4) lion with mane (kesara siha). The lion which lives

1. II. p. 48.

2. II. p. 46 : cf. *Papañcasūdanī* (P. T. S.), II. 27.

3. I, pp. 152-53.

4. I, p. 149.

5. II, p. 218.

on grass has the colour of its skin like that of a greyish blue cow. The black lion also lives on grass. The third one which lives on flesh has its body as big as a cow and the colour of its skin is like that of a withered leaf. The last one has got a red face, a tail and 4 feet, three red stripes running from above its head down to the middle of the back and then turning towards the right come to an end between the thighs. On the shoulders lie the manes spread there like valuable blankets. The rest of the body is as white as the crushed sālī seed or the conch-shell dust or the cotton.¹ He also mentions four kinds of snakes : (1) wooden-mouthed (kaṭṭhamukha), (2) putrid-mouthed (puti-mukha), (3) fire-mouthed (aggi-mukha), and (4) weapon mouthed (sattha-mukha). The body of a mān bitten by a wooden-mouthed snake becomes stiff like a piece of dry wood. The body of one bitten by a putrid-mouthed snake becomes festered and flows down like a rotten ripe jack fruit. If a human body is bitten by a fire-faced snake, it becomes burnt and strewn over in the air like ashes. If a weapon-faced serpent bites a man, his body is destroyed like a place struck by a thunder.²

According to the commentator there are four kinds of lying down (1) of those human beings who indulge in sensual pleasures (kāma-bhogīseyyā), (2) of the departed spirits (petaseyyā), (3) of those beings lying like a lion (sīhaseyyā), and (4) of those beings lying like the Tathāgata (Tathāgataseyyā). Those who indulge in sensual pleasures lie on the left side and cannot lie on the right. The departed spirits on account of their bony constitution and want of flesh and blood lie down on the back. The lion putting the tail between the

1. II, p. 283.

2. III, p. 6.

thighs lies down on the right. It sleeps placing the two front legs together and keeping the tail between the thighs. Sleeping throughout the whole day it awakes. Finding no disturbance it gets up, shakes its manes and roars loudly three times and then goes in quest of food.¹

1. III, p. 27 f.

Chapter XIX

ANCIENT INDIAN FLORA

India is a land of abundant crops, fruits and flowers, roots and shrubs. The Greek ambassador Megasthenes says that the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually. The fruits of spontaneous growth and esculent roots, which grow in marshes and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. He further says that almost all the plains in the country have a genial moisture whether it is derived from the rivers or the rains of the summer season, which fall annually and regularly at a stated period. The prevailing great heat of the country ripens the roots growing in the marshes, and especially those of the tall reeds.¹ Arbori-horticulture was in an advanced state in ancient India as far as can be gathered from Indian literature. The main food grains used and cultivated from Vedic times comprised varieties of paddy (dhānya, vṛīhi), barley (yava) and wheat (godhūma). The pulses mainly consisted of beans (kulmāṣa), māṣkalāya (khalakula), mug (khalva, mudga), lentil (masūra) and wild beans (garmut). The oil in common use was that prepared from sesamum seeds (tila-taila). It was generally stored in earthen jars and cultivated along with beans in winter season. Onion, garlic, cardamom, sarṣapa, red pepper, turmeric and ginger were in use as spices and condiments. The ingredients of sours and acids were such fruits as mātuluṅga, kola or vadara (plum), citron, lemon, tamarind, mango and hogplum, and such leaves as those of Oxalis and Rumex.¹ The list of typical fruits might be made of

1. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 81.

the varieties of mango, jack-fruit, pineapple, banana, orange, grape, date, palmyra, cocoanut and plum.

Vṛkṣa is the term for tree in the Ṛgveda¹ and the Atharvaveda.² It denotes the coffin made from a tree.³ There is a reference to the portent of a tree secreting blood.⁴ That druma is used in the sense of tree is not found until a later period in the Śaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (V. II) and the Nirukti (iv. 19 ; v. 26).⁵

Buddhaghosa in his Visuddhimagga (p. 183) mentions some of the trees and classifies them under high (ucca), low (nīca), small (khuddaka), big (mahata) black (kāla), and white (seta). Such trees as nāgarukkha and dīparukkha are mentioned in the Pali texts and commentaries⁶ An ornamental plant called mālāvaccha finds mention in them.⁷ Poison trees (visarukkhā) are referred to in the Buddhist Jātakas.⁸ If their fruits are eaten, people meet with their death. But the poison can be removed by taking some medicine causing vomiting (vamāpetvā) and eating four sweet foods.⁹

The Rāmāyaṇa tells us that Rāma saw in the forest, where he killed the female demon Tāḍakā, the following trees : dhava, aśvakarṇa, arjuna, pāṭalī, badarī, tinduka, and vilva.¹⁰ After leaving the hermitage of Bharadvāja he crossed the Jumna and saw a banyan tree. Then he saw a forest full of sallakī and badarī trees.¹¹ He told Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, who accompanied him, 'Look at the kiṃśuka trees in spring with their flowers. The bhallātaka and

1. Ṛg., I. 164, 20, 22 ; II. 14. 2 ; IV. 20. 5 ; V. 78. 6, etc.

2. Atharva, I. 14. I ; II. 12. 3 ; VI. 45. I ; XII. I. 27, 51, etc.

3. Ibid., XVIII. 2. 25.

4. Vedic Index, II. 319.

5. Ibid., I. 984.

6. Jātaka, I. 35 ; Buddhavaṃsa, Ch. II, v. 216 ; Dhammapada Commentary, IV. 120.

7. Vinaya, II. 12 ; Visuddhimagga, 172, 174.

8. Jātaka, I. 271.

9. Phala Jātaka, Jātaka No. 54. 10. Bāṅgavāsi Ed., 24th sarga, Ādikāṇḍa.

11. Ibid., 55th Sarga, Ayodhyākāṇḍa.

vilva trees stand there uncared for. They are bent down on account of their fruits and flowes.¹ While staying on the Citrakūṭa mountain Rāma noticed the following trees: āmra, jambū, lodhra, pītaśāla, piyāla, panasa, dhava, karmaraṅga, tiniśa, tinduka, vilva, veṇu, nimba, śāla, madhuka, tilaka, badarī, āmalakī, kadamba, dāḍimba, betra, indrayava, and gāmbhārī.² He dwelt in a leaf-hut in a forest with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, which was covered with śāla, tāla, and aśvakarṇa as found out by Bharata.³ In the Pañcavaṭī forest the following plants and creepers were noticed by Rāmachandra: śāla, tāla, tamāla, kharjura, panasa, tiniśa, nivāra, punnāga, āmra, aśoka, tilaka, ketaka, campaka, candana, nīpa, lakuca, aśvakarṇa, khadira, śamī, pāṭala, kiṃśuka, dhava, and syandana.⁴ The wood of the khadira tree was used in making the sacrificial post in the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by King Daśaratha.⁵ The country to the west of Pampā had the following plants as seen by Rāma: jambū, piyāla, panasa, baṭa, plakṣa, tinduka, aśvattha, karṇikāra, dhava, āmra, nāgakeśara, tilaka, nīla, aśoka, kadamba, karavīra, karañja, pārijāta, red aśoka, red candana, white and blue lotuses.⁶

It is interesting to note that Sītā, the beloved wife of Rāmachandra, lived under a śimsapā tree [a timber tree ; vide also Mahābhārata, 3, 158. 44-52 where it is mentioned along with kiṃśuka, śālmālī, pāṭala, kūṭaja, aśoka, etc.] while in Laṅkā. This tree may be identified with śīśu, so well known to Bengal. Śīśu is of three kinds—white, black, and yellow—and they can be differentiated by their leaves. It is bitter in taste

1. Ibid., 56th Sarga. Ayodhyākāṇḍa.

2. Rāmāyaṇa, Baṅgavāsī Ed., 94th chap., Ayodhyākāṇḍa.

3. Ibid., Baṅgavāsī Ed., 99th chap., Ayodhyākāṇḍa.

4. Ibid., 15th chap., Āraṇyakāṇḍa.

5. Ibid., Ādikāṇḍa, 14th chap.

6. Ibid., 37th chap., Āraṇyakāṇḍa.

and it helps us to cure cough and wind. It removes fever, vomiting, etc.¹ Rāma saw the beautiful forests attached to the Sahya and Malaya mountains, while on his way to Laṅka to recover Sītā from the clutches of its tyrant king Rāvana. The monkeys who accompanied him destroyed the following plants existing there : campaka, tilaka, cūta, aśoka, sindhuvāra, tiniśa, karavīra, aṅkola, plakṣa, baṭa, tinduka, jambū, karañja, and punnāga. Of them the under-noted plants were full of flowers : ketakī, sindhuvāra, navamallikā, kunda, madhuka, mādhavī, rañjaka, vilva, tilaka, sthalapadma, vakula, pāṭalī, nāgeśvara, cūta, mucūlinda, siṃśapa, arjuna, girimallikā, hintāla, cūrṇaka, aṅkola, nīpaka, red kāñcana, and padma.²

At Rāma's behest many important monkeys entered the great forest of Laṅkā and destroyed the following plants which were thrown into the sea : śāla, aśvakarṇa, dhava, kūṭaja, tāla, tilaka, tiniśa, vilva, cūta, sapta-parṇa, karṇikāra, and aśoka.³ The mighty monkeys who were the leaders saw a beautiful forest in Laṅkā having the following trees : campaka, aśoka, vakula, śāla, tāla, tamāla, panasa, nāgakeśara, hintāla, arjuna, kadamba, tilaka, karṇikāra, and palāśa.⁴ The Rāmāyaṇa⁵ refers to ślesmātaka tree, the wood of which was used in making a sacrificial post. Among the trees listed above many are generally found in forests. The Rāmāyaṇa makes mention of them only without any description. The details of some of the important plants and creepers mentioned in the Epic are given later.

1. Rājanighaṇṭu, 9th chap.

2. Rāmāyaṇa, Bāṅgavāsī Ed., 4th chap., Laṅkākāṇḍa.

3. Ibid., 22nd chap., Laṅkākāṇḍa.

4. Ibid., 39th chap., Laṅkākāṇḍa.

5. Canto XIII, Griffith's tr., p. 25.

The Mahābhārata contains a long list of trees, flowers, and fruits, many of which are common to those mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. But the following plants are new and worth mentioning: muñjātaka, āmlavetasa, vījapūraka, pārāvata, kṣīrikā, iṅguda, pārijāta, pilu, and raupītaka.¹ But unfortunately no details of these trees can be had from the Epic.

In the Raivataka forest Balarāma, brother of Kriṣṇa, saw the following trees: āmra (mango), āmrātaka, cocoanut, tinduka (gāva), vilva, jīvaka, pomegranate (ḍārimba), vījapuraka (a kind of citron), kadamba, pārāvata (guava), kīṅkola, nalina, āmlavetasa, bhallātaka, āmalaka, harītaka, vibhītaka, iṅguda, karamardā, aśoka, punnāga, ketakī, vakula, campaka, saptaparṇa, karṇikāra, pārijāta, kovidāra, mandāra, vadara, pāṭala, devadāru, śāla, tāla, tamāla, and kiṃśuka.² In the lakes in the Raivataka forest there were lotuses in blossoms, blue lotuses, etc.³

Godhuma, anu, tila, priyaṅgu, udāra, koradūṣa, cīnaka, māṣa, mudga, masūra, kulattha, āḍaka, and caṇaka are considered as medicines in villages.⁴

The branches of banyan, fig, aśvattha, campaka, aśoka, palāśa, arjuna, plakṣa, kadamba, vakula, and āmra are used in religious ceremonies.⁵ The barks of these plants along with those of śamī and śirīsa should be put on a pot in a religious ceremony.⁶

The following are recognized as medicinal plants which help to cure diseases: harītaki, vaca, nimbaka, śātamūli, vilva, punarṇavā, etc.⁷

1. 3. 158. 44—53 ; 3. 40. 2—5 ; 3. 177. 23.

2. Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, 6th chap., 11-19.

3. Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, 6th chap., 20-21.

5. Agnipurāṇa, 57th chap., 9-14.

7. Ibid., 141st chap., 11-16.

4. Ibid., 49th chap., 61-69.

6. Ibid., 69th chap., 5-23.

The Agnipurāṇa¹ narrates the remedies for the various diseases. Vilva is good for rheumatism ; āmalakī, abhayā, kṛṣṇā for fever ; vilva, agnimantha, kaṇṭakārikā for fever at its earliest stage ; devadāru, triphalā, padma, daśamūlī, pippalī, vilva, āmalakī for cough, bowel complaint, and the disease relating to lungs, etc. ; baṭa, lodhra, madhuka, if taken with sweet rice water, for cold ; vākasa for cold and cough.² Paṭola, triphalā, nimba, and karañca, if used with cooked ghee or clarified butter, are good for leprosy.³ Pippalī, the pippalī root and vaca help to cure eruptions on the body due to indigestion ; punarṇavā and eraṇḍa are good for rheumatism ; biḍaṅga, dāru, etc. cure dropsy ; triphalā, trikūṭa, and samdhava, if taken with cooked ghee (clarified butter), are good for eye-trouble. Yava acts as purgative.⁴

The Garuḍa Purāṇa⁵ mentions the utility of some plants in curing diseases. Yava improves biliary system ; godhūma gives strength ; kulaftha removes wind and gives relief to those suffering from cough, indigestion, etc. ; citraka, iṅgudī, lotus, pippala, nīśindā, and vilva cure worms, bile, and cough ; and mātuluṅga (godālebu in Bengali) improves appetite. In chapter 173 of the same Purāṇa we find a list of plants and flowers, etc., and their usefulness in curing diseases.

The Great Maurya Emperor Aśoka caused the medicinal herbs beneficial to men and beasts to be imported and planted in all places where they did not exist. He also caused the roots and fruits to be imported and planted. On the roads trees were caused to be planted for the enjoyment of men and beasts.⁶ In order to render medicinal treatment to men and beasts it may be presumed

1. 285th chap. 2. 1-18. 3. 19-30. 4. 63-77.

5. (Ed. Rasikmohan Chatterjee), 169th chap., 4-22. 6. R. E. II.

that the Great Emperor had to cultivate medicinal plants for the supply of medicines (*manusa-cikīcchā ca pasucikīcchā ca osudhāni ca yāni manusopagāni ca pasopagāni ca yata yata nāsti sarvatrā hārāpitāni ca ropāpitāni ca mūlāni ca phalāni ca yata yata nāsti sarvata hārāpitāni ca ropāpitāni ca paṁthesū.....vrachā ca ropāpitā paribhogāya pasumanu-sānam*).

One of the Theravāda canonical texts says that mighty trees are grown from tiny seeds. They are of mighty bulk which over-spread other trees, by which being overspread these trees break up, break down, fall to the ground, and so lie. The mighty trees according to it are the following: *bo* (*assattha*), *banyan* (*nigrodha*), *wave-leaved fig* (*pilakkha*), *bunched fig* (*udumbara*), *wood-apple* (*kapitthaka*) and another kind of fig tree (*kacchaka*) (*Seyyathīdam assattho nigrodho pilakkho udumbaro kacchako kapitthako. Ime kho te bhikkhave mahārukkhā anubijā mahākāyā rukkhānam ajjhāruḥhā ye hi rukkhā ajjhāruḥhā obhaggavibhaggā vipatitā senti*).¹ Of these trees, *assattha* is the *Bo tree*.² The *Jātaka Nidānakathā* represents the entire site of the *Bo tree* as a sombre woodland.³ *Siddhārtha* went round the *Bo terrace* and drank the rice gruel at the foot of this tree. In the *Lalitavistara*⁴ we read that this tree stood in the centre lording over the sylvan kingdom. According to the *Jātaka Nidānakathā* *Siddhārtha* spent the first week under the shade of the *Bo tree*. He spent the second week looking at his seat under the tree. The third week was spent at the space between the tree and the *anīmisa* (*watchful*) walking. He spent the fourth week on a ground north-west of the *Bo tree*. He

1. *Samyutta*, V. 96 ; *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, V. 80.

2. *Jātaka*, I. 16 ; *Vin.*, IV. 35 ; *Dīgha*, II. 4 ; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II. 416.

3. *Jātaka*, I. 16, 70.

4. *Mitra's edition*, p. 341.

obtained supreme enlightenment at the foot of this tree.¹ The two tracts of Gayā and Uruvelā became distinct as two separate places representing the dominion of Akṣaya-vaṭa or the undying Banyan tree and that of the Bo tree of the Buddhist fame. The Bo terrace was a small sliver white sandy ridge around the Bo tree with a radius of eight karīṣas² and without a single blade of grass growing on it. It was encircled by the creepers and surrounded by grassy woodland with the trees leaning all towards the Bo tree standing in the centre.³ Siddhārtha sat down under the Bo tree cross-legged, with his face towards the east, determining to do or die till he attained his goal. Even on his death-bed at Kuśinārā, he referred to the spot of the Bo tree as one of the four memorable places worth seeing by a man of faith for inspiration.

It is difficult to believe that the Bo tree at Bodh-Gayā managed to live for twelve centuries that passed between the enlightenment of the Buddha and the reign of Śaśāṅka of Bengal.

The Banyan and Bo trees are the two well-known species of the Indian *Ficus*. The Bo tree is figured in ancient Indian literature as a sacred symbol of life and its growth. The Bo tree of the Bodh-Gayā excels all other trees in sanctity. It is regarded by the Buddhists as the pre-eminent object of worship. In the Mahāpadāna Sutta

1. Dīgha, II. 4 ; Divyāvadāna, p. 202 ; cf. Buddhavaṃsa, Ch. XXVI.

2. A square measure of land being that space on which a Karīsa of seed can be sown. Pali Karīsa = Karṣa in Sanskrit. One Karīsa is equivalent to four ammaṇas. One ammaṇa is equal to four Karīsas. One Karīsa is equal to eighty Kṛṣṇalas, i. e., 140 grams (vide for further details, B. C. Law, Buddhistic Studies, p. 426).

3. Kālingabodhi Jātaka No. 479 : Tadā kira tattha rājakarīsamattaṭṭhāne (better reading aṭṭhakarīsa matte ṭhāne) sasakamassumattaṃ pi tiṇam nāma n'atthi, rajatapaṭṭavaṇṇavāluka vippakinnā va hoti, samantā tiṇalatāvanaspatiyo Bodhimaṇḍaṃ padakkhinaṃ katvā āvattitvā bodhimaṇḍābbimukhā va aṭṭhamsu (Jātaka, IV. 233).

of the Dīgha Nikāya the Bo trees of seven Buddhas including the Bo tree of the last Buddha are mentioned. The Jātaka Nidānakathā gives an exaggerated description of the Bo tree that it had the miraculous power to touch the farthest reach of the horizon when it moved to the east or to the west or to the north or to the south. A branch of the Bo tree was sent by King Aśoka for planting on the soil of Ceylon.

The bark of this tree is useful to those suffering from rheumatism. It is also used for curing boils, cuts, etc.

Near the Bo tree stood the Banyan (Nigrodha), the Rājāyatana tree and the Mucalinda tree growing on the bank of the Mucalinda lake, all associated with the memories of movements and joyous ponderings of the Buddha.¹ We learn from the Minor Pillar Edict I of Aśoka (Sarnath Edict) that the Bo tree sanctuary was not a fit place for the Buddhist church (saṅgha).

Nigrodha (nyagrodha) is the banyan tree.² There was a banyan tree in the Nāga island where the Garuḍa king lived. A king of Benares lost his beautiful queen Sussonḍī, who was afterwards found out by the king's minstrel named Sagga, who came to the island, being shipwrecked, lying on a plank. Sussonḍī then recognized him.³ A banyan tree is proportionately symmetrical. The belief was that a banyan always measured like the diameter of a circle in height and in width. In other words, the length of its body is equal to the compass of its branches, and the compass of its branches is equal to the height of the tree.⁴ A banyan tree grows on the slopes of the Himalayas (Himavantapasse).⁵ Snakes lie in the fork of this

1. Barua, *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, p. 165.

2. *Vinaya*, IV. 35 ; *Dīgha*, II. 4 ; *Suttanipāṭa*, 272.

3. *Jātaka*, III. 187-88.

4. *Dīgha*, III. 18 ; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.B., III, Pt. II, 15 ; cf. *Lakkhaṇa Suttanta*, *Dīgha*, III. 144.

5. *Jātaka*, I. 218.

tree.¹ In the north-west corner of the lake Chaddanta in a spot grew a big banyan tree. Its trunk was five leagues in circumference and seven leagues in height. Four branches spread six leagues to the four points of the compass, and the branch which rose straight upwards was six leagues. So from the root upwards it was thirteen leagues in height, and from the extremity of the branches in one direction to the extremity of the branches in the opposite direction, it was twelve leagues. The tree was furnished with eight thousand shoots and stood forth in all its beauty.² This tree sends down from its branches fibres which take root and form new stems. There stood a big banyan (nyagrodha) tree in Benares on the banks of the river Varanā, which used to fulfil other's wish. A childless banker, who was not blessed with child even after performing many sacrifices, came with his wife to this tree praying for a son. His prayer was granted and later he had a son named Yasoda.³ On the banks of the river Nairañjanā, at Senāpatigrāma in Uruvilva, there existed a banyan tree of Ajapāla, which was visited by the Buddha.⁴ While the Buddha was staying there, the chief Brahmin priest of King Bimbisāra used to repeat to him in details every morning the thirty-two signs of a great man.⁵

The banyan tree is mentioned in the Atharvaveda,⁶ Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,⁷ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,⁸ Chāndogya-upaniṣad⁹ and other later works. Its wood was used in making bowls for religious purposes.¹⁰

According to Śuśruta, nyagrodha (banyan), udumbara (yagñadumura in Bengali), aśvattha, śirīsa, and plakṣa

1. Ibid., III. 202-3.

2. Jātaka, V. 38.

3. Mahāvastu, II. 402.

4. Ibid., III. 425.

5. Ibid., 436—437.

6. IV. 37. 4 ; V. 5. 5.

7. VII. 30. 31.

8. V. 8. 5. 13 ; XIII. 2. 7. 8.

9. VI. 12. 1.

10. Taittirīya Saṃhitā, vii. 4, 12, 1 ; Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā, XXIII. 13 ; Vedic Index, I. 462.

(pākuḍa in Bengali) are known as khīra trees ('nyagrodho dūmburohaśvatthaśirīsa plakṣa pādapāḥ, pañcaite khīriṇo vrikṣāsteṣāṃ tvak-pakṣalakṣaṇaṃ').

The Jain texts refer to many kinds of grains, e. g., vīhi (rice), yava (barley), godhūma (wheat), piyaṅgu (panic seed), āḍhaki (pulse), atasi (linseed), kaṅgu (millet), sarīśava (mustard), and palimanthaka.¹ Singavera (fresh ginger), lavaṅga, haridrā (turmeric), pippala (pepper), and sarivatthaga (mustard) find mention in Jain literature. Sugarcane cultivation was extensively carried on according to the Jain texts which refer to ucchughara (sugarcane storehouse), and jantapīlana (sugarcane-crushing machine).² Kappāsa (silk cotton) and sālmalī trees were very much known.³ Betel, arecanut, cucumber, onion, garlic, and gourd are referred to in the Jain texts.⁴ Among the creepers, flowers, trees, and fruits known to the ancient Jains the following may be mentioned: asoga, vāsantī, cūya, aimuttaya, sāma, navamālikā, koraṇṭaka, bandhujīvaka, yuthikā, mallikā, campaka, kunda, migadantikā, mahu, nimba, amba, jambu, sāla, vakula, palāsa, puttanjīva, vibhītaka, tinduka, kapittha, mātulinga, vilva, āmalaga, assattha, udumbara, tilaka, sirīsa, loddha, candana, ajjuna, and siṃsapā.⁵

Indian literature mentions various kinds of trees, plants, shrubs, fruits, flowers, etc., arranged in an alphabetical order in the following pages. An attempt has been made to elicit information regarding them as far as available from the literature concerned. It mentions many medicinal

1. Paṇṇavaṇā, I. 23—40 ; Bhagavatī, 21. 2 ; 21. 3.

2. Uttarādhyayana Sūtra Commentary, 2, p. 23.

3. Paṇṇavaṇā, I. 23, 36 ; Uttarādhyayana, 19, 52.

4. Uvāsagadasāo, I. 9 ; Paṇṇavaṇā, I. 23, 36, 18, 26ff., 43 ff ; Nāyādharmakāhāo, 16. 163.

5. Rāyapasenaiya, 3, p. 13 ; Paṇṇavaṇā, I. 23, 23—5 ; Āvassayacūṇṇi, II. 319 ; Paṇṇavaṇā, I. 23, 12 ff., 35 ff. ; Rāyapasenaiya, 3, p. 12 ; J. C. Jain, Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons, pp. 91, 93 and 95.

plants, water plants, royal trees (rājarukkhā),¹ and fragrant grass (bīraṇaṃ).² It refers to trees the flowers of which have the colour of collyrium (añjana).³ Five kinds of leaves (paṇṇā) recommended for medicinal purposes, namely, nimba, kuṭaja, paṭola,⁴ sulasi or tulasi, and kappāsika are mentioned in the Vinayapiṭaka.⁵ There are trees which cannot be indentified such as somarukkha.⁶ In the sixth century B. C. India saw several groves of añjana (name of a tree, 'black tree', Jāt., I. 331), amba (mango) and sāla at Upavattana and Kusinārā.⁷

Agalu (Aggalu, Sk. Aguru) (Aquilaria Agallocha, Roxb.)
—Fragrant aloe wood (VVA. 237 ; cf agalucandana, VVA. 158).

Agnimantha.—See Introduction.

Ajjuka (Sk. Arjaka).—Name of a plant (Ocimum Basilicum, Linn, Vinaya, IV. 35 ; DhA., 181.)

Ajjukaṇṇa (Sk. Arjakarṇa).—Name of a tree (Pentaptera tomentosa) which existed in the hermitage of Vessantara (Jātaka, VI. 535).

Ajjuna (Apadāna, II. 346 ; Jātaka, VI. 535 ; DhA., I. 105) (Terminalia Arjuna).—Its bark improves the action of the heart and cures wound, boil, etc. (Bhāvaprakāśa).

Akka (Sk. Arka).—Name of a plant (Calotropis gigantea) ; Majjhima, I. 429. It is mentioned in the Atharva-veda (VI. 72. 1).

Alaka.—Name of a plant (Morinda citrifolia). It is mentioned in the Apadāna.

Alābu (Jātaka, VI. 578).—It is a long white gourd (cucurbeta lagenaria ; lagenaria vulgaris according to some).

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1. Cathartocarpus fistula, VvA., 43.	2. Andropogon Muricatum.
3. Sāratthappakāsini, III. 247.	4. Trichosanthes dioica
5. Vinaya Texts (SBE), II. 46.	6. Jātaka, VI. 580.
7. Sam., I. 54 ; V. 73 ; Dīgha, I, 47, 49 ; Sam., I. 157 ; IV. 121 ; Dīgha, II. 134, 137 ; Divyāvadāna (Cowell and Neil), 201, 208.	

It is an indigenous plant. It is bottle gourd. The vessels made of it are referred to in the Atharvaveda(VIII. 10. 29 ; XX. 132. 1. 2).

Amba (*Mangifera indica*, Linn.) is the mango tree.¹ It is shady having many leaves. It looks like a hill crevice. Its fruits are sweet and are of divine fragrance. They are large in size. They are available out of season.² There are certain mango trees which always bear fruits.³

A gardener at the city gate at Sāvattthī (Śrāvastī) gave a big sized ripe mango to the Blessed One who ate it and asked Ānanda to hand over the seed to the gardener to plant it there. The gardener dug a hole in the earth and planted it. There grew up a mango tree which came to be called Gaṇḍamba.⁴

A seed of a mango fruit was planted in a park and was watered with milk-water. The tree sprouted up and gave fruits on the third year. The fruit was sweet and was of gold colour.⁵ The mango tree, on account of its branches being entangled with a Nimba tree planted near about it, gave bitter fruits.⁶

A female lay disciple obtained the Buddha's permission to build a hermitage and to offer it to him. She built a beautiful hermitage with groves of mango trees all round. It was a very beautiful place to live in.⁷ There existed a mango-grove known as the Jīvaka-ambavana. Jīvaka, the great physician of King Bimbisāra of Magadha, converted it into a vihāra and gave it to the Buddha and

1. Dīgha, I. 46, 53 ; Puggalapaññatti, 45 ; Milinda, 46 ; Petavatthu Commentary, 153, 187 ; Dhammapada Commentary, III. 207 ; Vimānavatthu Commentary, 198.

2 Jātaka, III. 27ff. ; IV. 202.

4. Ibid., IV. 264-265.

6. Ibid., II. 104-105,

3. Ibid., III. 28.

5. Ibid., II. 104.

7. Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 198.

his Order. This grove stood somewhere between the Gijjhakūṭa mountain¹ and the wall of the city of Rājagriha.²

Ambāṭaka (*Spondias mangifera*, Willd.) is Āmḍā (hogplum) found in Bengal. Ambāṭakas are eaten after removing the skin.³

Anu.—See Introduction. *Panicum miliaceum*, Eigen.

Añjana.—Black tree.⁴

Aṅkola (*Alangium Lamarckii*, Linn.).—A thorny plant ; flowers during hot season. Round the Mucalinda lake stood this tree.⁵

Apphoṭa.—A kind of Jasmin (*Jātaka*, VI. 536).

Arjuna.—Same as Ajjuna. See Introduction. *Terminalia Arjuna*, Bead.

Asana.—(*Pentaptera tomentosa*, Roxb.⁶).

Aśoka⁷ (*Saraca indica*, Linn.).—A handsome tree ; flowers at the beginning of the hot season ; flowers pretty large in clusters ; when first opens, the flower is of a beautiful orange colour, gradually changing to red, forming a variety of shades, fragrant during the night. Aśvaghoṣa has described it as the increaser of lover's sorrows.⁸ It is a medicinal plant. It gives relief to those females suffering from menstrual disorder. Its bark is very useful as well as its seed, which greatly helps the function of the kidney. This tree was much liked by Nanda's mistress, Sundarī, as related by Aśvaghoṣa

1. One of the five hills encircling Rājagriha (modern Rajgir in Behar). It is so called because its peak is like a vulture (*Papañcasūdanī*, II. 68). According to Cunningham it is a part of Śailagiri, the vulture peak of Fa Hien and Indasālaguhā of Yuan Chwang. It lies two miles and a half to the south-east of new Rajgir. It is also called Giriyeḥ hill (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 41).

2. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I. 150 ; cf. *ibid.*, p. 133.

3. *Apadāna*, II, 346 ; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I. 271.

4. *Jātaka*, I. 391.

5. *Ibid.*, VI. 535 ; *Apadāna*, 346 ; *JBBRAS.*, Vol. 13, 1937, p. 28.

6. *Ibid.*, I. 40 ; II. 91 ; V. 420 ; V. 530 ; *Apadāna*, p. 346.

7. *Jātaka*, V. 188 ; *Vv.* 95 ; *Vism.*, 625 ; *VvA.*, 173 ; *Apadāna*, p. 845.

8. *Buddhacarita*, IV. 45.

in his *Saundarananda-kāvya* (canto VII. 5). A lay disciple of Śrāvastī invited the Buddha to his house. He erected a beautiful pandal where the Buddha took his seat. A woman then was returning home with a large bundle of Aśoka twigs with young leaves and beautiful flowers. She saw the Buddha there and worshipped him with those flowers.¹ Aśoka flowers are beautiful and are found through all seasons (*sabbakālikam*)².

Assakaṇṇa (*Aśvakarṇa*) (*Shorea robusta*, Gertn. or *Vatica robusta*).—It is so called from the shape of its leaves.³ It is the same as *śāla*,⁴ a timber tree; flowering time—hot season. It is bitter in taste (*Rājanighaṇṭu*, 9th chap.). It cures boils, eczema and cough. It kills worms and cures ear-disease (*Bhāvaprakāśa*). Its wood is not so strong as that of *Phandana* tree (*Plassey*).⁵ Many *assakaṇṇas* are found in the forest. A bird killer saw them while roaming about there.⁶ On the *Gandhamādana* hill where *Vessantara* dwelt with his wife and children, they were found along with many shrubs and creepers.⁷

Atimutta (*Atimukta*, *Hiptage Madhabilatā* Gertn.).—It is a beautiful flower.⁸ One looks bright being adorned with this flower.⁹ It is identified with: (1) *Tiniśa* (*Ougenia dalbergioides*); (2) *Tiṇḍuka* (*Diospyros Embryopteris*, Pers.); (3) *Mādhavī* (*Hiptage Madhabilata*, Gertn.). By it we mean *Tiniśa* (*Jārul-Amarkoṣa*), *Mādhavilatā* and *Eraṇḍa* (*Bhāvaprakāśa*). The *Mādhavilatā* flowers during the rainy and cold seasons; flowers uncommonly

1. *Vimānavatthu* Commentary, p. 173; B. C. Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, p. 61.

2. *Jātaka*, V. 188.

3. *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 130, f. n. 1.

4. *Śuśruta-saṃhitā*, 38th Chap.; *Charaka-saṃhitā*, Chap. 8th.

5. *Jātaka*, IV. 209.

6. *Ibid.*, II. 161.

7. *Ibid.*, VI. 528-529.

8. *Apadāna*, P. T. S., 346.

9. *Milinda*, 338.

beautiful and exceedingly fragrant.¹ It has also been used as a synonym of *Tiniśa* (*Ougenia dalbergioides*, Benth.) on account of its pearl-white flowers. In the *Saundaranandakāvya* of *Aśvaghoṣa* Nanda saw this creeper growing up a mango tree and clinging to it. (Canto VII. V. 8).

Ativiśā—(Sk. *Ativiśā*).—Name of a plant.² *Aconitum hetero-phyllum*, Wall.

Ālaka (*Alaka*) (probably *Morinda citrifolia*, Linn).—a plant mentioned in the *Apadāna* (I. 16 ; II. 346).

Ālula.—If it is *Āluka*, it is either *Dioscorea alata*, Linn. or *Dioscorea alata*, var *globosa*, Roxb.³

Āmalaka (*Phyllanthus Emblica*, Linn.)—Tree, elegant ; flowering time beginning of hot season.⁴ It is found in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (vii. 3. 1) denoting the myrobalan fruit. It is used as the fruit for the sick monks.⁵ In the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka* the physician *Jīvaka* asked the servant *Kāka* to eat *āmalaka*.⁶

Āmlavetasa.—See Introduction.

Āsītikā.⁷—A certain plant unidentified.⁸

Badarī.—This tree is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (3. 178. 8) without any description. *Zizyphus Jujuba*, Lamk.

Badālatā.—A beautiful creeper of sweet taste.⁹

Bandhujīva or *Bandhujīvaka* (*Pentapetes phoenicea*, Linn.).—It is a kind of plant having red flowers.¹⁰ Its

1. *Vinaya*, II. 256 ; *Majjhima*, I. 32

2. *Ibid.*, I. 201 ; IV. 85.

3. *Apadāna*, I. 17.

4. *Vinaya*, I. 201, 278 ; II. 149 ; *Sam.*, I. 150 ; *Ang.*, V. 170 ; *Jātaka*, IV. 363 ; V. 380 ; *Milinda*, 11.

5. *Vinayapiṭaka*, I. 201.

6. *Ibid.*, I. 278.

7. *Majjhima*, I. 80.

8. Cf. *Asītakī-Lalitavistara*, 319

9. *Dīgha*, III. 87 ; *Visuddhimagga*, 418.

10. *Majjhima*, II. 14 ; *Dīgha*, II. 111 ; *Vism.*, 174 ; *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, 43, 161—*Yodhikā* (*Yuthikā*) *bandhujīvaka* *anojakā rukkhā* *ca santi* ; *Papañcasūdanī*, I. 167.

flowers blossom in the afternoon and fade away in the evening. According to the commentator bandhujīvaka flowers are like those of tilaka plant. Bandhujīvaka and gaṇḍika or bhaṇḍika fall under the same group.¹ It is called bāndhuli or bandhuka flower in Sanskrit. In the Mahāsakuladāyi sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya this flower is described as red in colour and red in lustre.² The plant named Gaṇḍikā mentioned in the Vimānavatthu (I5) may be identified with bandhujīvaka. According to the Bhāva prakāśa bandhujīvaka plant cures wind trouble, fever and improves biliary system.

Barihisa (Vedic barhis).—Sacrificial grass.³

Bel (Aegle Marmelos).—Name of a fruit-tree, mentioned in the Apadāna.

Bhaginīmāla.—It is a tree bending with its boughs, which lends beauty to the palace of the Nāga king.⁴

Bhallātaka (Semecarpus Anacardium, Linn.).—Bhelā, marking nut⁵ The fruit is sweet and sour. It cures cough, cold, indigestion, stomach trouble and the disease due to worms.

Bhūja (Bhūrja) tree (Betula Bhojpatra, Heilm. L. Gurt.).—A kind of willow.⁶

The hermitage of Īsisiṅga (R̥ṣyasriṅga) contains Bhūja tree. It is also found in Kosiya's home.⁷ Bhūjaka is a celestial tree found on the Gandhamādana, sweet-scented.⁸

Bilaṅga (Sk. Viḍanga and Vilaṅga) Embelia ribes, Burm. (Erycibe paniculata).⁹

1. Vimānavatthu, p. 33 ; Vimānavatthu Commentary, 161.

2. M. N., II. 14.

3. Dīgha, I. 141 ; Mājjhima, I. 344 ; Ang., II. 207.

4. Jātaka, VI. 269, 270 ; Apadāna, I. 15.

5. Ibid., VI. 578 ; Mahābhārata, 3. 111-112—It is mentioned along with āmalaka, karuṣaka, pippala, dhanva, etc.

6. Ibid., V. 195, 405.

7. Ibid., V. 405.

8. VvA., p. 162.

9. Jātaka, VI. 365 ; Vin., II. 77-78 ; Sam., I. 90 ; Ang., I. 145, etc.

Bilva (Bella) (Aegle or Ægle Marmelos, Corr.) Sripthal.¹—It is called Bellā in the Apadāna (II. 346). It is mentioned in the Atharvaveda (XX. 136, 13), Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (II. 1), Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 4, 4, 8) and Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā (III. 9, 3). He who desires food and wishes to grow fat ought to make his yupa (sacrificial post) of Bilva wood.² According to the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (II. 1, 8, 1.2) bilva wood is used for sacrificial post and bilva leaves are used for Śiva worship. In the Mahābhārata (3. 177. 23) this tree is mentioned along with plakṣa, rauhitaka, badarī, vetasa, śirīṣa, iṅguda, karīra without any detail of any of them. The juice of its leaves is beneficial to those suffering from eye disease and dyspepsia.

Bimbajāla³ or Bimbijāla.—Bimbajāla flowers in winter and scatters its odour abroad.⁴ It is the bimba tree (Momordica monodelpha).⁵ Bimbijāla, bimbī or bimbikā is Telākucā (Coccinia indica, W. & A.). It is called kandurī in Hindi. Its flowers are white and large and its fruit when ripe is very red. Its roots and leaves are used for preparing medicine. The juice from its leaves is useful to those suffering from headache due to heat and eczema. It gives relief to those suffering from blood dysentery. This plant is found in large numbers in Singbhum and Southern India.

Campaka (Campā)⁶ (Michelia Champaca, Heilm).—It is found in Bengal; a pretty large tree; flowering time—rainy season; delightfully fragrant, white and yellow flowers. According to the Rāmāyaṇa (Canto XVII)⁷

1. Jātaka, VI. 578; Saṃ, I. 150; Aṅg., IV. 170.

2. Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Vol. II, p. 73.

3. The red amaranth tree, the Bodhi tree of the former Buddha Dhammasin—Jātaka, I. 39 (Bimbijāla); V. 155; at Jātaka, VI. 497-98, the form is Bimbajāla.

4. Jātaka, I. 39; VI. 497.

5. Ibid., (Cowell), VI. 258 f. n.

6. Jātaka, V. 420; VI. 269; Miln., 338; D. A., I. 280; Visuddhim, 515; DhA., I. 884; VvA., 194; Buddhavaṃsa, II. 51.

7. Griffith's Tr., p. 38.

Lomapāda's fair town was adorned with these sweet-scented yellow flowers. The celebrated Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa, says that campaka trees were in abundance in the city of Campā (Bhagalpur district). On the banks of the lake Gaggarā near this city there was a large grove of campaka trees famous for their sweet scented flowers.¹

Caṇaka.—Sree Introduction. *Cicerarietinum*, Helim.

Candana—(*Santalum albam* Linn.).—Sandal tree. Its wood is perfumed.² Red and yellow sandal are known as ratta or lohita candana and hari candana.³ There is a mention of Kāsikacandana (Benares sandal).⁴ White sandal is good for thirst, burning sensation headache, eczema, and small-pox.

Candarī is a kind of fruit mentioned in the Apadāna (II. 346). It is ground with kadali and labuja.

Cīnaka.—See Introduction. *Panicum miliaceum*, Eigen.

Ciñcā (*Tamarindus indica*, Linn.).—Tamarind. In the Himalayas is found a grove of tamarinds with luscious fruits (*madhuraphalam ciñcāvanam*).⁵

Cress flower (*Lepidium sativum*, Linn.)—It is found in the hermitage of Vessantara and it grows round the Mucalinda lake.⁶

Cūrṇaka.—See Introduction.

Darbha.—*Imperata arundinacea*, Cyrill. It is a grass. The Rāmāyaṇa (Canto LV)⁷ refers to it. It is used at sacrificial ceremonies. Darbha is also identified with *Imperata cylindrica*.

1. *Papancaśūdanī*, III. 1.

2. *Vin.*, I. 203 ; *Aṅg.*, I. 9, 145, 226 ; III. 237 ; *Dh.* 54 ; *Jātaka*, V. 420 ; *Miln.*, 382 ; *DhA.*, I. 422 ; *VvA.*, 158 ; *PvA.*, 76.

3. *Jātaka*, IV. 442 ; *Aṅg.*, V. 22 ; *Jātaka*, I. 37 ; *Ibid.*, I. 146.

4. *Aṅg.*, III. 391 ; IV. 281 ; *Miln.*, 243, 348.

5. *Jātaka*, No. 514 ; *SnA.*, 78.

6. *Ibid.*, VI. 547.

7. Griffith's Tr., p. 468.

Devadāru.—Deodar pine, *Cedrus Deodara*, Roxb. The wood of this tree was used in making the sacrificial post for the *Aśvamedha yajña* of king Daśaratha.¹ The Himalaya mountain is supremely fragrant with deodars.²

Dhava³ (*Anogeissus latifolia*, Wall.).—A timber tree ; flowering time : cold season. It is called *Dhāyibāblā*. *Dhava* (*Woodfordia fruticosa* Kurz ; *Grislea tomentosa*)⁴ is the shrub found on the Gandhamādana hill where Vessantara lived with his wife and children.

Eraṇḍā (*Ricinus communis*, Linn.).—Castor oil plant mentioned in the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (XII. 8). It is the lowest of trees.⁵ In a *Jātaka* (II. 440) the Bodhisatta was born as the presiding deity of the Eraṇḍā tree (castor oil tree) which stood in the approach to a certain village. A dead old ox was thrown in the grove of these castor oil trees to be devoured by jackals. It is called *Bheraṇḍā* in Bengal. Eraṇḍā plant is useful to those suffering from rheumatism, boils, worms, etc.

Galocī.—Shrub (*Cocculus cordifolius*). It is a creeper.⁶

Gaṇḍa-tiṇḍu.—Name of a plant.⁷

Gaṇḍamba.—A kind of tree at the foot of which the Master performed the double miracle.⁸

Gandhaparna.—This tree is full of sweet-scented flowers.⁹

Gāmbhārī.—See Introduction. *Gmelina arborea*, Linn.

Girimallikā.—*Wrightia Antidysenterica*, Grah.¹⁰

1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ādikāṇḍa*, 14th chap. ; *Mahābhārata*, 3. 178. 10.—mentioned along with *haricandana*, *tunga* and *Kālīyaka*.

2. *Saundarananda Kāvya*, Canto X, V. 5.

3. *Aṅg.*, I. 202, 204 ; *Jātaka*, IV. 209 ; VI. 528.

4. *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 130, f. n. 2.

5. *Jātaka*, II. 440 ; *Papañcasūdanī*, II. 98 ; Cf. *Eraṇḍa* (*Majjhima*, I. 124).

6. *DhA.*, III. 110. 7. *Jātaka*, V. 99. 8. *Manorathapūraṇī*, I, 125.

9. *Saundarananda Kāvya*, Canto VII. v. 10.

10. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Laṅkākāṇḍa*, 4th Chap.

Giripunṇāga (probably *Mallotus Philippensis*).—Name of a flower tree, mentioned in the Apadāna.

Godhūma.—See Introduction. *Triticum vulgare*, Linn.

Haliddā or Haliddī (*Haridrā*—*Curcuma longa*, Roxb.)¹—It is Turmeric. It grows round the Mucalinda lake.²

Hareṇuka.—It cannot be identified.³ *Piper Aurantiacum*, Wall.

Haritaka⁴ (*Terminalia Chebula*, Retz.).—A large tree ; flowering time—hot season ; flowers small ; its fruits form the commercial chebule myrobalans. It is used as a purgative. Myrobalan plants grow in the Himalayas. They are known as *Terminalia Chebula*, Retz. ; *Phyllanthus Emblica*, Gaertn and *Emblica officinalis*. Its fruits and seeds are used for medicinal purposes. They give relief to those suffering from piles, rheumatism, eye-disease, stone in the gall bladder and smallpox. Its fruit acts as a good purgative. It should be first taken and then a drink of tepid water according to the Śūsruta Saṃhitā (Chap. L.).

Hiṅgu.—The plant *Asafoetida*.⁵ *Ferula Asafoetida*, Linn.

Hintāla.—A kind of palm, *Phoenix paludosa*.⁶

Hirivera (Sk. *Hrīvera*, *Pavonia odorata*, Willd.).—A kind of *Andropogon* (sort of perfume).⁷

Ikṣu (*Saccharum officinarum*, Linn.).—Sugarcane. In the Himalayas is found a grove of sugarcane of the size of the arecanut tree.⁸ Toddy was made from the juice of the sugarcane.⁹

1. Vin., I. 201 ; Jātaka, V. 89 ; Majj., I. 127 ; Aṅg., III. 230, 233 ; Saṃ., II. 101 ; KhA., 64.

2. Jātaka (Cowell), VI. 278.

3. Ibid., VI. 537.

4. Vin., I. 201, 206 ; Jātaka, I. 80 ; IV. 333 ; Miln., 11 ; VvA., 5 ; Apadāna, II. 346.

5. Vin., I. 201 ; VvA., 186.

6. Vin., I., 190 ; DhA. III. 451.

7. Jātaka, VI. 537 ; DhA., I. 81.

8. Jātaka (Cowell), V. 21.

9. Ibid., (Cowell), IV. 100-101.

Indasāla—This tree existed near the door of the Indasāla cave.¹

Indīvara.²—Blue water lily (*Nymphaea stellata*, Linn.). It is well-scented. It is very bitter in taste.

Inguda.—See Introduction. *Balanites Roxburghii*, Manch.

Isimugga.³—There are two plants in Bengal called 'Śvet Moorga' and its red variety the 'Lāl Moorga'. They are *Celosia Argentea* Linn. and *Celosia cristata*, Linn. respectively. Both of them are erect annuals. They thrive best in the rainy and cold seasons.

Jambū⁴—(*Eugenia Jambolana*, Linn.).—It is the rose-apple tree.⁵ It is both a fruit and a timber tree; flowering time—hot season. It is *kālajām* (blackberry). It is found in Benares.⁶ It stands with its outspreading branches, 50 yojanas in length.⁷

Jīvaka. (*Pentaptera tomentosa*, Roxb. or *Terminalia tomentosa*, Bedd.).—It is used as a synonym of *Piyāla* (*Buchanania latifolia*, Roxb.) by Amara (Apadāna I. 17).

Jivanti (Jivati)—A medicinal plant. It is identified with : (1) *Caclogyne ovalis* Linol ; (2) *Dendrobium Macraei* Lindl. ; (3) *Asparagus racemosus*.

Jhāmaka.—It is a plant mentioned in Jātaka, VI. 537 but it is difficult to identify it. Some hold that it is a kind of grass.

1. *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, III. 697.

2. *Mahābhārata*, 3. 158. 44-52 ; it occurs in the group of other trees such as *pārljāta*, *kovidāra*, *mandāra*, *hinduka*, *vakula*, *ketaka*, *punnāga*, etc. ; Jāt., V. 92, VI. 536 ; VV., 45.

3. *Apadāna*, II. 346.

4. *Jātaka*, II. 160 ; V. 6 ; Vv., 6, 44, 164 ; DhA., III. 211 ; *Apadāna*, II, 346.

5. *Visuddhimagga*, P. T. S. 206—Its trunk is fifteen yojanas in girth and its height is very great.

6. *Jātaka*, VI. 269.

7. *Samantapāsādikā*, I. 119.

Kacchaka (*Cedrelateona* Roxb.)—is a kind of fig tree (Vinaya, IV. 35; Saṃ., V. 96; Visuddhimagga, 183). Buddhaghosa the Buddhist commentator calls it by the name of Pilakkhu. Some say that it is black fig. (Path of Purity, PTS. Tr. series, no. 17, p. 120). It is occasionally planted and also self-sown. It is indigenous in most of the lower hills of India. It is called Tun.

Kadali (*Musa sapientum*, Linn.)—Banana¹, the plantain or banana plant always dies down after producing fruit.² In the Himalayas is found a grove of plantain trees with fruits as big as elephants' tusks.³ According to Medinī, Kadali, and Kandali are one and the same plant. In the Apadāna (I. 16) the different reading of Kandali is Kadali.

Kadamba⁴ (*Anthocephalus Cadamba*, Benth & Hook).—Orange-coloured, fragrant blossoms.⁵ On the slope of the Himalayan mountain there were waving kadamba trees. (Saundarananda Kāvya, Canto X, v. 11.) Vāruṇī the goddess of wine established herself in the hollow of a Kadamba tree in the woods of Vrindāban. Baladeva smelling the pleasant fragrance of liquor resumed his passion for strong drink. (Viṣṇupurāṇa, V, Chap. XXV). There is no vinous exudation from the Kadamba tree (*Nauclea cadamba* Roxb.). Its flowers are said to yield a spirit by distillation (Ibid., Wilson's Tr., p. 66, f. n.).

Kakkāru flowers (Sk. Karkāru, a pumpkin-gourd, the *Cucumis utilissimus*, Roxb.).⁶—These divine flowers are fit for those possessed of great powers. There existed

1. Barhut, figs. 121, 127; Apadāna, II. 346

2. Saṃ., I. 154; Vinaya, II. 188; Saṃ., II. 241; III. 141-42; IV. 167; Aṅg., II. 73; DhA., III. 156; Cf. Milinda, 166.

3. Jātaka (Cowell), V. 21.

4. Jātaka, VI. 535, 539; DhA., I. 309; Mahāvamsa, 25, 48—Kadambapupphavallīhi.

5. Vis., 206; Jāt. (Cowell), VI. 184.

6. Jātaka, VI. 536.

three kinds of Kakkāru (Jātaka, VI. 536) in the Mucalinda lake. He who refrains from thievish acts, restrains his tongue from lying words, and reaching dizzy heights of fame still keeps his head, may claim this flower. He who pursues honest wealth, and shuns gross excess in pleasure, has duly won this flower. He that never swerves from fixed purpose and preserves his unchanging faith may justly claim this heavenly flower. He who will never attack good men, when present, nor behind their back and fulfils in deed all he says, many claim this flower.¹

Kakudha.—*Terminalia Arjuna*, Bedd. (Jātaka, VI. 530).

Kalamba (Sk. Kalamba, *Menispermum calumba*, Kalambī *Convolvulus repens*).—Name of a certain herb or plant² also called Kalambaka, the Cadamba tree. If it is Kalambī, it is *Ipomoea aquatica* Forsk.; flowers large, beautiful rose colour. It is used as a synonym of Sara by Amara. Amara again uses the word Kalamba as a stalk.³

Kaṇavera (Kaṇavīra)⁴ (Sk. Karvīra; *Nerium odorum*, Oleander)—A wreath of red kaṇavera flowers was tied round the neck of a robber who was being led to the place of execution.⁵

Kandali.—Flowering time—rainy season; underground creeper, flowers blue. According to Medinī, Kadali and Kandali are one and the same plant. (Apadāna, p. 16, f.n. 1.)

Kaṇikāra and Kaṇṇikāra⁶ (*Pterospermum acerifolium*, Willd.), Lily.⁷ In the Himalayas grow thickets of pure white lilies, white lilies, white esculent lilies, a mixed tangle of white and other lilies.⁸ Stalks of lilies are

1. Jātaka (Fausboll), III. 87, 88; vide also Jātaka (Cowell), III. 59.

2. Jātaka, VI. 535.

3. Vaiśyavarga, śloka 101.

4. Jātaka, III. 61; IV, 191; V. 420; VI. 406.

5. Jātaka (Cowell), III. 40.

6. Jātaka, IV. 440; V. 420; I. 40; V. 295; VI. 269, 537.

7. Ibid. (Cowell), IV. 210, 274.

8. Ibid. (Cowell), V. 20-21.

eaten by men to save themselves from starvation for want of food.¹ Kaṇṇikāra is yellow.²

Kappāsa.³—Cotton tree (*Gossypium herbaceum*, Linn.) grows round the lake Mucalinda.⁴ When the birds let their droppings fall on the cotton tree, a growth of banyan or of fig arises and goes spreading all over the cotton tree. This parasitic growth covers up the main tree.⁵

Kapitthaka (*Feronia elephantum*, Correa).—It seems to be a Vedic medicinal plant. It occurs in the Atharvaveda (IV. 4. 8). It is used for virility. It is different from Kapitthaka or Kapitthana or Kapiṭhāna (*Thespesia Populnea*, Soland ex Correa) occurring in the Jātaka and Apadāna (II. 445 ; VI. 529, 550, 553 ; Apadāna, II. 346), which is the wood-apple tree.⁶ It is helpful in curing cough, cold and vomiting, (Bhāvaprakāśa). The monkeys eat ripe figs and wood-apples.⁷ In the hermitage on the Gandhamādāna hill where lived Vessantara, his wife and children, there was among many trees Kapitthaka or rose-apple tree.⁸ The clusters of rose-apple trees dropped around the lake Mucalinda.⁹ The fruit of kapittha is good to eat.¹⁰ The Milinda-Pañho refers to kapittha and says that those who want fruits will knock a wood-apple down with the same fruit (Keci phalakāmā kapitthena kapittham pothenti—Milinda, Trenckner Ed., p. 189). In some parts of Bengal it is known as Kayeth Bel. We hear of volatile oil secreted by this plant. With the resin of this plant dissolved in the sweet water of

1. Jātaka (Cowell), VI. 205.

2. Majjhima Nikāya, II. 14.

3. Dīgha, II. 141 ; Aṅg., III. 295 ; Saṃ., V. 284, Jātaka, I. 350 ; VI. 41 ; VI. 537 ; PVA., 146.

4. Jātaka (Cowell), VI. 278.

5. Ibid. (Cowell), III. 240.

6. Milinda, 189 ; Jātaka, VI. 534 ; Apadāna, II. 346 ; of Mahāvamsa, 29, 11 and Visuddhimagga, 183.

7. Jātaka, IV. 445.

8. Ibid., VI. 529.

9. Ibid., VI. 550 and 553.

10. Ibid., VI. 534.

a small red cocoanut, a sheet of copper was laid over the stones in order to build the great Thūpa.¹

Kappura.²—Camphor tree.

Kara³ (*Punica Granatum*, Linn.).—There is only one plant of the name 'Karaka' used as a synonym of Dālim (pomegranate). The leaves of the Kara (*Canthium parvifolia*, Roxb.), besprinkled with water, were eaten without salt or spice by ascetics living in the woodland.⁴ The fruits of this tree were also eaten by them.⁵ The word Kara refers to Dālim, Palāśa, Bakula, Red Kāñcana and Karavi. The Jātaka refers to Rattakuravaka-rukha (Red Karavi tree).⁶

Karaduṣa.—See Introduction.

Karanda or Koranda⁷ (*Carissa Carandas*, Linn.).—Large shrub; flowering time—February, March, April; fruit eaten pickled and made into tarts. In Orissa *Carissa Spinaria*, Linn., is called Kurunda (Karañcā). It is the same as Karaṇḍa which is known in Bengal as Tepārī used to prepare jelly. In the Apadāna (p. 448) there is a mention of Kurañjiyaphala.

Karañja.—The tree *Pongamia glabra*, Vent, is used medicinally.⁸ It is of six kinds : (1) Dahada Karañja, (2) Nāṭa Karañja, (3) Kāmtā Karañja, (4) Mākaḍa Karañja, (5) Biṣa Karañja, and (6) Amla Karañja. Of these six kinds Dahada and Nāṭa Karañja are used medicinally. Dahada Karañja is used as a medicine for leprosy, skin disease, etc.

Karaṇṭaka.—See Introduction.

Karavīra (*Nerium odorum*, Solard).—See Introduction.

Karaviya—It is a flower, red and white,⁹

Kareri—Tree otherwise known as Varuṇa (*Crataeva*

1. Mahāvamsa, Chap. XXIX, v. 11.

2. Jātaka, VI. 537.

3. Ibid. (Cowell), VI. 13.

4. Ibid., IV. 149.

5. Ibid., IV. 150.

6. Jātaka, I. 39.

7. Ibid., VI. 536.

8. Jātaka, VI. 518-519.

9. Ibid. (Cowell), VI. 537.

religiosa, Forst.) stood with its shady bower at the door of the Karerikūṭi.¹

Karṇikā (Kaṇikā, *Premna integrifolia*, Linn.).—*Agnimantha* (*Premna Spinosa*, Roxb.) medicinal plant.² It is bitter and sweet at the same time and it is helpful in curing cough, cold, constipation, etc.

Karṇikāra (*Cassia Fistula*, Linn.).—Small tree, flowers large, bright yellow, fragrant.³ It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (3. 24. 18) along with Nīpa, Kadamba, Arjuna, Madhūka, etc.

Kaṭeruha.—A flowering plant.⁴

Kaviṭṭha.—The elephant-apple tree. (*Feronia elephantum*).⁵—In the Himalayas is found a grove of elephant-apple trees.⁶

Kāsumārī⁷—It is sweet. It is named *Diospyros embryopteris* and *Buchanania latifolia*.

Ketaka (*Pandanus Tectorius* Soland ex Parkinson or *Pandanus odoratissimus*).—Flowers chiefly during the rainy season ; male and female plants, male flowers are sweet-scented.⁸

Kevuka (*Costus speciosus*, Sm.).⁹ —A herb with stout leafy stem, one of the most elegant looking plants of the family ; flowers during wet season.

Khadira (*Acacia Catechu*, Linn. or *Mimosa Catechu*)¹⁰ —According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* he who desires heaven ought to make his sacrificial post of Khadira wood. In the *Aśvamedha yajña* of Daśaratha the khadira wood was used in making a sacrificial post.¹¹

1. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II. 407.

2. *Apadāna*, I. 16. Another form is Kaṇṇikā.

3. *Jātaka*, VI. 537.

4. *Ibid.*, VI. 537.

5. *Ibid.*, V. 38.

6. *Kaviṭṭhavanam*, *Jātaka*, No. 514 (*Jātaka*, V. 38.).

7. *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 270 ; *Apadāna*, p. 346.

8. *Jātaka*, IV. 482 ; *Buddhavamsa*, II. 51.

9. *Apadāna*, I. 16.

10. *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 275.

11. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ādikāṇḍa*, 14th Sarga.

Kimphalarukkha.—This tree stood in a forest near a village. Its trunk, branches, leaves, fruits, and flowers resemble those of a mango tree. Not only in outward semblance but also in taste and smell it resembles the mango tree. Its fruits are poisonous. Many caravan merchants halted under this tree and died after taking its fruits.¹

Kimśuka (*Butea frondosa*, Roxb.).—The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to this tree having red flowers.²

Kola (*Ziziphus Jujuba*, Lam).³—Flowering time—rainy season. There are at least three varieties of Kola. Cowell translates it as What-fruit tree but it is not at all a happy rendering. Fruits of *Ziziphus Jujuba* Lam. are particularly known as Kola. It is a worthless tree⁴ The ripe jujube fruits are pretty and of red colour. They are egg-shaped.⁵ The jujube fruit is often contrasted with the cocoanut as being only externally pleasing.⁶ The fruit of the jujube tree is called Badara not unlike a crab-apple in appearance and taste, very astringent, used for medicine.⁷ The Kola tree is also called Badari.⁸

Kosamba.—This tree stood before the Kosambakūṭi which was one of the main buildings of Śrāvastī.⁹

Kosumbha.¹⁰—This plant is grouped with Salala and Nīpa.

Kovilāra (Sk. Kovidāra) (*Bauhinia variegata*, Linn.).—Flowering time—February to March; flowers large; a sort of ebony.¹¹ It is sour in taste. It heals up wound and

1. Jātaka (Cowell), I. 271.

2. Canto LVI; Griffith's Tr. p. 191.

3. SNA., 356; DA., I. 262; Apadāna, I. 17.

4. Jātaka (Cowell), II. 180; Jātaka, VI. 578.

5. Jātaka (Cowell), III. 14.

6. Ibid., II. 181, f n. 2; cf. Hitopadeśa, I. 95.

7. Aṅg., I. 130; Pug., 32; Vin., IV. 76; Jātaka, III. 21; VvA., 186.

8. Jātaka, II. 260.

9. Sumaṅgalavilāsini, II. 407.

10. Apadāna, I. 17; II. 449.

11. Ibid., I. 16.

cures leprosy and burning sensation in the body (Vaidyakani-ghaṇṭu).

Kṛṣṇā.—See Introduction.

Kṣīrikā.—See Introduction. It may be either *Calotropis Gigantea* or *Ficus Bengalensis*.

Kumbhaṇḍa (Gourd)—*Cucurbita Pepo*, Roxb. ; *Cucurbita maxima*, Duchesne.—Three kinds of gourd, all distinct, grow in the lake Mucalinda.¹

Kuravaka.—Cowell calls it rose.²

Kuruvaka (*Baleria cristata*, Linn.).—Aśvaghoṣa in his *Buddhacarita* refers to it in full blossom, shining like lac just squeezed out (IV. 47).

Kuruvinda.—A kind of grass.³

Kusa (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*, Beauv.).⁴—Grass.

Kuṣṭha (Kuṭṭha) *Costus speciosus* Sm., *Costus Arrabidoë* Steud, *Suassarea auriculata*, S. Lappa (B. C. Law Volume, I. 654).⁵—A kind of fragrant plant or spice.⁶ It cures rheumatism, cough and wind. It is bitter in taste. In the *Apadāna* (II. 346) there is a mention of Tāla-Kuṭṭha which may be the same as Kuṭṭha.

Kūṭaja (*Holarrhena antidysenterica*, Wall.).—A deciduous shrub, flowers white in clusters, fragrant. It is a medicinal plant.⁷ Kūṭaja and Sallakī are known as Indasāla trees.⁸ It is called Kuḍaci in Bengali. Its seed is a great medicine for killing worms. Its bark is used for curing blood dysentery.

1. Jātaka, I. 411 ; Ibid. (Cowell), VI. 278 ; V. 21.

2. Jātaka, IV. 440.

3. Ibid., IV. 92.

4. Jātaka (Cowell), IV. 89 ; grass (Cowell), III. 86 ; Dham. Commy., III. 484 Jātaka, I. 190.

5. Jātaka (Cowell), VI. 275 f.n. 4 ; Jātaka, VI. 530.

6. Ibid., VI. 537.

7. Ibid. (Cowell), IV. 59 ; Jātaka, VI. 530 ; Vinaya, I. 201 ; cf. Vinaya Texts, II. 45 ; Apadāna II. 346.

8. Jātaka, IV. 92.

Kuṭumbaka¹ (*Leucas linifolia*, Spreng) is the name of a flower.

Kuyyaka.²—Flower which cannot be identified.

Labuja (*Artocarpus Lakucha*, Roxb.).—Fruit tree. Its fruits are sweet.³ It is bread-fruit tree.⁴

Lakuca.—See Introduction. (*Artocarpus Lakucha* Roxb.)

Lasuna.⁵—Garlic (*Allium sativum*, Linn.). The Jātaka refers to green garlic which grows round the lake Mucalinda.⁶

Loddo (Sk. Lodhra) (*Rāmāyaṇa*, 94 sarga. *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*). (*Symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.).—The woods of Lodhra are referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Canto XLIII, Griffith's Tr., p. 454) The monkeys were sent to search for Sītā even in Lodhra woods. Lodhra is sour in taste ; it is good for eye-sight ; it cures cough and helps to improve biliary system. It is good for fever also. (*Bhāvaprakāśa*.)

Madhūka.⁷ (*Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.).—A middle-sized tree, flowers in March and April ; flowers sweet, fragrant, eaten raw. Its juice is sweet (*madhurasā*). It is mentioned in the *Apadāna* (II. 346) and *Visuddhimagga* (p. 260). Honey is extracted from the flowers of this tree for liquor.⁸

Majjhāru (Sk. *Mārjāra*).—A kind of plant unidentified. According to some it is *Plumbago rosea*.⁹

Mallikā (Jasmin) (*Jasminum Samboc*, Ait.).—Flowers during rainy season, flowers white and fragrant. Jasmine grows round the lake Mucalinda.¹⁰

1. Ibid., I. 60.

2. Ibid., I. 60.

3. Jātaka (Cowell), II. 111 ; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

4. *Dīgha*, I. 53 ; Jātaka, IV. 363 ; V. 6, 417 ; *PvA.*, 153.

5. *Vin.*, II. 140 ; IV. 258 ; Jātaka, I. 474 ; *Vv.*, 43 ; *VvA.*, 186.

6. Jātaka (Cowell), VI. 278.

7. *Vinaya*, I. 246 ; Jātaka, V. 324, 405 ; VI. 529, 530 ; *Miln.*, 165 ; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

8. *Vinaya*, I. 246.

9. Ibid., I. 196.

10. Jātaka (Cowell), VI. 278 ; Jātaka, I. 62 ; III. 291 ; V. 420 ; *Miln.*, 333, 338 ; *KhA.*, 44.

Mandālaka.—A plant mentioned in the *Apadāna* (II, p. 347).

Mañjetṭhi (*Mañjiṣṭhī*, *Rubia Cordifolia*, Linn.).—Bengal madder.¹ It is mentioned in the *Aitareya* (III. 2. 4) and *Sāṅkhāyana* (VIII. 7) *Āraṇyakas*.

Maricagaccho (Pepper shrub; *Piper nigrum*, Korneu).—It grows in the Himalayas² There are three kinds: black pepper,³ powdered pepper and fine pepper⁴ (*sukhumam maricacunnam*).

Mādhavi.—See Introduction (*Hiptage Madhabilata*, Gaertn.).

Mālāvaccha.—See Introduction.

Māluvā—A long creeper mentioned in the *Papañca-sūdanī*.⁵

Māsamugga⁶ (Kidney beans).—In the Himalayas grows a thicket of various kinds of kidney beans (*māsamugga-vanam*).⁷

Mātulūṅga (*Citrus medica*, Linn.).—Citron. The rough-skinned citron is bitter to eat. The pulp is sweet.⁸

Moragu (Sk. *Mayūra*) *Achyranthes aspera*, Linn.—A tender grass (*Vin.*, I. 196).

Mucalinda tree (*Barringtonia acutangula*).⁹

Mudurukkha.—A soft tree which grows in an island in the mid-Ganges.¹⁰

Muñja (*Saccharum arundinaceum*, Retz.).—It is a kind of grass. It is used for making girdle.¹¹

Muñjātaka.—See Introduction.

1. DhA., I. 85.

2. Jātaka, V. 12.

3. Vinaya, I. 201.

4. Jātaka, I. 455; cf. Vinaya, I. 201; Milinda-P., 63.

5. II. 371-2; cf. Majjhima, I. 306; Sam., I. 207; Aṅg., I. 202; Sn., 272; Jātaka, III. 389; V. 205, 215, 389.

6. Miln., 267, 341; SnA., 283.

7. Jātaka (Cowell), V. 21.

8. Jātaka, III. 319; Apadāna, I. 16.

9. Vinaya, I. 8; Jātaka, V. 405; VI. 269.

10. Sāratthappakāsinī, III. 37.

11. Jātaka (Cowell), II. 90 f n. 3; V. 104; Sn., 440 (*Esa muñjam parihare*).

Nalina.—See Introduction.

Navamallikā.—See Introduction.

Nāga (Nāgakeśara, nāgarukkha) (*Mesua ferrea*, Linn.).—Elegant tree ; flowering time—beginning of hot season ; flowers large, delightfully fragrant. It is also known as Nāgeśvara Campā. It is noted for its hard wood and great masses of red flowers.¹ It is also known as Nāgalatā-rukkha.² The Saundarananda-kāvya of Aśvaghoṣa refers to nāga trees (nāgavṛkkhā) studded with flowers with yellow interiors (Canto VII, v. 9). The bark of this tree is sour in taste. It cures cough, leprosy, and wind trouble (Rājanighaṇṭu, 60th chap. ; Bhāvaprakāśa).

Nāgamālikā.³—It may be the same as nāgavallikā which is nothing but betel creeper.

Nāgeśvara.—See Introduction.

Nigguṇḍi (Jāt. VI. 535). (*Vitex Nigundo*, Linn.).—This plant was found in the hermitage of Vessantara, grouped with Sirinigguṇḍi having black flowers.

Nigrodha.—Banyan tree.⁴ Same as Nyagrodha.

Nīla (*Indigofera tinctoria* Linn.).—Indigo ; it grows round the lake Mucalinda.⁵

Nīla (Kuraṇḍaka).—A kind of flower mentioned in the Papañcasūdanī.⁶

Nimba (*Melia Azadirachta*, Linn.)⁷—A beautiful and very useful tree, its flowers are sweet scented. Its leaves are bitter.⁸ In ancient times in Benares robbers who were caught were put to torture by being impaled on a stake of the Nimba tree.⁹ It is called Pucimanda in the

1. Jātaka, I. 35 ; Apadāna, I. 15 ; Buddhavaṃsa, Chap. II. V. 51.

2. Jātaka, I. 80.

3. Jātaka (Cowell), VI. 133.

4. Barhut, fig. 31.

5. Jātaka, VI. 537.

6. I. 167 ; cf. Visuddhimagga, 188.

7. Noted for its hard wood. Vinaya, I. 152 ; Aṅg., I. 32 ; Jātaka, II. 105-106.

8. Jātaka (Cowell), II. 73.

9. Ibid. (Cowell), III. 23.

Papañcasūdani.¹ Its fruits, leaves, barks and seeds are used for medicinal purposes. This tree helps to cure leprosy, skin-disease, worms, etc. According to the Śuśruta-saṃhitā, a child will be benefited if he or she is fanned by the branches of Nimba, Pilu or Badari tree. (Chap. X—Tr. Kunjalal Bhishagratna, II. 225).

Nīpa (Kadamba).²—A large tree ; flowering time—hot season. Anthocephalus Cadamba mig. or Nuclea Cadamba, a species of Aśoka tree.

Nipaka.—See Introduction.

Nīvāra.—See Introduction.

Nyagrodha—This tree (Ficus Bengalensis, Linn.) grows on the seventh dvīpa called Puṣkara, which is Brahmā's abode (Viṣṇupurāṇa, II, Chap. IV, Wilson's Tr., pp. 201-202). For further details vide Introduction.

Padma (Paduma) (Nelumbium speciosum, Willd.).—The Lotus. There are five kinds of lotus³ (Pañcavaṇṇa-padumasanchanno). The lotus flowers in tanks, pools and lakes.⁴ The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang saw four varieties of lotus flowers in one tank : padma (red lotus), utpala (blue), puṇḍarika (yellow) and kumuda (white) (Watters On Yuan Chwang, II. 177). Lotus fibres were used as food by ascetics in the forest.⁵ The roots of the lotus are white.⁶ White and red lotuses are usually found. Lotus helps to do good to those vomiting blood. It cures pain due to piles, burning sensation in hands and feet, and headache. It improves the function of the kidney.

1. II, 372 ; Jātaka, III. 34 ; IV. 205, VI. 269.

2 Jātaka, I. 13 (verse 61) ; Apadāna, I. 15 ; Buddhavaṃsa, II. 51.

3. Jātaka (Cowell), I. 79, 96 ; IV. 226 ; V. 37 ; Jātaka, I. 222 ; V. 337 ; VI. 341 ; Sam., I. 188, 204.

4. Jātaka (Cowell), III. 161, 192 ; IV. 59 ; Aṅg., I. 145 ; II. 86 ; III. 26, 329. Sutta Nipāta, 71, 213 (padumaṃ va toyena alippamānaṃ).

5. Jātaka (Cowell), IV. 193

6. Ibid. (Cowell), III. 198.

Palāśa¹ (Kimśuka) (*Butea frondosa*, Roxb.)—A tree mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas (Aitareya, II. 1 ; Śatapatha, I. 3, 3, 19 ; II. 6, 2, 8). Parna is the early name. Its flowering time is March, April ; flowers beautiful, deep red shaded with orange and silver coloured down. It bears a profusion of brilliant red flowers which appear before the leaves. It is called the Judas tree. It grows on high grounds. By sprinkling gravel and sweeping all round it, its root is kept smooth and free from grass.² It looks like a burnt stump when its buds sprout from the stem. It looks like a piece of meat at the time of blossoming. It looks like the acacia tree when it bears fruit.³ It has pink flowers.⁴ He who desires beauty and knowledge about religion ought to make his yupa or sacrificial post of the Palāśa wood (Haug, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Vol. II, p. 73). A certain fowl, after eating the ripe fruit of a banyan, perched on the Judas tree and dropped its excrement into the fork of it. Thence there sprang up a young banyan which grew to the height of four inches, and was bright with red shoot and greenery. Every tree on which a banyan shoot springs up, is destroyed by its growth.⁵ Plassey tree (*Butea frondosa* Roxb.) is good for making a cart or any part of it.⁶ The Phandana (*Butea frondosa*, Roxb.),⁷ is a tree of the same kind as the Palāśa.⁸

Palimanthaka.—See Introduction.

Pañgura (Jātaka, VI. 535).—It cannot be indentified.

Panasa (*Artocarpus integrifolia*, Linn.).—A large ever-green fruit tree.⁹ In the Himalayas is found a grove

1. Majjhima, I. 111 ; Jātaka, III. 23.

3. Jātaka (Cowell), II. 185.

5. Ibid. (Cowell), III. 137.

7. Ibid. (Cowell), VI. 275.

8. Ibid., IV. 129 f. n. 2 ; See B. C. Law Volume, I. 653.

9. Barhut, Pl xxiv ; Jātaka, I. 450 ; II. 160 ; V. 465 ; Vv., 44 ; KhA., 50 ; SnA., 475.

2. Jātaka (Cowell), III. 16.

4. Ibid., II. 185 f. n. 1.

6. Ibid., IV. 127, 180.

of jack-fruit of the size of a water-jar (cāṭippamāṇaphalam panasavanam).¹

Pāṭala.—See Introduction. (*Stereospermum Anaveolens*, DC.)

Pārāvata.—See Introduction.

Pārīchattaka² (*Erythrina Indica*, Lam.).—It is the coral tree.³ It grows in Mithilā.⁴ Its flowers are pure and sweet.⁵

Pārijāta.—See Introduction.

Pāṭali⁶ (Pārul) (*Stereospermum suaveolens*, DC.).—A middle-sized tree ; flowering time—hot season ; exquisitely fragrant. It is called the trumpet-flower tree.⁷ Citta-Pāṭali⁸ signifies that the Pāṭali tree is variegated and beautiful.⁹ The Jātaka mentions Dhanupāṭali (V. 422). The Pāṭali tree had some connection with the origin of the name of Pāṭaliputra, which was also named as Pāṭaligrāma. The village was so called because a Pāṭali tree was its cognizance or because it contained numerous Pāṭali trees or because on the day of its foundation many Pāṭali shoots sprouted forth from the ground. It is interesting to note that thousands of villages in Bihar are named after trees, e. g. Ambasaṇḍa.¹⁰

Pilakkha (Pilakkhu) is, according to some, wave-leaved fig tree.¹¹ It was found at Benares.¹² Pilakkha is Vedic Plakṣa (*Ficus infectoria*, Roxb.). It is a large

1. Jātaka, V. 38.

2. Vinaya, I. 30 ; Aṅg., IV. 117 ; Vv., 38 ; Jātaka, I, 40 ; KhA., 122 ; SnA., 485 ; DhA., I. 373 ; III. 211 ; VvA., 12, 110 ; PvA., 137 ; Buddhavamsa, Ch. I, v. 17.

3. Visuddhimagga, 206.

4. Jātaka (Cowell), IV. 168, 226 and 290.

5. Ibid. (Cowell), V. 210.

6. Dīgha, II. 4 ; Jātaka, I. 41 ; Barhut, fig. 26 ; Apadāna, I. 15.

7. Sumaṅgalavilāsini, II. 415 ; cf. Milinda, p. 333 ; Jātaka (Cowell), IV. 289.

8. Visud., p. 206.

9. Manorathapūraṇī, II. 34-35

10. Barua, Asoka and His Inscriptions, p. 119 ; for a different story, Vide B. C. Law, The Magadhas in Ancient India, RAS Mono. XXIV, p. 37.

11. Vin., IV. 35 ; cf. Dham. Commy., I. 81.

12. Aṅg., I. 280.

and beautiful tree with small white fruit. It is also called Prakṣa.¹ It is known as Pākur in Bengal. A hidden treasure was found beneath this tree (nidhinikhāto).² The Atharvaveda, Taittirīya Saṃhitā and the Brāhmaṇas refer to this tree.³

Pilu.—See Introduction. *Salvadora persica* Linn., *S. Indica*, Wight.

Pipal.—*Ficus religiosa*, Bertrand. The ripe fruits of this tree are eaten by birds.⁴

Pippala (Pippala, Sk. Pippali)⁵ stood by the side of the Pippali or Pippali cave in Rājagriha, which was visited by the Buddha.⁶ Rājagriha was full of beautiful groves of Pippali trees. Pippala, in the sense of berry, is found in the Rigveda (l. 164, 20). In the Atharvaveda (61) Pippalī in the feminine form denotes berries used as a remedy for wounds.⁷ According to the Śuśruta-saṃhitā clarified butter prepared with the decoction of yaṣṭimadhu, vaca, triphalā, pippali and citraka should be given to an infant fed both on milk and boiled rice.⁸

Pītaśāla.—See Introduction. (*Pentaptera tomentosa*, Roxb.)

Piyaka.⁹—It goes under various names, *Nauclea cadamba*, *Terminalia tomentosa*, and *Vitex trifolia*.¹⁰

1. Vedio Ind., II, 54.

2. Jātaka, III. 24.

3. V. 5. 5 ; VII. 4. 12. I ; cf. Maṭṭhāyana Saṃhitā, III. 10. 2 ; Aitareya Brāh. VII, 32 ; VIII, 16 ; Taittirīya Brāh., III, 8. 19. 2 ; Śatapatha Brāh., III. 8. 3. 10. 12 etc.

4. Jātaka (Cowell), III. 188.

5. Vinaya, I. 201 ; Apadāna, II. 346 ; Buddhavaṃsa, Ch. II, v. 214.

6. Saṃ., V. 79 ; cf. Udānavāṇṇanā, Siamese ed., p. 77.

7. Vedio Index, I. 531.

8. Chap. X (K. L. Bhishagraṭna's ed.), p. 231.

9. Jātaka (Cowell), VI 269.

10. Jātaka, V. 420.

Piyāla¹ (*Buchanania Latifolia*, Roxb.).—A large tree ; flowers in January and February ; flowers small, of a whitish green colour ; fruits eaten.² The bark of this tree is good for cough. Its fruit is sweet and gives strength like its seed. It cures fever and burning sensation in the body (*Bhāvaprakāśa*). In the *Mahābhārata* (3. 40. 2-5), the name of this tree occurs along with dhava, tinduka, lodhra, khadira, padma, āmalaka, nyagrodha, etc.

Piyaṅgu, *Setaria italica*, Beaule (*Agrost*).—Panic seed.³ It grows round the lake Mucalinda.⁴ The Piyaṅgu flower is recognized by its smell.⁵ The black Piyaṅgu creeper is mentioned in the *Jātaka Nidānakathā*.⁶ It is very delicate.⁷

Puṇarṇavā.—See Introduction. Boerpadira repens, Linn.

Puṇḍarikā (*Nelumbo nucifera*, Gaertn.).—White lotus (*Nymphaca Lotus* or *N. Alba*).⁸ The water of the half of the Mandākinī pond which was waist deep, was full of white lotuses.⁹

Punnāga (*Calophyllum inophyllum*, Linn.).¹⁰ A most elegant tree, flowers pure white, fragrant, flowering most part of the year,¹¹ especially the beginning of the hot season. It is sour in taste and it helps to do good to the biliary system.¹²

It may be identified with Nāgakeśara tree (modern Nāgeśwara).¹³ Giri-punnāga is probably *Mallotus philippen-*

1. *Jātaka*, V. 405

3. B. C. Law Volume, I. 657.

5. Ibid. (Cowell), VI. 162.

7. *Saundarananda Kāvya* VII. 6.

8. *Dīgha*, I. 75 ; *Āṅg.*, III. 26 ; *Dīgha*, II. 4 ; *Majjhima*, III. 93 ; *Sam*, I. 138, 204 ; *Jātaka*, III. 309 ; *Āṅg.*, I. 145 ; *DA.*, I. 219, 284 ; *Apadāna* II, 346.

9. *Sāratthappakāsinī*, I. 280ff.

11. *Jātaka* I. 9 ; *Khuddakapāṭha-A.*, 50, 53 ; *Buddhavaṃsa*, II. 51.

12. *Rājanighaṇṭu*, varga 70.

2. *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 270.

4. *Jātaka*, VI. 537.

6. *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 169.

10. *Apadāna*, II. 345.

13. *Jātaka*, VI. 530.

sis Muel-Arg. It is also called Mahāpunnāga which grows on hills.¹

Puttajīva (Putranjīva Roxburghii, Wall.).²

Phañijjaka.—It is the samīraṇa plant (Childers). It is a kind of plant enumerated in the Vinayapīṭaka (IV. 35 = Sumaṅgalavilāsini, 1. 81) as one of the plants propagated by slips or cuttings (aggabīja) together with ajjuka and hirivera.

Raupīṭaka.—See Introduction.

Rājāyatana (Buchanania Latifolia).—Lakuca fruit tree belonging to the citron order, the unripe fruits of which are used as medicines. This tree is historically important as the Buddha spent seven days and nights in meditation at the foot of this tree. The two merchants Tapussa and Bhallika became his first lay devotees under this tree (Dāṭhāvamsa, Chap. I. vs. 57-59.).

Rucarukkha (Maṅgala rukkha, also called Mukkhako). —There grew in Benares a beautiful Wishing Tree with straight stem and spreading branches.³

Saha (Sahaka).—Plant.⁴

Salala (Pinus Devadara).—A sweet-scented flower (Buddhavamsa, Chap. II. v. 51 ; Jātaka, V. 420 ; I. 13 ; VvA. 162 ; Milinda, 338 ; Majjhima II. 184 ; Sāratthappakāsini, III. 263).

It is probably a pine tree (Cedrus deodora, Apadāna II. 346).

Śallaki (Boswellia Serrata, Roxb.)—A tree mentioned in the Dhammapada Commentary along with Kūṭaja and Viruḷha (IV. 13).

Samdhava.—See Introduction.

1. Jātaka, VI. 531.

2. Jātaka (Cowell), VI. 275, l.n. 4.

3. Jātaka, I. 441.

4. Jātaka (Cowell), VI. 269 ; Apadāna, I. 17.

Sattappaṇṇa (*Alstonia scholaris*, R. Br.).—It was the tree¹ which stood by the side of the Sattappaṇṇa cave, which derived its name from Saptaparnā or Saptaparnī tree.²

Sāka (*Tectona grandis*, Linn.).³

Śāla⁴ (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn.).⁵—It is straight and well grown, fine in girth and height, thick and strong. Its trunk is mighty. It is worshipped by village and townfolk as a lucky tree.⁶ Flowering time is the hot season. Flowers droop from their stems in the evening.⁷ The branches of a big śāla tree standing in the Gosīṅgasālavana grew up like horns of a cow.⁸ There is a description of Śāla trees surrounding a village which appeared like a fence.⁹ The Śāla grove of the Mallas was called Upavattana.¹⁰ According to Śuśruta, gummy exudation of śāla trees mixed with clarified butter should be used in fumigation (Śuśruta-saṃhitā, K. L. Bhishagratna Ed., Chap. L).

Sāleyyaka (*Parmelia pevlata*, Ach.).—It is mentioned in the Apadāna, II. 346. The flowers are plenty and beautiful.

Śālī¹¹ (*Oryza sativa*, Linn.).—Self-sown paddy¹² (sayañjāto va sālī); red paddy (lohitaḥ or rattasālī).³

Śālmali, same as Simbalī.—See Introduction.

1. Jātaka VI. 269 ; Mhvs., 30, 47.

2. Cf. Mahāvamsa, III. v. 19 ; Mahāvastu, I. 70.

3. Dīgha, I. 42 ; DA., I, 259 ; Visuddhimagga, 250.

4. Majjhima, I. 488 ; Dīgha, II. 134 ; Aṅg., I. 202 ; III. 214 ; VvA., 176.

5. Barhut, fig. 28 ; Apadāna, II. 346

6. Jātaka (Cowell), IV. 97,

7. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 188.

8. Papañcasū, II. 235.

9. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, II. 395.

10. Sāratthappakāsinī, I. 222.

11. Dīgha, I. 105 ; II. 293 ; Vinaya, IV. 264 ; Majjhima, I. 57 ; Aṅg., I. 32, 145 ; III. 49 ; IV. 108.

12. Jātaka, V. 12,

13. Ibid., V. 97 ; Miln., 253.

Śamī.—A tree with huge branches and thick foliage (Mahābhārata, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., 4. 5. 13 ; 4. 40. 3 ; 4. 41. 8).

It is the silk cotton tree (Bombax Heptaphyllum) (Viṣṇupurāṇa, VI. I. Wilson's Tr.).

Sāmā.—A medicinal plant.¹

Sāmāka (Vedic śyāmāka) (Panicum frumentaceum, Roxb.).—A kind of millet.²

Sāsapa (mustard).—Grows round the lake Mucalinda.³ It is found in the hermitage of Vessantara.

Śātamūli (Asparagus racemosa, Willd.).—See Introduction.

Sepaṇṇi (Sk. Śrīparṇī, lit. having lucky leaves).—Name of a tree, Sereyyaka (Barleria cristata).⁴ It is also called Gmelina arborea.⁵ Its fruits are eaten by deer.⁶

Setageru.⁷—It is grouped with Tagara.

Setavarī is a sweet scented flower mentioned in the Apadāna, (II. 347), which is found in the hermitage of the sage Upasiva on the Anoma hill, not far from the Himalayas.

Sevāla (Sk. Śaivāla or Śaivala) (Blyxa Octandra, Rich.).⁸—A water plant named Paṇṇaka is often combined with Sevāla. It is a kind of fern.

Siggu⁹ (Hyperanthera moringa, Vahl), Moringa pterygosperum, Gaertn.

Śimbali (Bombax ceiba Linn.).—It is called the silk-

1. Jātaka, IV. 92.

2. Dīgha, I. 166 ; Majjhima, I. 78 ; Aṅg., I. 295 ; II. 206 ; Jātaka, III. 144 ; Sutta Nipāta, 299.

3. Jātaka, VI. 536.

4. Jātaka, III. 253.

5. Ibid., I. 173, 174 ; DhA. (Sepaṇṇi), I. 145.

6. Ibid. (Cowell), I. 57.

7. Jātaka, VI. 535.

8. Aṅg., III. 187, 292, 295 ; Jātaka, II. 150 ; III. 520 ; IV. 71 ; Ibid., V. 462 ; Milinda, 85.

9. Jātaka III. 161.

cotton tree.¹ It grows upon the flat top of a hill,² on a high table-land in the heart of a forest,³ and on the banks of rivers.⁴ It bears abundant fruits. There was a forest having śimbali trees which were the abodes of young vultures.⁵ It is mentioned in the R̥gveda (III. 53. 22) denoting silk-cotton tree (śimbala). Simula is a R̥gvedic plant;⁶ flowering time—the end of winter, flowers very large, bright red. It is known as Śālmali (Salmalia Malabarica) in Sanskrit. Its roots, flowers, and thorns are used in preparing medicines. Its seed is a great medicine for cows when attacked with smallpox.

Simśaka—Water plant (Jātaka, VI. 536).

Simśapā (Dalbergia sissoo, Roxb.).—See Introduction.

Sinduvāra (Vitex Negundo, Linn.).⁷—The Rāmāyana (canto XXVII, Griffith's tr., p. 431) refers to it. Its flowers are beautiful. Aśvaghoṣa mentions sindhuvāra bushes growing on the bank of a pond which is full of them (Buddhacarita, IV. 49). Sindhuvanta (Vitex Negundo, Linn.), Nisinda, a small elegant shrub, flowers all the year round, a medicinal plant.

Śirīsa⁸ (Albizzia Lebbek).—It is a thorny cool-leaved tree. It is hard and full of pith. When wood-peckers peck at the tree trunks, insects come out.⁹

Śiśu.—See Introduction.

Ślesmātaka or Ślasmātaka (Cordia latifolia Wall. or Cordia Myxa Linn.). It is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādikāṇḍa, 14th Sarga; cf. Mahābhārata, 3. 134. 28). It is

1. Ibid., I. 203; III. 397; DhA., I. 279.

2. Visuddhimagga, p. 206.

3. Jātaka (Cowell), IV. 175.

4. Ibid., IV. 268.

5. Dham. Commy., I. 279.

6. R̥gveda, VII. 50, 3.

7. VvA., 177; Sinduvārita, Jātaka, VI. 269, 550, 553; IV. 440, 442; Apadāna, II. 846.

8. Vv., 84; VvA., 331, 344.

9. Jātaka (Cowell), II. 114; cf. Vis., p. 208.

a tree or shrub found in all provinces, whole of warmer parts of India ; a pretty large but low tree in most parts of Circars but chiefly in gardens and hedges and near villages in Gujarat, North Kanara, Deccan, Western Ghats, etc. There are two varieties : *Cordia obliqua* and *Cordia wallichii*. When ripe the fruits are eaten by the local people.

Sobhañjanaka (*Moringa pterygosperma*, Gaertn.).¹

Soma.—A kind of tree.²

Sumana.—Jasmin flower.³ It is the same as vazzika (a kind of Jasmin).

Syandana— (*Ougenia dalbergoides*, Benth.).—See Introduction.

Tagara (*Ervatamia coronaria* Stapt.).—Flowers pure white, delightfully fragrant during night.⁴ It is also mentioned as a shrub (*Tabernaemontana coronaria* Br.).⁵

Takkaḷa.⁶—Is a bulbous plant, a tuberose.

Takkola or Kakkola.—Plant.⁷

Tāla⁸ (*Borassus flabellifer*, Linn.).—The palm tree is very big⁹ (80 cubits high). Its fruits are eaten by men.¹⁰ Crows build their nests on palm trees.¹¹ The tāla trees are grouped along with cocoanut and kusaku trees.¹² It is called fan palm.

Tālissaka (*Flacourtia cataphracta* Bestand).—Shrub.¹³

Tila (*Sesamum indicum*, D. C.)¹⁴ or *S. orientale*, Linn.

1. Jātaka, VI. 535 ; V. 405 ; III. 161.

2. Ibid., VI. 530.

3. Ibid., I. 62 ; IV. 455 ; DhA., IV. 112.

4. Vin., I. 203 ; Jātaka, IV. 286 ; VI. 100 ; the shrub VI. 173 ; Miln., 338.

5. Jātaka, VI. 100.

6. Ibid., VI. 578.

7. Ibid., I. 291.

8. Majj., I. 187 ; Jātaka, I. 202, 273 ; Apadāna, II. 346.

9. Jātaka (Cowell), V. 2.

10. Ibid., IV. 158.

11. Jātaka, I. 202, 273.

12. VvA., 162.

13. Vin., I. 203 ; Jātaka, IV. 286 ; Miln., 338.

14. Vin., I. 212 ; Aṅg., IV. 108.

Tilaka¹ (Tilvaka) (Symlocos racemosa, Roxb.)—It is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 8. 1. 16) and Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā (III. 1. 9). It is used for a sacrificial post as mentioned in the Śadvimśa Brāhmaṇa (III. 8). It is the same as Tiriṭa.² Its flower is like that of the Bandhujīvaka tree (VvA., 43). In the Saundara-nanda-Kāvya it is described as having flowers on the head (canto VII, v. 7). Aśvaghoṣa refers to it as being embraced by a mango branch.³

Timbā.—It is of golden colour.⁴

Timbaru (Strychnos potatorum, or Diospyros).⁵—It is the same as Timbarūsaka.⁶

Timira.—Its flower is sweet scented (Apadāna, II. 345).

Tiṇasulika.⁷—If it is a scented grass, then it is either Andropogon Nardus, Linn., or Andropogon squarrosus, Linn (Khaskhas).

Tinduka⁸ (Diospyros Embryopteris, Pers.).—This tree is found in a village not far from the Himalayas. It is covered with twigs and branches. Its fruits are sweet and are eaten by men and monkeys.⁹ It is Gāva in Bengali. Its fruits, flowers and leaves are used as medicines. Its fruit is very useful in curing cuts and bruises. Its ripe fruit purifies blood.

Tipusa.—Is a species of cucumber.¹⁰

Tulasī (Ocimum sanctum, Linn.).—It grows in wilderness. It is a medicinal plant.¹¹

Udāra.—See Introduction.

1. Jātaka (Cowell), IV. 289 ; Ibid. (Cowell, VI. 193)

2. Vin., I. 306 ; Dīgha, I. 166 ; Aṅg., I. 295 ; Majjhima, I. 343.

3. Buddhacarita, IV. 46.

4. Jātaka, VI. 530.

5. Jātaka, VI. 336.

6. Vin., III. 59 ; VV., 33.

7. Apadāna, I. 16.

8. Dīgha, I. 178 ; Jātaka, V. 99 ; Apadāna, II. 346.

9. Jātaka (Cowell), II. 53 ; IV, 270 ; V. 38.

10. Jātaka, V. 37.

11. Ibid., VI. 536.

Uddālaka¹ —Cālītā (*Dillenia indica*, Linn.).—When in flowers one of the most beautiful trees ; flowers very large, delightfully fragrant. It is also used as synonymous with ślesmātaka. The Uddāla tree² is *Cassia Fistula* (also known as *Indīvara* or *Cordia myxa*). It is also called *Paspalum frumentaceum*, Roxb. It is bitter in taste. It cures boils, leprosy, etc. It is poisonous (*Bhāvaprakāśa*). It is a big tree which obstructs wind (*rājarukkha*, *vātaghātaka*).³

Udumbara (*Ficus glomerata*, Roxb.).—It is the fig tree as in Barhut, fig 30.⁴ Ripe figs are luscious and sweet like powdered sugar.⁵ These fruits which are sweet like honey are eaten by men and parrots.⁶ Udumbara is not found in the *R̥gveda*. It is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (XIX. 31. 1.)⁷ Its wood was used for the sacrificial post and the sacrificial ladle.⁸ The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to the sweetness of its fruit (VII. 15) and to its ripening thrice annually (V. 24). The *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* mentions a forest of fig (udumbara) trees (XVI. 6, 4). The *Suttanipāta* refers to the flowers of the fig tree (p. 1).⁹ In the *Jātaka* (VI. 529) ripe figs (*pakkā udumbarā*) are as sweet as honey and they are eaten by family members¹⁰. In another *Jātaka* (VI. 347-348) we read that a young man named *Piṅguttara* was married to his teacher's daughter named *Udumbaradevi*. Both being unhappy came to *Mithilā*. Near the town *Piṅguttara* they saw a fig (udumbara) tree full of fruits (*phalasampannam udumbaram disvā*). He then climbed up

1. Ibid. (Cowell), VI. 133.

2. Ibid., IV. 188.

3. VvA., 49.

4. *Dīgha*, II. 4 ; IV. 35 ; *Āṅg.*, IV. 283 ; *Suttanipāta*, 5 ; *Dhammapada Commentary*, I. 284 ; *Khuddakapāṭha Commy.*, 46. 56 ; *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 213 *Suttanipāta Commy*, 19.

5. *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 73.

6. *Jātaka*, VI. 174 ; Ibid. (Cowell), III. 292-4.

7. Cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. 2. 1. 33 ; VII. 4. 38.

8. *Taittirīya Saṃ.*, II. 1. 1. 6 ; Ibid., V. 4. 7. 3.

9. Cf. *Suttanipāta Commy.*, p. 19.

10. *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, IV. 283.

and ate some of the figs. The girl also being hungry climbed up and ate. As soon as he saw her on the tree, he came down and put thorns round the tree, so that she might not come down. In the hermitage of Vessantara there was plenty of figs among other fruits.¹ The fig tree is known as Yajñadumura in Bengal.

There was a big fig tree (udumbara) on a sea-beach where a monkey used to live. The monkey had a crocodile as its friend. The wife of the crocodile was desirous of eating the monkey's heart-flesh. This fact was divulged to the monkey by the crocodile while crossing the sea to go to the other side. The monkey was clever enough to find out a means to cheat the crocodile by saying that its heart was left on the fig tree. So it was necessary to go back to the fig tree. To this the crocodile agreed. The monkey went back to the tree and rebuked the crocodile which was thus deceived.²

Ummā (Linum usitatissimum, Linn.).—Its flower is blue in colour.³

Usīra.—The Viṣṇupurāṇa (Book VI, Chap. I) refers to it (Andropogon muricatus, Retz.).—It is a kind of grass.

Vaca (Acorus Calamus Linn.).—See Introduction.

Vadara.—See Introduction.

Vakula (Mimusops Elengi, Linn.).—Flowering time—hot season; flowers white and fragrant.⁴ Its bark does good to gum and its fruit is good for headache. It is generally planted for shade. It is bitter in taste. It kills worms and cures cough. It also improves the biliary system (Rājanighaṇṭu, Varga 6).

Vassika (Vassikā or Vassikī).—Jasmin plant, flowers

1. Jātaka, VI. 529.

2. Mahāvastu, II. 246.

3. Majjhima Nikāya, II. 13.

4. Jātaka, V. 420; Apadāna, I. 16.

very large (*Jasminum Sambac*). The flower is said to be the most fragrant of all flowers.¹

Vāsanti.²—It existed in the hermitage of Vessantara but it is difficult to be identified.

Vātiṅgaṇa (*Solanum Melongens*).—Egg-plant.³

Veṇu (*Bambusa arundinacea*, Retz.).—The Bamboo tree dies after bearing fruit.⁴ In the Himalayas there was a bamboo grove (Veṇuvana).⁵ There was a charming garden, park or grove at Rājagriha called Veluvana or Veṇuvana surrounded by bamboos. (Cf. Suttanipāta Commentary, p. 419). The name may be translated as 'Bamboo grove' or 'Bamboo Park'. The fuller name of the site was Veluvana Kalandakanivāpa.

Vettalatā (*Calamus Rotang*, Linn.).—Cane creeper.⁶

Vibhītaka (*Terminalia Belerica*).—Bahedā ; flowering time—beginning of hot season ; flowers of a dirty grey colour (Apadāna, II, 346). Its fruits are the commercial Beleric myrobalans. Haritaka, Vibhītaka and Āmalaka form the three commercial myrobalans. They are known as Triphalā in Bengal. Vibhītaka and āmalaka are used as medicines. The bark of Bahedā is good for dropsy. It gives relief to those suffering from chronic cough. The sale of fruits and herbs was forbidden to the Brāhmaṇas (Manusamhitā, X.87). This tree is also found in the hermitage of Upasiva built on the Anoma hill, not far from the Himalayas (Apadāna, II. 346).

Vijapūraka (*Citrus medica*, Linn.).—See Introduction.

Virulha.—Olibane (Jātaka, IV. 92).

1. Aṅguttara, V. 22 ; Samyutta, V. 44 ; DhA., IV. 112.

2. Jātaka, VI. 537.

3. Jātaka, V. 131.

4. Another Pali form is Veḷu—Phalaṃ Veḷuṃ va taṃ vadhi (Jātaka, V. 71).

5. Jātaka, V. 38.

6. Jātaka, I. 342 ; VvA, 8, 338.

Yañtimadhu (Madhulatṭhi or Latṭhimadhu¹, Glycyrrhiza glabra, Linn.)²—It is called the liquorice plant. It grows round the Mucalinda Lake. (Yañtimadhuka, cane sweetness, Mahāvamsa, 32, 46). It is very useful for eye disease.

Yava (Hordeum Vulgare, Linn.)—Barley.³ There is a reference to green barley (haritaṃ yavaṃ) in the Jātaka (II, 110). According to the Śuśruta-saṃhitā a patient will be benefited if his body is rubbed with leaves of aśvagandhā, punarṇavā and yava.⁴

1. Jātaka, VI. 537.

2. B. C. Law Volume, I. 665.

3. Vin., IV., 264 ; Aṅg., IV., 169.

4. K. L. Bhishagratna's ed., Chapter XLI, 243.

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ERRATA

Page	75	Read	'beautiful'	in	place	of	'bautiful'.
„	104	„	'door-way'	„	„	„	'dooway'.
„	185	„	'well-known'	„	„	„	'well-know'.
„	193	„	'Indian'	„	„	„	'India'.
„	195	„	'Prajñāpāramitā'	„	„	„	'Parajñāpāramitā'.
„	235	„	'self-control'	„	„	„	'self-cotrol'.
„	281	„	'supreme'	„	„	„	'sapreme'.
„	358	„	'flowers'	„	„	„	'fllowes.'
„	400	„	'colour'	„	„	„	color

