

EARLY HISTORY

OF THE

SPREAD OF BUDDHISM

AND THE

BUDDHIST SCHOOLS

TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE Sir Asutosh Mookerjee THE CHAMPION OF THE CAUSE OF HIGHER EDUCATION THE TRUE FRIEND OF SCHOLARS THE INITIATOR OF THE STUDY OF PALI IN BENGAL THIS HUMBLE WORK IS DEDICATED AS A TOKEN OF THE AUTHOR'S DEEP GRATITUDE AND ESTEEM

Early History

OF THE

SPREAD OF BUDDHISM

AND THE

BUDDHIST SCHOOLS

BY
NALINAKSHA DUTT, M. A., B. L.

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M. A., B. L., P. R. S., PH. D.



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FOREWORD

The first portion of this work analyses the forces that helped the propagation of Buddhism in India, and delineates the missionary activities of Buddha in detail. There are scholarly biographies of the great Teacher touching incidentally on topics connected with his missionary activities, but a biography cannot give the fullest scope for the presentation of such an account. It is only a book devoted exclusively to the subject that can do justice to its treatment, and so Mr. Dutt's work is welcome as a compendium where all information connected with the progress of Buddha's missionary work is available in a well-ordered form. Such a sketch, the details of which have been laboriously collected from the Buddhist scriptures and arranged in such a way as to enable one to see the large masses of details about Buddha's career in their logical and chronological relations as far as possible, has certainly a value in the eye of scholars interested in the history of the spread of Buddhism. The attempt on the part of Buddha and his disciples to preach the doctrines of the religion and propagate it far and wide involved arduous work from village to village, and district to district, each locality presenting problems which had to be solved as best as they could by bringing to bear on them the application of the best qualities of head and heart that the personalities of Buddha and his disciples possessed. These and similar points can be properly tackled only in professed accounts of the spread of Buddhism and not in biographies of Buddha, where they may not find at all a logical setting. The degree of influence of Buddhism at a particular centre, the volume of patronage offered to the religion, the nature of collisions that took place between Buddhism and various other religions and such like can be treated with adequate justic to their importance only in a treatise directly and expressly devoted to the delineation of the subject.

A detailed delineation of the four principal schools of Buddhism including resumes of their doctrines as far as they have been ascertained at present is the object of Book II. study of either the Pāli or the Buddhist Sanskrit literature can give only a partial view of Buddhism, as such literature embodies the beliefs and doctrines of one or two schools of Buddhism which in time attained dominance in India over the other The discovery and publication of a large number of works belonging to the Pali and the Buddhist Sanskrit literature have brought so much into prominence the tenets and philosophy on one or two schools that one may be misled to think that they constitute the whole of Buddhirm. But there were other schools which had their days of prosperity in India at some time or other in the past, and possessed literature, of which traces, are available in the accounts of Chinese travellers, and in the Tibetan or Chinese translations of works of some of them. The Sammitiva school, for instance, rose to be a dominant school in the sixth and seventh centuries A. C. in regard to the number of adherents and range of propagation. There are indications, again, showing that the sub-schools arising out of the Mahāsanghika school acquired at one time much influence in Southern The followers of each of the schools believed that they preserved more faithfully than the rest the words of Buddha and were acting up to their spirit more than others. Each of the schools professed to preserve intact, or make the nearest approximation to the words and thoughts of the Teacher in and through its literature and practices. Each of them is thus. as it were, a facet of a dimond contributing its mite to the totality of the brilliance, and cannot be left out of sight in a view of the entire diamond. Mr. Dutt in his sketches of the four principal schools has taken a stock of the information available at present, enabling a reader to acquaint himself without much labour with what is now known about the schools. The portions of the sketches bearing on the origin, development, and activities of the schools have been drawn by Mr. Dutt for the first time from the existing materials.

The importance of the knowledge of details about the schools of Indian Buddhism is also realized if we look at the

fact that it enables us to understand clearly the forms of the religion that were transplanted from India to other countries. As I have stated elsewhere, when the missionary activities of the Buddhists were carried outside India, the school of Budddism which happened to be the most prominent at a particular time sent its missionaries for propagating it in other countries. people of the country where they went looked upon the form of Buddhism preached by them as the original foem of the religion and adopted it, zealously preserving its literature and doctrines. As an illustration, I mention first the Sinhalese. At the time when the Sthaviravada school reached the acme of its influence, Ceylon was converted, and as the result of this conversion, the literature of this school has been preserved in that country. Similarly, when under the patronage of Kaniska, the Sarvāstivāda school became the most powerful the people of Khotan and Central Asia were converted to Buddhism; for this reason, the fragments of manuscript discovered in course of excavations in those places belong mostly to the Sarvastiva-The case of the Sammitivas is also similar; though nomanuscripts (or their fragments) of this school have yet been discovered, the people of Campa, so far as has been ascertained, were first converted to Buddhism by the missionary efforts of Sāmmitiva preachers, when this school prevailed in India in the sixth or seventh century A. C.

I appreciate very much the point of view from which the author looks at Buddha and his activities. Though he is writing an historical account, in which the canons of historical criticism should be applied, he is at the same time not unmindful of the fact that he is handling a subject involving topics about which, in the absence of a better alternative, respectful silence is welcome instead of barren sceptical criticisms. In connection with the great personalities like Buddha, there may be many things which lie beyond the comprehension of people unacquainted with the ways of men in the higher or the highest stages of spiritual culture. A means of at least partially comprehending them is through an intimate knowledge of the actions, capabilities, and lines of thought of men actually advanced in spiritual culture, supplemented by the perusal of anthoritative works garnering the past experiences of people on the subject, elucidating its obscure points, or furnishing corro-

boration of the known ones. Attempts are often made by authors to thrust into narrow moulds of their own making personalities like Christ and Muhammad, Buddha and Caitanya. The present work is free from a blemish of this kind. It is also free from another blemish which so often tarnishes historical monographs on particular religions viz. a dominating preconceived notion that the religion professed by the author is superior to the religion treated in the monograph. This blinds him to many of the excellences of the latter religion which only a deep sympathetic insight into it can make patent, and prompts him to institute comparison between the two religions to exalt the one over the other. I hope that Mr. Dutt's work with its many attractive features, some or which have been pointed out above, has before it a career of usefulness, which will render it a welcome addition to the existing literature on Buddha and his activities.

April, 1925. 96, Amherst Street, CALCUTTA.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

PREFACE

The perusal of Rev. Edkins' remarks in his Introduction to the Chinese Buddhism drew my attention to the subject-matter of the first book of this work. The remarks are: "If the beginnings of the world's religions are very interesting and important subjects of inquiry, their progress and development are not less so. The various causes which operated to aid the spread of Buddhism if carefully investigated will be a valuable contribution to the history of humanity." Rev. Edkins had in his mind the whole history of the spread of Buddhism in the different parts of the world. As the task is stupendous, I have confined myself only to India and for present, to the earliest portion of the history. The sources of my information have been naturally the Vinaya and the Nikāyas suplemented at times by other Buddhist works.

Though there is a great divergence of opinion as to the date of compilation of the Pāli Nikāyas, it is of little importance to me so far as the treatment of the subject-matter of this work is concerned, because the tradition contained in the Nikāyas is old and it is upon this tradition that my account has been based.

There are indications in the *Nikāyas* showing that the tradition recorded in them dates back as far as the time of Buddha, to whom are ascribed almost all the discourses embodied in the Collections.

The picture of the religious condition of Northern India furnished by the Nikāyas has in it a tinge of great antiquity. We find frequent delineations of the state of things that immediately preceded the advent of Buddha, or existed during his diffe-time. We see that Mahavira has established his influence, Makkhali Gosala has placed his order of monks on a firm

footing, a host of religious sects with their divergent beliefs; and philosophical theories has been struggling with one another for recognition as the repositories of truths while brāhmaṇism has reached a stage in which reaction has become a necessity.

The numerous parallels in the Nikāyas indicate that their subject-matter was drawn from an early common source. The differences among the Nikāyas are not so much in substance as in form. I This is due to the fact that different groups of reciters called the Digh-bhānakas, Majihima-bhānakas, etc. (Sum. Vil. p. 15) preserved the sacred words of Buddha in the form which was looked upon by each group as the most suitable for the purpose. The similarity in substance among the Nikāyas of the different groups would not have been so great as it actually is, if they had not been based upon a common foundation, viz., the words of Buddha as far as they could be preserved in oral tradition. In the existing works on the early history of Buddhism, chiefly the biographies of Buddha in Pāli, Sanskrit and other languages have been utilized, the Nikāyas have not been utilized to the full to yield the information they contain. It was for this reason that Prof. Kernfollowing Oldenberg remarked that "after the narrative of theoccurrences in the twentieth rainy season, there is in the history of the Master an almost complete blank. For a period of 23. years, a summary of Buddha's proceedings is wanting, although various incidents may be held to fall within that period" (Manual. p. 38). It is true that it is not possible to draw upan account of Buddha's activities for the last 23 years of his. career, arranging the incidents year by year, but nevertheless the utilization of the information contained in the Nikāyas: can make it possible to present a sketch which may be useful. in various ways.

Book II of the present work has been devoted to the treatment of the four schools of Buddhism that came into being within about four centuries after Buddha's parinirvāna and were alive up to the end of the medieaval period. The materials available for an account of the origin and development of these schools including their tenets and philosophical views do not enable one to satisfy his curiosity about all their details, but they can well be utilized for the drawing up of a sketch which can convey a clear idea of all the four schools with the distinguish-

ing features of each of them. To make this sketch richer indetails, it is necessary to have access to the store of information contained in the hitherto unused Chinese and Tibetan translations of the works of these schools.

It is a matter for regret that I could not complete this volume. during the life-time of the great man Sir Asutosh Mookherji who initiated the study of Pali in Bengal, infused into me as he did into so many others a desire for historical researches, and pointed out to me the importance of spade-work. in the vast unworked field of Buddhism. My labour would have been amply repaid if this volume could have elicited from him single word of appreciation. No less is my debt of gratitude to Dr. Narendra Nath Law a silent but nevertheless an ardent and untiring worker in the field of historical researches. It is from him that I have got the training for carrying. on historical investigations on scientific lines, and it is he who has guided me most patiently, almost at every step, to keep me away from the quicksands that best the onward course of students of history. He has laid me under a further obligation by writing a foreword to this book, and including it in his Calcutta Oriental Series, without which it could not have seen. the light. My hearty thanks are due to Dr. B. M. Barua who has encouraged me in various ways in the course of my labours and has given me occasionally the benefit of his valuable. suggestions. Lastly, I must thank my friend Mr. N. C. Paul, B. L., for his keen active interest in the progress of this work and Mr. Nirmal Chandra Barua, B. A., for his brotherlike help in diverse ways. I also take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Mr. R. N. Seal, B. A. for piloting. this book through the press with promptitude.

NALINAKSHA DUTTA.

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BOOK I Spread of Buddhism

(Mainly based on the Nikāyas)

The Internal Forces in the Spread of Buddhism

The rise of Buddhism took place at an epoch when not only India but also Greece, Persia and China were experiencing a

Rise of Buddhism in an epoch of religious awakening. stir in religious matters through the advent of Socrates with his distinguished pupils and contemporary philosophers in Greece, of Zoroaster in Persia, and of Lao-tse and Confucius in China. In India the elaboration of the brāhmaṇic sacrifices accompained with the killing of hundreds of victims had already run a long course

in the beginning of the sixth century B.C., growing into a highly complex system of ritualism, the details of which failed to command the faith of many a Hindu who began to question whether, after all, the offerings to the gods, with their laborious construction of altars and collection of numberless requisites. recitations of mantras, chanting of hymns, expiation of errors in the rituals, really achieved the objects for which they were performed, and whether, after all, they were worth the time, energy, and expenses that were involved in their performance? The sacrifices were believed, if rightly performed, as able to secure for them wealth, health, long life and strength, the good will and good grace of the gods in this world, and happiness in the other world. But the dubious among them began to question within themselves whether there was not the chance of this belief being wrongly based. Side by side with the elaborate sacrifices performed by the householders, there were prescribed shortened forms of them, or even mere cogitation of the Supreme, unaccompanied with any rituals for the vānaprasthas

and the yatis. If these latter were right in the pursuit of the course prescribed for them, could not a similar course suited to the masses, but devoid of, or accompanied only with very simple rituals, be prescribed for the householders? Similar views, more or less developed and opposed to the karmakānda of the Brāhmanas and specially to the cruel slaying of animals in the sacrifices, were already in the air before Buddha arose to preach his doctrines. 1 Brāhmaņism allowed various shades of philosophic and religious views to grow up within its fold without taking objection to their existence within its limits. But the key to the reception of this toleration lay in the fact that the dissentient view, side by side with its opposition to one or more brahmanic doctrines, showed its allegiance to one or more of the ultimate fundamental tenets of Brāhmanism such as the affiliation to the *Vedas*, belief in their authority, worship of any of the brahmanic gods as such, recognition of the authority of the brahmanas, or compliance with the caste-system. It is only when we keep this in view that we can understand how the sects like Cārvākas or Sānkhvas could hold to their doctrines and yet continue to be recognized by the brahmanas as orthodox. The elasticity of Brahmanism was, no doubt, a source of its strength, and the existence of this toleration that admitted of the tether, by which a sect was tied to its peg, to be drawn and drawn away to long distance without severance, was the cause by which Brāhmanism could grow into a ramified religion, as wide as the Indian continent. But there was a limit to the degree to which the heresy of its views could be carried by a brāhmanic sect as such. This limit was crossed by Buddha, who stood up as a rock to stop the flow of the religion in order to direct the faiths of the people along channels of his own. He preached that religious truths lay, not in the sacrifices, not in the Vedas which prescribed these sacrifices, not in the worship of the many deities of the brahmanic pantheon, not in the observance of the caste-rules, not in the magical practices of the Atharva Veda, not in the extreme forms of self-mortifications, and not, in short, in the many other pet beliefs and practices that came as corollaries to an allegiance to the bases of brahmanic faiths, but in self-culture 'culminating in Arhat-

^{1.} See Dr. B.M. Barua, Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, pp. 193-94.

ship' which constitutes the key-stone of Buddhism.1

Buddha's views against sacrifices and the rites or acts involved in them have been expressed in no uncertain terms

Buddha's views against sacrifices:

throughout his sayings. Against the memorising of the Vedic *mantra* and their fruitless repetitions to retain them in memory, he tauntingly remarked that the brāhmaṇas were nothing but the repeaters

of the hymns composed by the ancient sages such as Atthaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessāmitta, etc2. He also disparaged the sacrifices involving needless expenses and payments of heavy fees³ to brāhmaņas who, by dint of their craftiness, made them the means of procuring wealth for themselves⁴. The rituals were meaningless operations so minutely but mechanically complied with by the sacrificing brāhmanas⁵, intending to keep their superstitions clients under a perpetual and unquestioning tutelage. In the Pāyāsi Suttanta,6 Kumāra Kassapa an immediate disciple of Buddha instructs Prince Pāyāsi that the celebration of sacrifices without cruelty involved in the killing of victims is a degree better than the celebration thereof accompanied with the perpetration of that cruelty. A similar view is expressed by Buddha in the Kūṭadanta Sutta7 'where mention is made of sets 4 of rituals to which toleration can be shewn in the ascending order in which they are arranged: sacrifice in which living creatures are slaughtered; better than this is the one performed with only ghee, oil, butter, honey and sugar; better still than this is charity, specially that extended to holy men; better than this again is the building of monasteries; and better than this is the observance of moral precepts; and the best of all is the 'sacrifice' of the four-fold meditation8. In short, Buddha condemns the

¹ Cf. "For the first time in the history of the world, it proclaimed a salvation which each man could gain for himself in this world, during this life, without any the least reference to God or to gods, either great or small." Dr. Rhys Davids, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 29.

² Majjh. Nik., II, p. 169; Dīgh. Nik., I, Tevijja Sutta; Prof. Oldenberg's Buddha, pp. 172-73.

³ Dīgh. Nik., I, p. 138.

⁴ Dr. R. Fick, Die Sociale Gliederung, etc., transl. by Dr. S.K. Maitra.

⁵ Prof. E.W. Hopkins, Religions of India, p. 188 and fn.

⁶ Digh. Nik., II pp. 316ff.

⁷ Ibid., I, pp. 127ff.

⁸ Dr. Barua, Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 193 fn.

sacrifices in a general way by referring to them as but a 'low' art' unworthy of whatever a brahmana should be according to his conception1. For the first time in the religious history of India appeared a dominating personality who, with his infinite sympathy for every living being from man to the lowliest crawling insect, felt intensely for the horrors that the brahmanic sacrificial system kept daily in store for thousands of dumb victims who, though unable to resist effectively, or express their pain in an intelligible language, were as sentient as men and felt the pain as much as the slavers would have done if treated similarly, and for the first time in Indian history did a single individual venture to speak emphatically against all that was dear to the leaders of the then brahmanic society with their numerous resources to help them and with the combined belief of almost the whole population of India to support them; and for the first time also did an Indian undertake to support his view by practically remoulding the existing social elements into an organization that could successfully stamp out or keep in abeyance the opposed ideas and practices in India for several centuries, and are even now materialising the wishes of the great Reformer to a great extent in a few localities in India and in a few countries outside India.

It was this doctrine of ahimsā that appealed so much to the hearts of the people and extorted even from the brāhmaṇas themselves the position of an Incarnation of the Deity for Buddha. Mahāvira also launched upon the field of Indian thought before Buddha with his doctrine of ahimsā but his followers carried it to such an excess that it could not draw the admiration of the brāhmaṇas while the rational view of same taken by Buddha attracted the attention of every one, no matter, whatever creed he might profess. Everybody knows that owing to the radical doctrines that Buddha preached, there was no love lost between the Brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists, and yet the inclusion of Buddha as an avatāra is no doubt a clear testimony of the infinite kind-

¹ Dīgh. Nik., Brahmajāla Sutta, transl. by Dr. Rhys Davids in the Dialogues of Buddha, Part I, pp. 17, 25; cf. Sutta Nipāta (S.B.E.), pp. 48-50, Majjh. Nik., I, p. 82 where Buddha expatiated on the inefficacy of sacrifice (yañña).

ness with which Buddha's heart was imbued,—to which even his enemies had to pay homage by including him in their pantheon.

The doctrine of ahimsā was but an offshoot of the mettā feeling which embraced not merely the negative and mettā restraint upon causing pain to any living creatures feeling. but also positive acts of charity and love, removing or attempting to remove distress, wherever existing and whatever form they might assume. It was this spirit that brought into being the many works of public utility such as the construction of hospitals, the digging of wells and tanks, etc., meant to alleviate human distress or supply positive convenience and comfort where they did not exist; and the growth of this spirit having its source no doubt in a religious motive but operating independently of any religious institution or religious endowment is a departure from the ways in which the acts of beneficence were used to be performed. Standing on this catholic view-point, the outlook of the Buddhists on caste-restrictions that introduced differences in degrees of high and low where in reality they did not exist and were accompanied in many instances with narrowness and hatred obstructing the exercise of mettābhāva, could not but be as it was enunciated by Buddha. Of this I would speak later on; suffice it to say for the present that Buddha has on many occasions asked his disciples to exercise the mettā feeling as one of the methods of attaining perfection in samādhi and alongwith it the kindred feelings of karuņā (compassion), muditā (sympathy in others' joy), and upekkhā (equanimity).1

Buddha has never laid out a complete scheme of social organization by which he wanted to remove the reprehensible features that he observed in the brāhmaņic views society of the time. He confined himself strictly against the to religious topics in his disquisitions and discuscaste-system sions, and it was in reply to questions put by others that he at times gave his views against the caste-restrictions of the brāhmaņic society and the preferential treatment and other oddities that an application of pure reason, upon which he took his stand in this respect, could not but

¹ Digh. Nik., III, pp. 49, 50, 223, 224; Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 283, 284, 359ff.

condemn. The brahmanic standpoint had its basis in birth and in the cosmology by which the four castes were given the order of precedence of the limbs of the great Purusa supposed to have existed at the time of the creation of the Universe. Buddha on the other hand took a rational view of the subject and wanted the individuals to be higher and lower according to their respective qualities and not according to the accident of birth2; and instead of the cosmology looked upon by him as erroneous, he pointed to a cosmology of his own described in the Aggañña Suttanta³ and representing according to him the real state of things. In it he mentions in a descending scale beings beginning from the gods with their higher qualities and ending with men who possessed much inferior qualities, and among the latter were classes formed according to vocations; and the members of these classes could easily transfer themselves from one to another by developing the qualities for the avocations of the class to which they transferred themselves. In connection with his replies to questions⁴ and the discussions to which they led Buddha has given hints showing that the ksatriyas could be superior to the brahmanas, if by qualities the former were in reality superior to the latter; for the element of birth which was set out as the criterion of status by the brahmanas was in fact a thing which reason cannot support. It could not be denied that there were brahmanas who though claiming to be the highest in social status by their birth were inferior to many a member of the lowest caste by their habits and inferior qualities, and Buddha pointed this out as a very unreasonable disposition of social elements to put those higher who by nature were lower. Any strong comdemnation of this state of things cannot be expected from the Incarnation of mettā feeling, for that might smack of ill-will and hatred but the passages bearing on this subject are numerous and show in the characteristic but mild and rational method of Buddha what he looked upon as a

¹ See Rg Veda, Puruşa-sūkta.

^{2 &}quot;The thought that a brahmana does not occupy a special place by reason of his birth but that virtue alone constitutes a true brahmana occurs also in the Jatakas."—Dr. R. Fick, Sociale Gliederung, etc., transl., p. 20.

³ Digh. Nik., III. pp. 80 ff.

⁴ Dīgh. Nik., I, Ambaṭṭha Sutta; Majjh. Nik., II, Assalāyana Sutta, pp. 147ff.; Madhura Sutta, pp. 83ff.; Ang. Nik., I, p. 162.

reasonable arrangement that should prevail among the laymen as opposed to the monks. As regards monastic life, there could never be any distinction excepting that brought about by stages of moral and spiritual progress on the path towards arhathood. As the rivers, says he, lose, each its individual distinctions after falling into the ocean, so the monks lose all their distinctions as regards social status after joining the monastic order. It should be observed that Buddha's attitude in regard to castes is an expression of the feeling of brotherhood that he wanted to prevail among all sentient beings, and when we look at the matter from this standpoint, we see that this attitude was but a logical extension of his view of relations among human beings.

It was thus that Buddha held views subversive of the sacrifices and the caste-system,—the two main bases of the then existing brāhmaṇism. With such views of the two bases of brāhmaṇism, he could not naturally keep terms with the brāhmaṇas in the acceptance of the authority of the *Vedas*, as such acceptance necessarily meant compliance with their injunctions in regard to the sacrifices and the caste-system which he condemned. From this logically followed his attitude towards the *Vedas*, the authority of which he denied point-blank.

In the Siluvimaṃsa jātaka² the Boddhisatta says, "Of no value are the Vedas, of no value is birth or kinsman for the future world; only one's own pure virtue brings him happiness in the next world." Buddha disbelieves the revealed character of the Vedas by remarking that the ancient sages Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessāmitta, etc., never saw Brahman from whom they state

to have recieved the Vedic texts³. The denial of the revealed character of the *Vedas* and with it their authority led to his view of the gods as but beings reaching their divine nature in the

¹ Vinaya Pitaka. Vol. II, p. 239.

² Jātakas, III, 194ff.

³ Digh. Nik. I, Tevijja Suttanta, p. 239; cf. Dr. Barua's Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, pp. 193, 243—"All the thinkers in the neo-vedic period agreed in estimating the four Vedas and Vedic sciences as the lower knowledge."

course of evolution from human beings by dint of their virtue pursued by them strenuously. Worship of such divine beings was of no avail, for they were unable to raise men to a higher status by dint of their own powers; for it was man's own virtue that could elevate him morally and spiritually, and not any external help from the gods. Of this import is the following passage from the Brahmajāla Suttanta: "Worship of Sun, worship of the Great One, invocation of Sīri the goddess of luck, the vowing of gifts to a god for the grant of benefit, the offering of sacrifices to the gods are low arts from which Gotama the recluse holds him aloof." The attack of the Mimāmsakas upon the Buddhists on the ground that the latter themselves looked upon their texts as revealed proceeds upon the imputation of an idea to the original Buddhists they did not entertain.²

Buddha discouraged the magical practices and the rites of the Atharva Veda, and even the practice of other arts not

Views against the magical practices.

excluding astrology, by which men were led to commit deviations from the right conduct. It is needless to say that many of these practices were of a puerile character such as performing rites for averting the supposed consequences of evil

omens such as the sitting of a hawk on the roof of a house, etc. The magical rites are performed in the belief that the things desired by an individual can be procured by virtue of those rites as certainly as a particular effect follows a particular cause; and moreover, the belief in the efficacy of these rites inspires one with the idea that abnormal powers can be acquired through them, so that right conduct which is believed to be productive of happiness or spiritual good might be discarded, and magical rites made to take its place. This idea is detrimental to the pursuit of virtue and this was perhaps one of the reasons why Buddha did not countenance these rites, apart from the question of superstitions under lying them.³

It is clear from the dissatisfaction expressed by Buddha at the fruitlessness of his own mortifications during his spiritual

¹ Dr. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, I, p. 24.

² Max Müller, Ancient Sanskrit Literature. pp. 43-44.

³ Dīgh. Nik., Brahmajāla and Kevadaha Suttantas.

discipleship under several preceptors in the first six years

Views
against
mortification
aud other ascetic practices:

after his renunciation of the world that he lost his belief in the mortifications as means to salvation. His enlightenment was preceded by the pursuit of the middle path in which the use of the necessaries of life as to food and

raiment was not regarded as an obstacle in the attainment of spiritual success. Just as on the one hand the use of these necessaries must be combined with moral conduct and meditation, so on the other, the ascetic practices, if adopted in a moderate degree, must be associated with the same two essentials of spiritual life. Sanction was given by Buddha to a moderate use of ascetic practices as a concession² to the strong tendency of the Indian mind, imbued as it had been for a long time with the belief in the efficacy of such penances, to resort to the extreme forms of abstinence from comforts of life or even painful methods of positively inflicting pain upon the body as aids to the acquisition of spiritual merit in the direction of the mind towards the spiritual ideals. Buddha himself declared the hollowness of such extreme practices but left the moderate ones to be intertwined into the programme of life of the Buddhist monks who must in all cases look upon the observance of the moral precepts in the practice of meditation as forming essentially the basis of his religion. I need not dilate on what constituted the right conduct (sila) according to Buddha, for it forms the subject-matter of a large section of Buddhist religious literature which is widely known. Suffice it to say that Buddha insisted on the moral purity in the use of speech, mind and body for all those who joined the Buddhist order, in and through which the salvation lies. He prescribes certain rules for observance by the laity but the means to salvation does not exist in their ways of life though conforming to the prescribed rules. The means are to be found in the monastic order which for this reason engaged principally his attention. This is a great departure from the doctrines of the brāhmanas whose śāstras declare that salvation is not the monopoly of monastic or ascetic life but is equally within the reach

¹ Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 77ff., 242-246.

² Dr. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, I, p. 219.

of students or householders provided they desire it keenly in and through the performance of their respective duties. As tothe mode of meditation adopted by Buddha, it is evident from the Buddhist works or extracts on meditation such as the Mahāsatipatthāna Suttanta, the Patisambhidamagga, the Visuddhimagga, etc, that it was kept free from the practices belonging to hathayoga as also from the several forms of āsana or prānāvāma. For instance, in the Majihima Nikāya, 1 Buddha inculcates the avoidance of the mechanical process by which the tongue is pushed backwards towards the palate, a device that is so often resorted to in the Hindu system of yoga. Buddha has in short desired to keep his yogamārga free from anything that is fanciful, severe or unnecessary to the concentration of the mind.²¹ Moreover the abnormal devices tend to create a pride in the minds of the sādhakas and impress the uninstructed spectators, if any, with admiration which might tempt the former to utilize it. for worldly purposes.3 The Buddhist path of meditation is thus a simplified process in which the elements of the brahmanic yaga exist sometimes with slight modifications but which has been kept clear of what was looked upon as either unnecessary, extraneous or dangerous. It is suited to whoever joins the monastic order, provided by the exercise of sila, he had succeeded in developing frames of body and mind in which he could launch himself on an attempt at concentration of mind leading. to the ultimate wisdom. "The states (samāpatti) in the Buddhist. system of meditation were of importance, not merely of importance for learners as a means for arriving at Nirvāņa, but the temporal release they afforded from the sense-percepts and the concrete was so highly esteemed, that they were looked upon as luxuries and enjoyed as such by the saints and by the

¹ Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 242-244.

² Buddha's attitude towards the brāhmanic ascetic practices is set forth in many places in the Nikāyas, one of which is, for instance,—"An ascetic who has adopted the mode of taking food in the manner of a dog or cow (kukkuravatika or govatika) takes rebirth on account of his penance in this life either as a dog or a cow and if he longs to be reborn in the world of gods as a result of his penances in this life, he is doomed to perdition for the wrong view he holds." Majjh. Nik.; I, p. 239, II, pp. 387, 388.

³ E.g. Digh Nik., III, pp. 42ff.

Buddha himself." The ultimate object with which these meditations and forms of discipline were undertaken and towards which Buddha rose to lead the people in his easy but certain way was *Nirvāṇa*.

The signification of Nirvāṇa has assumed various complexions at the hands of interpreters, but this much is certain that the attainment of same meant for an individual a perma-

The signification of Niyvana.

nent escape from the whirlgig of karma and rebirth with their attendant miseries. It is futile for us to try to define what is meant by this term; the Vedāntists might identify it with union with the

Brahman the indescribable substratum of the phenomenal' universe, the votaries of any of the highest deities such as Siva or Visnu might call it mukti, or the Christians might think it tobe nothing but salvation as conceived by them; but the fact remains that Buddha is himself absolutely silent as to what he wanted the term to really mean. This attitude of Buddha is perhaps significant from one point of view, namely, his general' unwillingness to enter into ultimate questions of metaphysics; for a definition or a description of Nirvāna would certainly have led to the mention of things which would have proved a good ground for fruitless discussions among his followers as well as among the Buddhists and non-Buddhists. To those who are far away from the state in which Nirvana is attained, the thing might be a subject of differences of opinion, but to those who attained it, it was as clear as a perception, though the attendant conceptions and feelings may lie beyond the power of language to express. Indeed, disputes as to ontological questions often prove to be no better than quarrels over tweedledum and tweedledee. Buddha was perfectly aware of the worthlessness of such discussions and their evil consequences, and has for that reason been uniformly silent over questions which otherwise might have given rise to undesirable results.2 Sufficeit to say that Buddhism relies ultimately upon success in this

¹ Prof. Warren's Buddhism in Translations, pp. 282, 283.

² Cf. Sutta Nipāta (S.B.E.), pp. 167-74,—"The different school of philosophy contradict each other, they proclaim different truths, but the truth is only one. As long as the disputations are going on, so long will there be strife in the world."

yoga without which the life of a Buddhist cannot be complete. This is the fruition to which Buddhism leads and for the attainment of which it proposes to show the shortest way.

It will thus be seen that Buddhism struck out a path, of which easiness and simplicity were the characteristic features. These two features depended upon the fact that the undue importance attached by the Hindus to rites and practices that were difficult to undertake on account of their elaborateness or expenses, and the arduousness involved in them, was absent in Buddhism. There were other reasons also for which Buddhism could attract the people so far as its tenets and practices were concerned:

- (1) The avoidance of metaphysical questions rendered it easily intelligible to the masses.
- (2) The greater play of reason instead of belief that in the brāhmanic system is so peremptorily demanded by the sacred texts and in so wide a range of matters was an attractive feature to the people, who developed more than others the habit of reasoning for themselves the good and bad side of the religious questions.
- (3) The doctrine of ahimsā and mettā feeling advocating the exercise of mercy to all creatures and the brotherhood of all human beings appealed very much to the hearts of all men, specially to those who were not staunch believers in the sacrifices but by independent reasoning looked upon the killing of hundreds of animal victims in the sacrifices as extremely cruel; and also to those who though Hindus were feeling the exclusiveness of the brāhmanas in the treatment meted out to them.
- (4) Buddhism did not rely so much upon appeals to the supernatural as brāhmaṇism did, always referring to their efficacy shown in unseen ways by the utterance of mantras, the performance of sacrifices, and in fact, compliance with the many rituals prescribed in the śāstras. The reference to this unseen and supernatural element in brāhmaṇism became so much exaggerated that an error in the smallest detail of a ritual, or a mistake in the utterance of a single syllable of a mantra had to be expiated by proper ceremonies or rectified by going through the same things again, and the belief of the clients of the priests appears to have approved of such demands upon their credence. There are many other directions in which exag-

gerated demands upon the belief of the laity in general were made by the brāhmaṇas. But Buddhism was shorn to a very great extent of such utilizations of the supernatural element that often mystified the vision of the laity in regard to having a clear idea of what the religion was and what they were actually doing. This gave Buddhism a practical turn making it include rites and ceremonies with their accompanying formulas that the masses could understand and the reason of which was generally patent to their understanding.

- (5) The language in which it was preached and its ceremonies conducted was the dialect of the people concerned and therefore their reason could obtain greater scope for exercise in the intelligent following of the discourse or the rituals to which they attended, while Sanskrit used by the brāhmaṇas in connection with all religious matters could not satisfy them in these respects.
- (6) The great stress laid by Buddhism upon right conduct, so much so that it became one of its most prominent features, was also an attractive factor. Buddhism is often described as an ethical religion on the ground of the prominence of this feature as against several others that are emphasized in other systemsof religion. From the very time when a convert enters into the monastic order up to the time when he attains to arhathood, the keynote of his life is right conduct. Ordinarily the unsophisticated conscience of even an untutored man approves very greatly the intrinsic rightness of a scheme of conduct that proposes to deal out goodwill and charity to all, and demands strict continence, and silent forbearance that sees an error in an act where others would have seen offence and ill-will. Upon this view of man that has its root in his inborn conscience rests the strength of the tables of the rules of conduct for general. guidance like the ten commandments of the Bible and it was to this element in man's mental constitution that this side of Buddhism appealed so much, and appeals even now.
- (7) The prevalence of the practice of yaga had become widely spread for a long time previous to the advent of Buddha and carried with it the general belief among the Hindus that it was one of the most potent instruments for effecting the highest spiritual progress. Buddha was also an advocate of yaga and, as already stated, laid the greatest stress on it with its prelimina-

ries, right conduct, etc., which might be regarded as making an individual fit for the exercises of mind and body that it involved, while he discouraged the mortifications which he regarded as useless. It was rendered simpler and more popular, while to this method of spiritual culture he made a contribution of his own in which the realization of impermanence of the world, the world, the absence of soul as an indestructible and permanent entity, and the existence of suffering in all worldly affairs, led to a habitual practice of the aṣṭāṅgika mārga and the attainment of bliss by the dispersal of ignorance (avidyā) the root-cause of misery.

From the facts stated above it will be manifest that the way of life that Buddha looked upon as the path to Nirvāṇa was a good deal similar to the life of the vānaprasthas and yatis. The wanderings of the yatis combined with the comparatively stationary life of the vānaprasthas with an absolute non-attachment to the worldly matters were engrafted into a monkish organization with right conduct and simplified yoga as their methods of sādhana, the radical difference lying in the fact that while the vānaprasthas and the yatis recognized the authority of the Vedas and the former performed simplified forms of sacrifices and rituals, the Buddhist monks cut off absolutely their connection with the Vedas the authority of which they discarded outright.

We are now in a position to enumerate the external causes and circumstances that helped the wide-spread propagation of Buddhism during the period from the first preachings of Buddhism by its Founder to the reign of the emperor Asoka when the religion spread over a very large portion of the continent of India and even over parts of countries laying outside India.

The commanding personality of Buddha, his self-sacrifice, the strength of his character, his spiritual attainments, his super-

sensual vision, and the occassional manifestations of miraculous powers¹ served in a great degree to convince the people of his spiritual greatness and made them attach importance to his words. Prof. Keith attributes the vast success of Buddhism not so much to the merits of the religion as to the personality of the founder. He says that "the founder of Buddhism must rank as one of the most commanding personalities ever produced by the eastern world"2.

The character and personality of Buddha's immediate disciples such as Sāriputta, Moggalāna, Mahākassapa, ii. Character Mahākaccāyana, Punna Mantāniputta. and perwere also a powerful factor in the propagation of sonality of Buddha's Buddhism. Their excellences are mentioned immediate sometimes Buddha himself and sometimes disciples. their brother monks. Sāriputta is described as excelling

¹ See, for instance, Vinaya, I, pp. 16, 25ff.

² Prof. A.B. Keiths's Buddhist Philosophy, p. 147.

all in wisdom, self-control, and virtue, well-composed in his inner self, dwelling on the highest planes of thought, expert in the knowledge of the doctrines and possessing for preaching persuasively¹. Moggalāna valiant, self-controlled and possessed of supernormal powers and able to raise the disciples to the highest stages of moral and spiritual progress²; Mahākassapa was foremost in the ascetic ways which Buddha permitted as a concession to the tendencies of the age, self-sacrificing, and loving to dwell remote from men; Mahākaccāyana was a great expositor of dhamma³; Punna Mantāniputta was an appealing preacher; and Ananda was the foremost bhikkhu in erudition, morally watchful, steadfast, versed in the sacred lore, and elogent⁴. The qualities mentioned are no doubt but hints that they were present. in more than ordinary degree in the character of the monks, though it should not be supposed that the requisite qualities required for a monk but not mentioned above were absent in them. The monks were all at one in their zeal for the propagation of the religion, in the strength of which they had unswerving. belief, and to the founder of which they all bore the highest reverence. This was the bond that combined them and their followers into a closely compact body to march on in the path. of duty prescribed by Buddha and to materialize his wishes by propagating his doctrines. The earnestness with which the first generation of Buddha's disciples performed their duties can be best described by comparing it to the zeal which the Christian apostles did their share of work by practising and spreading. doctrines promulgated by Christ.

The Buddhist leaders in the generation following the immediate disciples of Buddha up to the reign of Asoka included like-

iii.
Personality
of the subsequent
Buddhist
leaders up
to the reign
of Asoka.

wise prominent characters who might well take their place by the side of his immediate disciples. The names of monks who took a prominent part in the deliberations of the church organization and maintained discipline, moral or otherwise, are many, but the biographical details of only a few of them are:

¹ Mrs. Rhys Davids, Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 69, 388, 402 & 390 fn.

² Ibid., p. 390 fn.

³ Mrs. Rhys. Davids, op. cit., pp. 386, 387.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 352, 353.

found in Buddhist literature. Among these few may be mentioned Siggava whose preseverance in the cause of the conversion of non-Buddhists to Buddhism is found in the description where he is said to have daily visited, with ultimate success, the house of a brahmana for so long as even years to pursuade his son with teachings and arguments to embrace the religion1; Sambhūta Sānavāsika whose zeal in the work of conversion carried him so far as Kashmir and Kandahar to preach and secure converts in those places2; Revata vastly learned and free from āsavas (moral impurities); Yasa extremely energetic in the work of consolidating the Buddhist doctrines for which the second council was convened, and also in eliminating the evils that the Vajjians were trying to introduce into the church organization by modifying its rules³; Udena who was able to convert Ghotamukha brāhmana after the death of Buddha and have an upatthānasālā built at Pātaliputta by him4; Upagupta of the time of Asoka who was highly intelligent and eloquent and was a pillar of strength to the Buddhist church. It was the charm of his character and personality that made Asoka accept him as his spiritual preceptor and help the Buddhist organization by building monasteries and stupas in numberless places and give donations for the maintenance of the monks and the spread of Buddhism. Materials are yet lacking for drawing up a list of energetic and religious workers like those already mentioned showing the period in which they worked, the prominent qualities by which they were distinguished, and the share of burden borne by them in regard to preaching and conversion. Such a list is sure to be very useful in giving a picture of the personel upon whom rested the arduous task of extending the limits of conversion, and in drawing a sketch of the gradual spread of Buddhism.

It is supposed that Buddhism while in its full bloom lacked an organization possessing a central power that could coordinate and bring into a line the local units scattered throughout the length and breadth of the region over which

¹ Mahāvamsa, Ch. v.

² Edkins' Chinese Buddhism, p. 67

³ Mahāvamsa, Ch. iv.

⁴ Majjh, Nik., II, p. 163.

Buddhism had spread. This supposition, I think, is not supported by full reasons and evidences because the very fact iv. Internal of the rapid and extensive spread of Buddhism as strength of well as the maintenance of its hold upon the country the organifor such a long time gives the lie direct to such an zation. inference. Though there was no central authority of the kind that we generally find in the organization with which we meet ordinarily, the central authority in the Buddhist organization was derived from a source of a different sort. It did not comprise praticular men, composing a central body, whose dictates were predominant and who could check and control the smaller bodies in the various parts of the country, but it was the invisible body of rules, prescribed by Buddha and very minute in their injuctions, that regulated the smallest details of monastic life and commanded the common respect and obedience from all the monks whatever might be the position occupied by them in the organization or in whichever locality they might be stationed.1 The one or two instances of difference of opinion or quarrel or disobedience that are found in the Buddhist works are generally interpreted as signs of the weakness of the organization lacking a central authority, but when we remember that the central authority as pointed out above was of a different kind and was obeyed with great respect by all the monks on account of their living faith in the words of Buddha, we are led to look upon that interpretation as wrong. Observers of the development of the Buddhist religion might fall easily into the error of thinking that the defect which afterwards grew into a source of weakness lay in the constitution which was left without a governing body. But it should be remembered that the founder of the Buddhist religion ought to be credited with the knowledge claimed as a matter of course by the present day writers of the story of the development of Buddhism. The fallacy that is often committed by writers in tracing the causes of the decline of a social or religious institution or organism lies in the fact that they find fault with a particular limb of the organiza-

1 Dīgh. Nik., II, p. 154. Yo vo Ānanda mayā Dhammo ca Vinayo ca desito paññatto so vo mama accayena saṭṭhā; Majjh. Nik. III, p. 10. Ānanda explains to Gopaka Moggalāna about the headship of the church: "Na kho mayam, brāhmana, appaṭisaraṇā, sappaṭisaranā mayam, brāhmaṇa, dhammapaṭisaranā'ti vadesi'.

tion or a particular practice which was really a source of strength when the institution or the organism was in its healthy state. If in old age a finger of a man is attacked by gangrene, are we justified in laying the blame and in finding fault with the existence of the very finger itself and tracing the cause of the decline to the possession of that limb by the man when he was young and healthy. Similarly, to say that the cause of the decline of Buddhism is to be found in the want of check upon the local sanghas while the whole Buddhist organization with the mutual co-operation of the local sanghas was able to keep Buddhism in a flourishing state for so many centuries is to take as a cause of decline a thing which was a cause of its prosperity or at its worst but a neutral something upon which the real cause operated its ruin. In the question before us, the invisible but yet forceful authority to which I have referred was existent though it was intangible, and it was the gradual deterioration of the living faiths of the monks and the introduction of elements that chilled the warmth of their faiths that are really responsible for bringing about weakness in that very organization which in the heydey of the prosperity of Buddhism worked so well, strengthened by the devoted attachment of the believing monks to the invisible central authority of Buddha's words constituting the life of the whole organization. What I want to point out is that the strength of the Buddhist religion with its organizations lay in the living faith and devotion of its followers and not so much in the structure through which the faith and devotion were ordained by Buddha to be given a material shape. Buddha gave his best consideration to the details of the structure of the organization and even changed them or added to their number as soon as the suggestion made by his followers met with his approval. No mundane organization can be perfect and it is enough if the common necessities pertaining to the object for which it is founded are provided for. Buddha went much further than this and prescribed a Vinaya which was meant to meet even the probable or minute exigencies of monastic life; and to find fault with this organization while the real defect lies in the gradual decline of faith is to misread and misunderstand the real story of the Buddhist religion. So long as the faith was warm, Buddhism was alive; and as soon as it began to cool, the pulsation slowed down until the death of

Buddhism in India synchronised with the full disappearance of the warmth of faith.

One of the reasons why Buddhism could spread more rapidly in the Magadhan area than it could perhaps have done

v.
The unorthodoxy of the people in the area in and around Magadha.

had it been started in regions like the Northwestern area of Kuru-pañcāla was the fact that the people of that area were not so strictly orthodox in their adherence to the brāhmaṇic faith, and the doctrines and rules, of which it was the basis. It is the inference of scholars such as Grierson, Oldenberg, that the Aryans entered into India in two-

groups, the later being separated from the earlier by a pretty long distance of time. The group represented by the Kuru tribe settled in the mid-land comprising the country near the modern Delhi and its immediate north, while the other group settled in the outland encircling the mid-land on the east, south and west-Brāhmanic orthodoxy had its home in the mid-land while the outland represented unorthodoxy roughly in proportion to the distance from the said centre of orthodoxy, because distance hindered the process of keeping on the same level the orthodoxy of the people of the remote districts; while it is also recognised that between the two groups of the Aryans, there were differences of ideas, manners, customs and even perhaps of language. The diluted orthodoxy of the people of the eastern outland favoured the growth of systems of thought that did not care to be in correspondence with those prevailing in the Kurupañcāla country. The eastern mid-land comprised the Magadhan area as one of its components and the favourable circumstances offered by it for the growth of heterodox ideas were one of the causes why Buddha's preachings could be received by the people more rapidly than they could have been done, had they taken place in the stronghold of brahmanism in the mid-land.1 Moreover, there are evidences in the Pitakas that the organization of the brahmanical orders in Magadha and Videha was not so strong and well-knit as to resist effectively the progress of Buddhism. The members belonging to the community were not also so strong in dialectics as to defeat in argument Buddha-

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¹ See Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, II, p. 540 and Oldenberg's. Buddha, appendix I.

or the more eminent of the Buddhist monks and several cases are recorded of debates between the brahmanas and Buddhists in which the former could not defeat the latter by showing the hollowness of the logic underlying the arguments. The brāhmanas of this part of the country are found in the Buddhist works to be tracing their descent from brahmanas of the northern portions of India (udicca) which shows that the source of nobility and brahmanic purity was looked upon as existing there and not in the region where Buddhism flourished at first. The well-known reference of the Satapatha Brāhmana states the river Sadānīrā as the limit beyond which lay areas of land which were made fit for habitation for brahmanas only in so far as the sacrificial fire was lit up by them for the performance of sacrifices. This sacrifical fire had stopped on the Sadānīrā in its migration towards the east which pointed to that river as the boundary of the area that had some time before been considered as the sacred land. It therefore stands out that the tract of country east of the river was inferior to lands in the west from the view-point of brahmanic orthodoxy. One more noticeable feature is the predominance of the ksattriyas in the eastern lands by virtue of wealth and acquisition of learning Predomiwhich made them powerful enough to carry on nance of the reactionary movements as against the existing conksattrivas ditions of things as settled or desired by the brahin the prācya-deśa.

ditions of things as settled or desired by the brāhmaṇas. It is very difficult to say how far the kṣatriya
origin of Śākya Siṃha brought strength to this religious propaganda by virtue of this mere affinity of origin between him and
the kṣattriyas of the place. To assert that this element was
altogether absent in the forces which made them cluster under
his religious flag would be perhaps going too far. But it should
always be borne in mind that the innate strength and attraction
of Buddha's personality and the doctrines preached by him
were so great as to put into shade the force of this element,
specially when entrance into the Buddhist order meant a cleavage
between the family origin and the new life that was brought
into being.

The rapid spread of Buddhism within a few centuries after its foundation is due to the fact that conversion of non-Buddhists

¹ Dr. R. Fick, Sociale Gliederung etc., transl., pp. 34, 40, 213.

to Buddhism was regarded as a part of the duty of the monks.

vi.
Buddhism, a proselytizing religion. Why so?

at the highest stage of their spiritual development. The attainment of Nirvāṇa by a Buddhist may be the goal of a monk, but to attain it without at the same time giving others the opportunity of realizing its importance and taking to the right course for reaching it has about it a taint of selfishness

however slight. The means by which the highest can be known and tasted ought not to be the secret of the select few or of an individual. It should be given a wide publicity in order that all men from the highest to the meanest may have the opportunity of exercising his judgment and take to the way that leads to the highest goal of manhood. The miseries of this world are countless, and they weigh down the hearts of men constantly with their heavy weights. If the truths found by Buddha, the means discovered by him can lessen them even temporarily it is certainly a blessing; and the truths in fact profess to bring within reach of mortals permanent blessings. Those who have realized this truth in their lives cannot sit idle and look upon their fellow human beings with unconcern while the remedy is within their reach. It was this feeling of love and compassion that animated Buddha and the Buddhists to preach broadcast the truths of their religion in order that the groping humanity may know that there are saving truths which can be attained by particular ways of regulating life and thought. It was from this point of view of looking at proselytizing that the Buddhists drew their stimulus for activities in this direction, and we find the Hīnayānists and, in a greater measure, the Mahāyānists exercising their best energies for the propagation of their faith for the diffusion of general well-being and the alleviation of miseries incidental to human existence. The sacred books of the Buddhists from the Nikā vas downwards contain passages extolling the merits of preaching and conversion. The verse of the Dhammapada (354) "dhammadānam sabbadānam jināti" testifies to the high esteem in which the duty of conversion was held by the Hīnayānists. The scriptures of the Mahāyānists look at the propagation of the faith in the same light. In the Saundarānanda Kāvya, Nanda's duty is not finished by the attainment of his own nirvāņa. He wanders about with the object of bringing salvation to the distressed beings. The same work describes Buddha as making the remark that all beings are under delusion, and it is Nanda's supreme duty to preach to them the *dhamma*, for he will be a lesson to those who are steeped in worldly passions¹. The Śikṣāsdmuccaya quotes passages from the Prajñā-pāramita, Saddharmapuṇḍarika, Candrapradīpa-Sūtra, and Sāgaramati Sūtra on the merit of preaching and doing it with discrimination².

Conversion by the evangelical method marks out Buddhism as making a radical departure from the traditionary lines on which the Indian religions brought new adherents into their

Missionary work, a departure from the traditional ways for the spread of religion. fold. The ways in which Hinduism extended the boundaries of its domain are peculiar to itself. Its methods of enlisting new recruits are in consonance with the caste system, its spirit of exclusiveness specially in religious matters and its power of slowly adapting itself to the changes effected by forces from within or without. The

process followed by it consisted in absorbing the new recruits into the Hindu society by attracting them slowly and imperceptibly to adopt more or less the social customs and practices of the Hindus and thus occupy a place within existing caste or sub-caste, or form a new sub-caste, as the case may be. The alteration of the religious views is left to follow the social absorption that gradually sets in. The early Jainas, discarding as they did the caste-system, were in a position to follow a course different from the traditional method of the Hindus, but the Buddhists struck out a radically different path. The conversion of a new adherent was done deliberately, and his embrace of the new faith was effected in a way that could be well marked as a change that was being made with a deliberate object. With the Buddhists these features were more prominent; but among the Hindus, the change was slow and imperceptible. It was no doubt the zeal of the founders of religions and their best disciples to share with others the blessings of the state they attained and the truths they realized that impelled them to take to missionary activities. The radical departure made by the Buddhists from the traditional method was responsible for the

¹ Saundarānanda Kāvya, sarga 18, śloks. 54-58.

² Sikṣāsamuccaya (Bendall's translation), pp. 310-11.

rapid way in which Buddhism spread not only in India but also in the countries outside. The very first resolution made by Buddha after the attainment of the *summum bonum* was to

Buddha's zeal in preaching become a religious preacher and save mankind from worldly cares and miseries. He went to Sārnāth to convert the five brāhmaṇas, after whom he made many more converts. He formed

them into a band of missionaries, of whom he was the leader. In the Vinaya¹ we find Buddha speaking thus to his followers who then numbered only sixty one: "Go, ye now, O Bhikkhus, and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world. Let not two of you go

Buddha exhorts his disciples to propagate the doctrine. the same way. Preach the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, middle, and end, in the spirit and in the letter; proclaim a consummate; perfect, and pure life of holiness. There are beings whose mental eyes are covered by scar-

cely any dust, but if the doctrine is not preached to them, they cannot attain salvation. They will understand the doctrine. And I will go also, O Bhikkhus, to Uruvela-senānigāma in order to preach the doctrine". Buddha passed from one country to another preaching *dhamma* which is heard by house-holders or their sons who being convinced of its excellence retired from the world leaving their possessions great or small². This example was followed ardently by many of his disciples.

Propagation of Buddhism by Buddha's disciples, Sāriputta was considered the fittest person after him to roll the wheel of Law³; Moggaliputta, to preach the religion to the denizens of hell, gods and spirits of heaven; Puṇṇa Mantāniputta, to carry on the work among the rough people of

Sunāparantaka⁴; Piņdola-Bharadvāja, the chief of the sihanādikānam (lion-roarers), to remove doubts regarding Buddhistic

¹ Mahāvagga, I, pp. 20, II transtated in the S.B. E., Vol, XIII, pp. 112 113; Sam. Nik., I, pp. 105-6; Bhadrakalpāvadāna in Dr. R.L. Mitra's Nepalese Buddhist Literature, p. 43.

² Majjh. Nik., I, p. 279. This is one of the many passages which constantly recur in the Nikāyas.

³ Ang. Nik., I, 13, 7; Milindapañha, p. 362.

⁴ Majjh. Nik., III, p. 268.

path or fruit1. This shows how the disciples fulfilled their Master's desire. The Master was satisfied with their activities as indicated by his departure from the mortal world, which, as said by him to Mara, was conditional on his seeing that his disciples had been sufficiently large in number and able to refute the doctrines of their adversaries, and that his religion well and widely preached.2 A passage in the Saddharma-Pundarika3 is an evidence of the earnestness which animated the disciples long after Buddha's death for propagating the religion: "When the Tathagata has become wholly extinct, we, O Lord, want to go in ten directions and make all beings write, read, think over, and proclaim this dharmaparyāya by the power of the Lord". The history of Buddhist faith both in its earlier and later phases reveals the fact that the Buddhist monks gave their best energies for the propagation of the religion and thus acted up to the wishes of the founder of the religion. The despatch of missionaries to various countries both within and abroad during the reign of Asoka, the successful attempt of the Buddhist monks to colonise Central Asia during the reign of Kanişka, and the perilous journey and voyages undertaken to China, Tibet, Cambodia, Java and the Malay Archipelago by the monks in the later history of Buddhism amply show to what a great extent the Master's bidding was carried out.

The success of the methods employed by the Buddhist for spreading their religion depended upon the following factors:—

vii.
Methods
employed
for making
converts.

- (a) The easiness with which the religion could be followed;
 - (b) The tolerant spirit shown to converts;
 - (c) The tenacity of the preachers in persuasion;
 - (d) Power of disputation; and
 - (e) Appealing way of preaching.
- (a) The tenets and practices of Buddhism are simple and can be made perfectly clear to a layman without much difficulty

¹ Psalms of the Brethren, p. III.

² Digh. Nik., II, p. 106; Mr. Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, p. 34.

³ Dr. Hoernle's Manuscript Remains etc., p. 155.

if only its exoteric side be put before him. Again, to those who. intend to follow it, their course can be made easy by Graudal asking them to follow at the first the tenets and course of training in practices that are suitable to their yet undisciplined. Buddhism. and undeveloped powers, and take to the gradually difficult ones by stages1. To a householder, a Buddhist monk can preach at first the danakathm, silakatham, saggakatham, kāmānam ādīnavam okāram samkilesam nekkhammeānisamsam (the discourse on alms-giving, moral precepts, the heavens, the danger, corruption and impurity of desires, and the blessings of retirement) and when he perceives that his mind has been sufficiently prepared by hearing the discourses, he can preach the excellent teachings of Buddha, viz. dukkham samudayam nirodham maggam (suffering, the originof suffering, the removal of suffering, the way to the removal of suffering)2. These discourses have an appealing; force which moves the hearts of the people irrespective of their creeds. The higher and deeper truths of Buddhism weregradually imparted and explained to the initiated or rather tothe sotapannas. Thus the Buddhists from the lowest grade tothe highest did not feel embarrassed by the weight of doctrines. and practices too difficult for their yet limited understanding: or their undeveloped powers of fortitude and devotion.

(b) Buddhism had in it a large element of catholic spirit³: which appealed to even the members of other religions. To attack another religion as a whole was never sanctioned by Buddhism. Buddha had to recruit his converts. Catholicity from other religions; he never disparaged of the

religion. any particular religion to which any of them might have belonged, though, of course, he showed at times that particular doctrines or practices of that religion were wrong, erroneous, or unworthy of being

¹ For the gradual course of training in Buddhism (imasmim dhammavi-naye anupubbasikkhā anupubbakiriyā anupubbapakipadā) see Majjh. Nik., III. pp. 2-4.

² Digh. Nik., I, p. 148; Vinaya. I, 7, 5-6; VI, 36, 5; Oldenbergs's Buddha (Hoey's translation), p. 186.

³ Majjh. Nik., I, p. 523-'na ca saddhamma okkasanā na paradhamma vambhanā (one should neither extol his own religion nor disparage other religions); Aug. Nik., I, p. 27.

followed. Buddha, again, held the view that gifts should be made by the Buddhists to the deserving members of all other religious orders and not to the Buddhists alone¹. He permitted a Jaina householder after his conversion to Buddhism to continue his charity to the Jaina monks winning thereby the admiration of the members of other sects2. In the Majjhima Nikāya³ he is recorded to have said that a particular Ājīvaka. was reborn in heaven by virtue of his being a kammavādin (i.e. a believer in the law of Karma), indicating that the claim of a non-Buddhist to heaven was not denied by Buddha merely because he was not a Buddhist. He held in high respect the brāhmaṇas who led truly moral life4. The spirit of toleration is no doubt a prevailing feature of the religious life of India but yet it should be said to the credit of Buddhism that it was practised by the religion in a more thorough-going manner than perhaps any other contemporary religion of India.

(c) The Buddhist scriptures do not furnish us with very many instances in which the Buddhist preachers had to be tena-

Perseverance of the preachers. cious in the prosecution of their works of conversion in regard to particular individulas who were hard to be convinced; for the general trend of the instances is rather the other way, viz. the followers.

of other persuasions were eager to embrace Buddhism and therefore presented little difficulty to the Buddhist missionaries in their conversion. The examples in point are few and far between but yet they show cleary the zeal which animated some of the Buddhist preachers in propagating their faith. It is mentioned in the Divyāvadāna⁵ that Pūrņa resolved to carry on his missionary work among the ruffians of Śronāparāntaka even at the risk of his life. This elicited the admiration of Buddha who spoke to him in the following terms, 'Pūrṇa, you are endowed with patience (kṣāntisaurabhena) and a fit and proper person to live among the Śronaparantakas. Go Pūrṇa, free those who wish to be freed, rescue those to be rescued, consolethose to be consoled, and emancipate those to be emancipated."

¹ Ang. Nik., III, 57, 1.

² Vinaya, VI, 32; Ang. Nik.; IV, p. 185.

³ Majjh, Nik., I, p. 483.

⁴ Sutta Nipāta, Brāhmana-dhammika Sutta.

⁵ Divyāvadāna p. 39; Mahāvastu, I, p. 245.

The Milindapanha1 relates the account of Rohana visiting the house of Nagasena's father continually for seven years and ten months with the object of converting Nagasena. The visits were made from a time before the birth of Nägasena in the midst of taunts and insults hurled at him. The visits inspite of the unfavourable circumstances ultimately served to conciliate the parents of Nagasena who was then converted to Buddhism. The Mahāvamsa² has a similar account but the persons mentioned in it are different. It is difficult to state how far the narratives are based on actual incidents, but the fact that the narratives themselves did not appear as uncouth to the writers of the two aforesaid books is itself a proof that such perseverance of the Buddhist preachers in the work of conversion was not quite an unusual thing in those days.

(d) Many are of opinion that Buddha himself avoided entering into discussions with others, and discouraged those of his disciples who entered into discussions on religious matters in the course of their preaching and wandering. Such opinion is not wholly correct. There are passages in the Buddhist scriptures which lend colour to the aforesaid view but we have to go deeper to get at the true state of things. To cite one or two such passages: He is said to have declared that his dhamma is not to be grasped by mere logic (atakkāvacara)³ and he condemned the sramanas and brāhmanas who took to hair-splitting disputations saying, 'Issue has been joined against you, you are defeated, set to work to clear your views, disentangle yourself if you can' (āropito te vādo, niggahīto'si. Cara vādappamokkhāya, nibbethehi vā sace pahositi).4 from such

Disputation indispensable in religion: Buddhism was no exception to it.

passages, it is not right to jump to the conclusion that Buddha condemned or prohibited the the spread of a holding of all disputations on religious matters. In fact, the Digha Nikāya⁵ has a passage which may mislead one into the opinion that all; disputations were discouraged by Buddha but in fact only such discussions as those pointed out above

¹ Milindapañha, pp. 8ff.

² Mahāvamsa, pp. 41-43.

³ Digh. Nik., I, p. 12 (Dial. of Buddha Vol. II, p. 26).

⁴ Digh. Nik., I, p. 8 (Ibid., p. 15).

⁽Digh. Nik., I, Brahmajäla Sutta.

were meant to be avoided. The correct construction should therefore be this that the disputants should elicitation of truth as their object and not the obscuration of same by the use and counter-use of words which serveonly to mystify. The bhikkhus should have love of truth and nothing but the truth. The defeat of the opponent in a wordy fight is but a way of self-assertion which contributes to selfconceit and lowers thereby the inner man from the spiritual standpoint. It was disputation of such a character that Buddha condemned. Such verbal passages at arms often took place. regarding points which can never be decided by disputation. Such subjects are the indeterminable problems which cannot be solved by disputation but may, if at all, be realized in the highest stages of dhyāna. The feelings and realizations during. the prosecution of dhyāna cannot be felt or realized by those who have not had the experiences personally and hence the wide gulf that has always existed between the two classes of men. Words intended to describe the experiences appear meaningless. or untrue to the lay people who think that argumentation on the lines approved by logic can take them to the highest truths. It was in view of this gulf between the two classes of men that the Hindu rsis asked their lay followers to follow the Hindu scriptures without questioning them, allowing, of course, the conflict between two or more passages on a point to be removed by the methods prescribed therefor. Hence it would, I think, beapparent that Buddha was not unreasonable in what he said, and it is wide of the truth to suppose that he enjoined the bhikkhus to avoid all vain disputations.

It should also be kept in mind that the state of the country at the time of Buddha was not such as could permit a missionary to keep clear of disputation. One of the essential works of a missionary is to convince his audience, and this is hardly possible if argumentation is given a wide berth. At the time of Buddha, accounts are available of brahmana and non-brāhmana heads of religions, wandering about over the whole of eastern India, sometimes with their numerous disciples, and holding disputations with the heads of the rival sects to assert their influence and increase their following. There were the paribbājakas who wandered about with their minds open for the reception of religious light wherever available. The lay people-

also liked to hear disputations as indicated by their setting up of kutūhala-sālās (halls for people in quest of truths) or paribbājakārāmas in different places where the wandering teachers may reside and hold controversies with convenience and sometimes in the midst of a large gathering composed of men flocking to the place from the neighbouring localities. The people felt proud if a good many religious teachers visited their kutūhalasālās or paribbājakārāms. 1 Raferences are available in plenty in the Buddhist works showing that it was often stated at the disputations that the defeated teacher with his followers would relinquish his own doctrines and embrace those of the winner. These defects in disputations were a fruitful source for the enlisting of converts to the many doctrines and religions that prevailed in the country at the time and the teachers vied and struggled with one another for getting the largest following for leading them to the highest spiritual goal. The discussions among the teachers of the rival sects indicate that they had to be well-grounded not only in the rules by which the disputation was guided and the argumentation was rendered free from fallacies, but also in the doctrines of the various opponents who had to be faced, over and above their own school of tenets and practices with their philosophical bases, if any. In view of these facts, it is incorrect to hold that Buddha laid down a prohibition for entering into religious controversies. He himself has been described in several places in the Buddhist works as a master of the tenets and practices of the heretical sects. A large number of his disciples was recruited either as the result of defeats suffered by the opponents or from among the followers of the brahmanic and the heretical teachers convinced of the superiority of the doctrines propounded to them. His discussions with Sonadanda Kūtadanta, Upāli, Sakuludāvi. Vekhanassa, Assalāyana and a host of others are instances in which he argued out his own views and convinced his adversaries at the end. The victories thus gained in large numbers in disputations elicited the remark from Dighatapassi, a Jaina monk to the effect that Gautama was a sorcerer who by the force of his art drew the people of other sects into his own

¹ Sam. Nik., II, p. 32; V, p. 115; Majjh. Nik., II, pp. 1,2, 99; Divyāvadana p. 143.

met¹. The list of his disciples who were convinced and won over Buddhism from their own beliefs and practices is a large one, from which the names of the following may be given here by way of illustration. Those named here are among the foremost of Buddha's followers and were well-versed in the doctrines and the practices of the sects to which they belonged before conversion: Mahākoṭṭhita, Piṇḍola Bharadvāja, Mahākaccāyana, for instance, were matters of the three Vedas and perfect in all the accomplishments of a brāhmaṇa; Sāriputta and Moggalāna were the chief disciples of Sañjaya with whose teachings they could not be satisfied; the Kassapas were the leaders of the Jaṭilas; Abhayarajakumara was a distinguished disciple of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta who deputed him for his intellectual acumen and mastery over the Jaina doctrines and philosophy to hold a controversy with Buddha.

It was Buddha's practice to deliver his discourses through dialogues in the following four ways:—

Four ways of delivering discourses

(1) Paţipucchāvyākaranīya;

(2) Ekaṃsavyākaraṇīya;

through (3) Vibhajjavyākaraņīya; and

dialogues. (4) $Th\bar{a}paniya^1$.

In the first method, the doubts of the interlocutor are ascertained by suitable questionings and removed by suitable replies; in the secound, a direct reply is given to an enquirer without entering into a discussion with him; in the third, answers are made piecemeal i.e. taking one aspect of the question first and then another and so forth³; in the fourth, the indeterminate nature of the problems put to him for solution is pointed out to avoid discussions on same, as they lead to no finality. It was for this as also for other reasons stated already that he wanted the bhikkhus to avoid these topics in their discussions⁴. Even if these subjects be set aside, those on which discussions were allowed left room enough for the play of keen intelligence and subtle arguments.

¹ Majjh. Nik., I, p. 375, Ang. Ntk., II, p. 190. (Gotamo māyāvī, āvaiļtanim māyam jānāti yāya annatithiyānam sāvakā āvaiļetīti.)

² Digh, Nik., III, p. 229.

³ For an illustration of this method, see Majjh. Nik., II, p. 197.

⁴ Digh, Nik., I, pp. 187 ff.

To be a successful disputant, one has to be equipped with all the outfit of specious arguments ($k\bar{u}tatarka$) to meet those opponents who make a free use of them whenever needed. It is clear from Buddha's injunctions to the bhikkhus, that he wanted them to use their power of argumentation in the serviceof truth and truth alone, and not to take to sophistry of their own accord. But a preacher ignorant of the wiles of a specious arguer and unable to use counter-wiles for self-defence would certainly be a weak disputant. It was for this reason perhaps that we see Buddha applying such a method with men who came to argue with crooked intention, or to took to crooked ways of disputation. This is seen in the Ambattha Suttal where Buddha, in order to silence Ambattha who claimed the superiority of brahmanas over all by birth and stated that the Sakyas were of servile origin, relates the fictitious account of the origin of the Sakyas Kanhayanas showing that the latter were the descendants of a dasiputta (son of a slave-girl) of the former. The object of the use of the story was to put it as a stunner to Ambattha exposing his really low origin. This, however, could not achieve the desired end. Ultimately Ambattha was made to admit his low parentage by a miracle. The sutta makes it clear that as the use of logic pure and simple would have been inefficacious in a debate with a conceited person like Ambattha, Buddha took to the right means of correcting him.

Detailed accounts of disputations with Buddha are rare in the Buddhist literature. Such an account is found in the Culasaccaka Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya², in which a disputation took place between Buddha and Saccaka Niganthaputta, a great disputant of the time. A summary of the account will give the reader an idea of the ways in which the Buddhists had to meet and parry the attacks of their opponents in such a contest: When Bhagava was dwelling at Vesali, Saccaka Niganthaputta proclaimed that he did not find any person who would not quake in fear to enter into a debate with him. He had heard of the teaching of Buddha to the effect that each of the five skandhas is anicca (impermanent) and anatta (devoid of a permanent entity). He denounced it as a wrong view and was anxious to meet Buddha for a discussion. He went to Buddha

¹ Dig, Nik, pp. 92, 95.

² Majjh, Nik., I, pp. 227ff.

at the $K\bar{u}tag\bar{a}ras\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ with 500 Licchavis to witness the latter's defeat in the disputation. After taking his seat. Saccaka said, "I wish to put a proposition (desam) to you, if you permit me to do so." On obtaining assent, he put questions.

Saccaka. What instructions are generally imparted by you to your disciples?

Buddha. (I teach) Body is impermanent, Sensation is impermanent, Perception is impermanent, the Mentations are impermanent, Consciousness is impermanent. Body is insubstantial, Sensation is insubstantial, and so on. All compounded things are impermanent and void of substance.

- S. An illustration presents itself to my mind.
- B. Say as it appears to your mind.
- S. Just as whatsoever seeds and plants grow and expand and come to maturity do so all in dependence upon the earth, and firm-based upon the earth, and, thus come to maturity, and just as whatsoever deeds that require strength are all done in dependence upon the earth, and firm-based upon the earth, thus these deeds are done, in the self-same way, by Body is this individual man and, firm-based upon Body, does he bring forth deeds good or evil. By Sensation etc. etc.
 - B. Thou sayest, 'Body is my self, sensation is my self, etc.'
 - S. I say, 'Body, Sensation etc. each of these is my self.'
- B. What thinkest thou, Aggivessana, does a reigning khattiya king, such as King Pasenadi of Kosala, possess the power of pronouncing and causing to be carried out sentences of death, outlawry and banishment?
 - S. Yes.
- B. Inasmuch as thou hast but now said, 'Body is my self,' doest thou possess this power over body 'Let my body be thus, let not my body be so?' Thus questioned, Saccaka sat silent. Buddha repeats his question to which Saccaka replies.
 - S. That I have not.
- B. Consider, and then give answer, for thy last does not tally with thy first nor thy first with thy last. Body, Sensation, etc. are permanent or impermanent?
 - S. They are impermanent.
 - B. It that painful or is it pleasurable?
 - S. It is painful.
 - B. But that which is impermanent, painful, subject to all

vicissitudes—is it possible thus to regard it, 'This is mine; this am I: this is my Self?'

- S. That is not possible.
- B. Can such a one who holds the view, 'This is mine; this am I; this is my Self,' comprehend suffering or keep clear of the suffering that encompasses him?
 - S. He cannot.
- B. Just as a wood-cutter seeking solid (sāra) wood, goes to forest and cuts the root of a Banana tree and then chops off the head, leaves etc., but fails to get at the pith, so also you by entering into disputation with me have found your doctrine vain and useless¹.

The paribbājakas and the members of the various contemporary religious orders offered a very fruitful field for the

How the paribbāja-kas and the various religious orders helped the spread of Buddhism.

recruitment of converts to Buddhism. The embracing of the religion of the victor by the vanquished in a debate was a general practice and this proved an effective means of spreading Buddhism, because Buddha himself as well as many Buddhist preachers were powerful disputants. It is a peculiar feature of the time

that members of many of the religious orders attached more importance to belief based on reasoning than to blind faith, and pursuant to this state of things, the vanquished in a disputation left his religious belief as soon as it was brought home to him in a public debate that there was a flaw in the chain of reasoning upon which his belief was based: while no such flaw could be pointed out in the reasoning upon which the belief of the victor was founded. No stigma attached to the relinquishment of a religious belief by reason of defeat in a controversy or by a change in faith brought about in other ways. It was not so in later times when the ceremonial and social exterior of religion almost ceased to have a living connection with the inner conviction of an individual. At the time of which we are speaking, many students after finishing their education used to wonder about in the various parts of India as paribbājakas in order to learn the various religious

^{1.} The portion in smaller types has been abridged from Bhikkhu Silacara's First Fifty Discourses, Vol. II. pp. 84-88.

doctrines and gain mastery over the art of disputation¹. They were at liberty to embrace any religion that appealed to them most as the vehicle of ultimate truths. In spite of the parents' objection, we read of many instances of young brāhmaņas and ksattrivas joining the Buddhist order. It was this state of things that helped Buddha and his band of preachers a good deal in the spread of the religion. The conversion of the followers of Sanjaya counting among them Sariputta and Moggalāna, the Jatilas, Pokkharasādi, Sakuludāyī, Mahakassapa the Acela, Canki, Esukāri, Ghotamukha, Vekhanassa, 'Saccaka, and a host of others signifies a good record of Buddha's success in conversion among the paribbakas and the religious orders both brāhmanical and non-brāhmanical. Dhammika upāsaka in the Sutta-Nipāta was right in saying that the disputing titthiyas, Ajīvakas, Niganthas, many of whom were aged, submitted to the captivating power of Buddha's exposition of his religion². The influx of converts from the aforesaid classes was so great that Buddha had to introduce a bar to a ready ingress of undesirable men into the order by laying down that those who belonged to a religious order must pass a period of probation for four months3.

Buddha very frequently. This method had a great resemblance to Socratic dialogues. At the beginning of his discourse, he tried to have an idea of the leanings of the Ways of persons by putting to them questions on religious matters or answering the questions that he allowed them to put to himself. In this way he used to select a subject most suited to the occassion and agreeable to the persons composing the audience and delivered a discourse on same. He preferred to use the popular dialect as the medium of his discourse. Similes, parables, fables very often drawn from experiences of every day life were interspersed with his

¹ Majjh. Niki, II, p. 148. Assalāyana, a master of brāhmanical lore, was asked whether he had wandered about as a paribbājaka (to complete his education) "Caritam kho pana bhotāy Assalāyandena paribbājakam; ma bhavam Assalāyano ayuddhaparājitam parājayiti." See also Dr. Barua's Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 192.

² Sutta Nipāta, p. 67.

³ Majjh. Nik., I, p. 391; Vinaya, I, p. 69.

speeches along with pithy verses to make his arguments; sweet and effective¹. He attached great importance to the art of preaching and tried to impress upon the minds of his disciples the sense of its importance. The particular features. by which his speeches were rendered so very impressive were, first because he utilized his higher knowledge abhiññā, by which he could find out the persons who would benefit by his. discourses on a particular day; secondly because the selection of the subjects of his discourses was the result of a correct diagnosis (sanidāna) of the mentality of the listeners2; and thirdly because he utilized his occult powers (pāţihāriya) in three ways, viz. iddhis (the rddhis of the Hindu Yogasāstras) which impressed his audience with awe at the sight of manifestation of powers ostensibly in transgression of the physical laws; ādesanā or the exhibition of his power of thought-reading; and anusāsani or the warning to a person to give up his discursive or evil thoughts revealed to Buddha through thoughtreading3.

Buddha foresaw the abuses incidental to the cultivation and use of such powers by his disciples, for many of them might be in a lower plane of spiritual culture and utilize them for selfish ends. To avoid such abuses, he strictly enjoined his disciples not to display such powers before the householders⁴. In the opinion of Buddha, a good preacher should conform to the following rules:—

- (a) He should in ordinary discourses before householders make them gradual i.e. commence with dānakatham, sīlaka-tham, etc⁵.
- (b) Observe sequence (pariyāyadassāvā) in the details composing a theme;
 - (c) Use words of compassion (anuddayatam paţicca katham)...
 - (d) Avoid irrelevant matters (namisantara kahtham) and

¹ Dr. Oldenberg's Buddha (Hoey's trans.) pp. 185-193.

² Divyāvādāna, pp. 96, 124. "Asayānusayam viditvā dhātum prakṛtim ca jūātvā tādrsi dharmadesanā kṛta".

³ Ang. Nik.; I, p. 276; Dīgh, Nik., I, pp. 212-214.

⁴ Vinaya, II, p. 112; na bhikkhave gihinam uttarimanussadhammam iddhipā!ihariyam dassetabbam.

⁵ See ante, pp. 47, 48.

(e) Make his speeches free from caustic remarks against others¹.

In the 5th century B.C. there was no paramount sovereingnty in Northen India which was divided into a large number of independent states. Of these, the four monarchies af Magadha, Kosala Vatsa, and Avanti rose into importance and fought

VIII.
Patronage
of Kings
clans and
others.

with one another for the conquest of places in the possession of the smaller states². The number of preachers of various religions, working in all these domains, was large and the more prominent among them vied with one another

for gaining the support of one or other of the several kings. There are passages in the Buddhist scriptures hinting that Buddha was anxious to enlist the sympathy and patronage of kings, clans, and noblemen in support of his religion. The story of the conversion of Malla Roja, a nobleman, shows explicitly the anxiety felt by Buddha on this score. When Buddha was entering the city of the Mallas, Malla Roja, went to welcome him, not out of reverence but for avoiding the liability of paying a fine laid down by the Mallas for those who refused to welcome Buddha. When he came near Buddha, he spoke out to Anada his real feeling at which the latter became sorrowful and requested Buddha to work upon the mind of Malla Roja in such a way as to make him one of his ardent adherents, because he was a distinguished nobleman whose influence and example would go a great way towards making Buddhism popular in the locality. Buddha agreed and overcame the indifferent attitude of Malla Roja by exercising the feeling of love $(mett\bar{a})$: whereby he was won over to the doctrine3. Though we do not come across any express passage in the Sutta Pitaka showing that Buddha is acting with a similar motive to any of the royal personages, his direction to his disciples in the Vinava Piţaka to fix the day of commencement of the vasāsāvsa in compliance with the wishes of Bimbisara on a particular occassion points to the same inference⁴.

¹ Ang. Nik., III, pp. 184, 196.

² Dr. Rhys Davids' Buddhist India, p. 3.

³ Vinaya, Mahāvagga, VI, 36, pp. 1-4.

⁴ Ibid., III, 4.

The first king met by Buddha after his enlightenment was the Magadhan king Bimbisāra who accorded him a very warm welcome, placed at Buddha's disposal his pleasure garden and asked the headmen of the villages in his domain to listen to Buddha's discourses. It was most probably for Bimbisāra that

Bimbisara of Magadha. Buddha gained a very wide popularity in Magadha. Magadha¹. The king was bent so much upon the welfare of the sangha that he issued the

decree that none must do any harm to the Sākyaputtiya samanas² and on many occasions he advised Buddha to frame rules for the welfare of the sangha. Some of these rules are, for example, not to give ordination to those who were in royal service, as the kings who were not in favour of the faith might harass the sangha on that ground³; to hold religious assemblies on the 8th, 14th and 15th day of each month like the other religious orders for the benefit of the upāsakas⁴.

Pasenadi was also a great benefactor of Buddha and his sangha, but he does not seem to have given his unqualified support like Bimbisāra. Though he supported many brāhmaṇa

Pasenadi of Kosala.

teachers, yet his attention to the welfare of Buddha and his sangha was not less than that shown to those teachers. His anxiety to make

a suitable gift to Ānanda⁵, his joy at the conversion of the robber Angulimāla who was given immunity for his past misdeeds and was promised a supply of the requisites for a monk⁶; his earnest desire to marry a Sākya princess and his ultimate marriage with Vasabhakhattiya to regain the confidence of the monks lost through inattentions to them⁷; his expression of pride at the fact that he was of the same age with Buddha and belonged to the same caste and province with him⁸ amply show his love for the religion and his desire to be counted as one of its well-wishers and supporters. In the Nikāyas it is stated that

¹ Mahāvastu, III, p. 449.

² Vinaya, MV., I, 42, I.

³ Ibid., I, 40, 4.

⁴ Ibid., II, 1-4; see infra.

⁵ Majjh, Nik., II, p. 116.

⁶ Ibid., II, p. 101.

⁷ Burlingame's Buddhist Legends, I, p. 91.

⁸ Majjh. Nik,. II, p. 124,

he became a lay-devotee and an ardent admirer of Buddha.¹ The bas-relief depicting him as proceeding to meet Buddha shows that he was respected by the Buddhists of the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. as a patron of the religion.

It is doubtful how far Buddha was successful in winning over the other two monarchs, Pajjota of Avanti and Udena of

Canda Pajjota of Avanti and Udena of Kosambi. Kosambī. The references to these kings in the Buddhist scriptures are few and far between. It is said that king Pajjota once sent Mahākaccyāna to welcome Buddha to his dominion, but Buddha, thinking his purpose would be better

served by Mahakaccayana himself preaching the did not accede to the king's request. The king was satisfied with Mahākaccāyana's exposition of the and became an ardent follower of the religion2. The Samyutta $Nik\bar{a}ya^3$ and the Tibetan translation of the $Vinaya^4$ state that king Udena of Kosambī became a convert to Buddhism. The Dhammapadatthakathā gives in detail the occasion of king Udena's conversion. He was much impressed by the piety of one of his queens Sāmāvatī who had been an upasika of Buddha and at whose request the king became a convert to the religion and made generous gifts⁵. Evidence is not strong that these two kings actively aided the spread of Buddhism but yet it is a great gain that they did not actively oppose its propagation. The mere tolerance of the activities of the Buddhist preachers within their kingdoms should be taken as a favourable circumstance in the spread of the religion.

Buddha was successful in making a large number of converts from among the nobles, ministers, bankers and Support from wealthy citizens. That the enlistment of the supports of Anāthapindika, Visākhā, Sīha, Abhayarājakumāra, Jīvaka, Yasa, Ambapālī, Nandaka, etc., furthered the cause of Buddhism to a very great extent needs hardly any comment.

¹ Sam. Nik., I, p. 70; Ang. Nik., V, pp. 65 ff; see also Divyāvdaāna, p. 154.

² Psalms of the Brethren, pp, 238-39.

³ Sam. Nik,. IV, p, 113.

⁴ Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, p. 74,

⁵ Burlingame's Buddhist Legends, I, p. 84.

Last but not the least was the support obtained by Buddha from the various clans of the period¹. Inspite of the fact that Mahāvīra had already been in the field and obtained a footing among the clans, Buddha was fairly successful in his missionary activities. It was not very difficult for Buddha to win over the Sākyas because he himself was of the clan. Anuruddha, Kimbila, Bhagu, Ānanda, Devedatta, Nanda, Upāli and many other Sākyas joined the order at Buddha's request. Under the leadership of Mahāpajāpati Gotmī², many Sākyan ladies also followed the example of the Sākyan youths and joined the order leading to the growth of the order of nuns.

Next to the Sākyas, the Licchavis and the Mallas came The Licchaunder the influence of Buddha's teaching. Buddha paid three visits to Vesāli, the city of the Licchavis, and by his preachings brought home to the them charm of Buddhism. He converted many distinguished members of the clan and obtained from them gifts of cetiyas. His work among the Mallas was also successful. It was perhaps as a token of favour to the faithful Mallas that Buddha selected Kusinārā, a upavana within their country, as a suitable place for his mahāparinibbāna.4

Buddha's missionary activity among the Bhaggas and the Bhaggas and the Koliyas was not perhaps so successful as among the previously stated clans. Buddha visited three nigamas of the Koliyas, and Ānanda one, but there is a remarkable paucity in the number of the converts mentioned as hailing from those places. Still less successful was Buddha's religious mission to the Bhaggas. The only place that was visited by Buddha was the Bhesakalāvana deer-park near Suṃsumāragiri and the persons won over were Nakula's parents and Bodhirājakumāra⁶.

We do not hear of other clans coming under the influence of Buddhism except in the statement of the *Mahāparinibbāna* Suttanta that the Bulis of Allakappa and the Moriyas of

¹ For detailed treatment, see infra. V.

² Majjh. Nik., I, p. 462; S.B.E., XIX, pp. 226-227.

³ Dih. Nik., II, p. 102.

⁴ Ibid., II, p. 169.

⁵ Kakkarapattam, Haliddavāsanam, Uttaram, and Sāpug.am

⁶ Majih. Nik., II, p. 91.

Pipphalivana along with the clans already mentioned claimed Buddha's relics for erecting stupas in their respective countries.

Thus we see that Buddhism owed much of its expansion to Buddha's ability in securing sympathy and patronage of kings, nobles, and clans, who in many cases had already been supporting other religions. Though later in the field, Buddhism could supplant at times the other religions, ultimately monopolising the sympathy and support of some of the magnates.

The part played by women¹ in the spread of Buddhism cannot be ignored or brushed aside as of little importance. On many occasions it was through their influence that whole families

ix.
Part played
by ladies in
the spread
of Buddhism.

were converted to Buddhism. Visākhā and Ambapālī, for instance, rendered signal services to the saṅgha by their munificent gifts and the former's work was more valuable because she became the means of conversion of all the members

of her father-in law's family from Jainism to Buddhism. Anātha-piṇḍika's daughter made it possible through her exertions to establish a centre of Buddhism in Anga through the conversion of the whole of her father-in-laws's family ² The conversion of king Udena was effected through one of her queens named Sāmāvatī³. It was with the help of the brāhmaṇa girls of Sākya family married at Bhadramukha that Buddha could convert Meṇḍaka gahapati⁴. Instance like this can be multiplied to show that ladies helped a good deal in the propagation of Buddhism.

The formation of the order of nuns was highly appreciated by the womenfolk generally, while at the same time it furthered the cause of Buddhism to a great extent. Not only did it afford relief to many a woman in her knawing miseries but it also recognised the dignified position in which the women had claim to be placed along with the men through the implication that they were as much eligible to the making of efforts for spiritual emancipation as the males. Those of the nuns who could enter into the mysteries of the religion naturally felt an inclination to initiate others into the same mysteries and offer them a perma-

¹ I am indebted to Dr. B.M. Barua for suggesting this point.

² Kern's Manual of Indian Buddhism, pp. 37-38.

³ See ante, pp. 72-73.

⁴ Divyāvadāna, p. 128.

nent solace in their lives. They like the bhikkhus visited the householders and through their easy access to the ladies of the houses had greater opportunities of working upon their impressionable minds and enlisting them either as lay-devotees or nuns. Conversions of this nature were frequent and there are examples in the *Therigāthā* of women becoming nuns through the exertions of the advanced bhikkhunīs. The bhikkhunīs thus carried the light of the new religion from house to house and helped the spread of Buddhism far and wide.

The last factor but not the least was the resort to occult powers to bring conviction home to the minds of the unconvinced and make them converts. In writing of the spread of a religion, or the life of a founder of a religion, scholars, as a rule, leave this factor out of account, as it is not looked upon as in keeping with the standpoint of the present-day material sciences. It may be said that if once the possesion and use of the occult

powers be admitted and believed, there will be no criterion by which to sift out the actual expression of the occult powers from the fiction with which the credulous writers would in course of time mix.

them up, and in consequence, the grossest absurdities will have credence. But apart from the question as to which of the exhibitions of such powers are to be believed and which to be disbelieved, the point that has to be settled is whether it is reasonable to leave altogether out of account a factor without which there would certainly be left a gap in the aggregate of causes that are responsible for the degree and range of influenceof a particular religion at a particular time. We often notice in the account of the life of the founder of a religion or its branch. that mere disputations, mere appeals to the intellect and reason often fail to convince a person of the truth of a statement or the power of the arguer to lead to the path that takes one tothe summum bonum of human life. Argumentators, however, powerful, are often found to cause bitterness of feeling unless. they are aided by other factors including the one under discussion. An exemplary character, a persuasive tongue, acuteness of intelligence, self-abnegation and other elements that make a strong and imposing personality are not sufficient to produce the results that were actually achieved by the founders of religions like Christ, Buddha, Muhammad, and others. A single

leper healed by the mere touch of Christ, the power of vision restored to a single blind man are more effective in the spread of a religion than numberless victories in disputations. But such powers are disbelieved by us of this material age, the age of the predominance of the physical sciences and the general ignorance of the spiritual. In the life of Buddha, we meet with many cases. where mere arguments failed to achieve the desired ends, and ultimately, resort was had to occult powers. It should not be supposed that I am advocating belief in the existence of such. powers as the result of my credulity. I have not, on the other hand, the least objection to making the rules of criticism for keeping facts apart from fiction as stringent as possible. What I want to contend for is that a most powerful factor in the spread of a religion should not be left out of account, and the rest of the factors put forward as sufficient to produce the results achieved by its founder and his disciples within a particular period. The influence of the mere fact that occult powers are possessed and used by a certain preachers high in spiritual culture goes a great way in disarming opposition to him. I donot speak of the details in which such powers may be manifested, for the descriptions of such details offer opportunities for mixing fiction with facts. I am only speaking of the fact of merepossession of such powers and their use within the limits natural to the laws governing their use; for the powers obtained. as special gifts of nature, or acquired by sādhana (spiritual devotion and discipline) have to work through the human frame, which by its own limitations naturally obstructs and limits the expression of the powers. India has been noted for ages as the land of those who are adepts in spiritual matters. Yoga and sādhana have nowhere been so much cultured as in this country. The treatises on these methods of sādhana from downwards speak of certain occult powers as naturally acquired. by the true sādhakas. The assertions of these works are put aside by scholars trained in the western methods of criticism and acquainted merely with the laws of the material world laid down in the works on the physical sciences. But utterly ignorant as they are of these matters, they do not hesitate to speak as authorities on spiritual matters, and as ignorance of these things is the order of the day, they naturally have a large following. So long as the West does not see eye to eye with theEast in this respect and researches do not settle it definitely how far to believe and how far to disbelieve, it is certainly risky to try to sift the truth from fiction in the details furnished by the scriptures; but the position may yet be thus far clear to some intimate with the life of any of the few Indian sādhakas of the true stamp that the possession and use of the occult powers are not an unreality and their influence as a factor in the spread of religion is not less if not greater than any other.

It will be evident from what has been said in the previous section that Magadha was a suitable place for the origin and development of non-brahmanic religions like Buddhism. If we look back to the remote period when it was known as Kikata, it was even then considered by the orthodox brahmanas as wanting in sanctity and unsuitable for the performance of sacrifices. It shows that it was for a long time dislike by the orthodox brāhmanas as a place of habitation and therefore its inhabitants lived in comparative freedom from brahmanic orthodoxy. Hence it is that we find in the Majjhima Nikāya² that Sakuludāyi paribbājaka is telling Buddha that in ancient times Magadha 'seethed with sophistic discussions. That this country was a centre of intellectual activity is evident from the Sāmaññaphala account of king Ajātasattu's interview with six sophistic teachers'3. The attraction of the country for nonbrāhmanic religious teachers was heightened by reason of the fact that it was not only suitable for free expression of religious

Existence of a number of both brāh-maṇic and non-brāh-maṇic religious views in Magadha.

views but also for the advantages offered by it for the propagation of those views among a large number of people who naturally went there on account of its political importance. The *Brahmajālasutta* which was delivered by Buddha at Rājagaha gives us a panoramic view of the various doctrines prevailing at the

time. Many of the doctrines might be classed as brāmanic.

¹ See ante, pp.36-38.

² Majjh. Nik., II p.2.

³ Dr. Baruay's Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 281.

while the rest were non-brahmanic. I mention below the names of a few adherents of brahmanic and non-brahmanic doctrines, having their abodes at Rajagaha. The bramanic religious teacher Rudraka Rāmaputra had his āsrama at the place. Prince Siddhartha became one of his disciples at the commencement of his renunciation, and practised under his guidance self-mortifications along with the disciples Rudraka¹. Sañjaya Belaṭṭhaputta, a teacher of non-brahmanic doctrines, had also his asrama there with Sariputta and Moggalāna as his chief disciples². There was again the brāhmanical teacher Kūtadanta maintained by grants of villages from Bimbisara³. He used to perform sacrifices on grand scales, killing hundreds of animal victims on the occasions. There was no lack of teachers believing that supernatural powers and heavenly happiness could be obtained through rigorous ascetic practices4. The Sāmaññaphala and other suttas5 make it clear that the distinguished teachers of non brahmanic doctrines viz. Purāna Kassapa, Ajita Kesakambalin, Makkhali Gosāla, Pakudha Kaccāyana, and Nigantha Nātaputta with their disciples dwelt in different parts of Magadha from time to time. The noteworthy fact, not of course peculiar to Magadha, is that the monarchs viz. Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu were tolerant to both brahmanic and non-brahmanic cults, and extended their patronage to the brahmana teachers quite as much as to the Buddhist and Jaina monks, by virtue of which they all claimed the sovereigns as their devoted followers6.

'Thus we see that Buddha had to encounter the opposition of a large number of sects but fortunately he had this advantage that there were several sects-whose views were far from the brāhmaṇic standpoint. This was however but as a few rays of light in the gloom of opposition that darkened the path of progress and hindered him in his onward march. He had phenomenal success

¹ Mahāvastu, II, p. 207; Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, p. 142.

² Vinaya, I, pp. 39ff.

³ Digh Nik., I, pp. 127ff.

⁴ For details, See Buddhist India, pp. 140-146; Dr. Barua's Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, pp. 188ff.

[¿]Digh. Nik., I, pp. 47ff; Maijh Nik, II, pp. 2ff

⁶ Ind. Ant. XLV, p, 12; Digh Nik. I, pp, 114, 127;

in the brāhmana villages of Khānumata and Ekānālā where he could win over to his side two renowned brahmanas Kūtadanta and Kasibharadvāja1. The piṭakas, though silent on Buddha's failure, mention as an example of Buddha's triumph over Māra, that in the brāhmana village Pañcasālā, he could not obtain a single spoonful of rice in his begging round². From this we get a glimpse into the volume of opposition that Buddha had to encounter on certain occasions. There are also in the Nikāyas passing allusions to the frivolous grounds on which his opponents wanted to make his path thorny. Some brāhmanas, for instance, tried to rouse oppositions to him by saying that Buddha was wanting in reverence towards the aged brāhmaņas and claimed superiority over them3. Buddha had also to meet with opposition from the influential brahmanas e.g. the minister of Ajātasattu who instigated other members of his caste to alienate the people from Buddha by saying broadcast that all the blessings that man desired could be had from them and they need not seek Buddha's help in the matter⁴. It was through his personality, his appealing way of preaching a rational dhamma, his ability in disputations with the brahmanas and laying bare their weak points, and his firm stands against the abuses of belief and religion prevailing at the time that he could win over people including many brahmanas to his side.

The resistance, offered by the non-brāhmanical sects, many of whose objects and methods of spiritual training were akin to those of Buddhism, was in no way less than that of the brāhmanas. I have, of course, in mind the intensity of the teeling of opposition that the members of the different sects entertained towards the new rival sect. But as the followers of brāhmanic religion were far too many in comparison with htose of the non-brāhmanic sects, the chances of Buddha and his disciples coming into collision with them were much greater than with those of the aforesaid sects. The episodes of Buddha meeting with opposition from the members of the other religi-

¹ Digh. Nik. I. pp, 117ff; Sam. Nik., I pp. 172, 173; Sutta Nipāta, p, 13.

² Sam Nik., I, p. 114.

³ Sutta Nipāta, p. 50.

⁴ Avadāna Sataka, pp. 83, 84.

ous sects have this peculiar feature about them that the opposition from the non-brāhmaṇic sects exceeds in many cases the limits of mere verbal disputations rising up to resorts to practical make-shifts for blackening Buddha's character, while the opposition from the members of brāhmaṇic sects did not, as a rule, cross the said limits.

Sañjaya Belatthaputta, the centre of whose activities was at Rājagaha, was the first nonbrāhmanic religious teacher to feel the power of the religion preached by Buddha for within a

Buddha and Sañjaya Belatthaputta, very short time he saw that half of his following had been won over to Buddha's side. It was Assaji, a disciple of Buddha, who commenced the onslaught by converting Sāriputta, the

principal follower of Sañjaya to Buddhism, and Sāriputta in his turn followed him up until half of his quondam fellow disciples embraced Buddhism. This event together with the previous conversions made by Buddha and his followers created in Magadha a sensation which served as the basis of the remark found in the *Vinaya* that Buddha took into his order 1000 Jaṭilas, 250 followers of Sañjaya, and the sons of distinguished Magadhan families, thereby making the families sonless and the wives husbandless, and there was no knowing who might be taken in next¹.

Nigantha Nataputta was a formidable rival of Buddha, and as he was at work earlier than Buddha, he made a fair progress

Buddha and Nigantha-Nataputta. in the spread of his religion in Magadha and the neighbouring states. It appears from the accounts of conversions to Buddhism that Buddha could not convert the followers of

Nātaputta in large numbers, as he did the followers of other cults. But he stole a march upon Nātaputta by being able to enlist among his *upāsakas* Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu who had been lay-supporters of Nātaputta². Though a religion spreads

¹ Vinaya, I, pp. 39-44.

² The Jaina āgamas claim Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu as Jainas while the Buddhist piṭakas declare them as Buddhists. Neither the Jaina nor the Buddhist literature admits that they were supporters of the religions at different times or at the same time in different degrees. The facts of the lives of the two emperors, however, point to the inference that Bimbisāra supported Jainism when it appeared on the field but inclined decidedly

irrespective of the social or political position of the people. the spread of religion is facilitated by the conversion of influential people, because, after all, the masses at times follow in such matters the example of leaders held by them in high esteem, for they lack in many cases the capacity to judge the merit of two rival religions which agitate the country. The importance of the conversion of Bimbisara to Buddhism will appear from what he did for it. He continued to be its warm supporter and allowed one of his queens not only to be an upāsikā but also later on a nun¹. He persuaded his subjects to become lay-devotees of Buddha, paved the way for the conversion of Rudrāyana, king of Roruka2, made a gift of the Veluvana garden to the Buddhist order for use as a resort of bhikkhus and gave advice to Buddha in regard to the framing of some of the Vinaya rules. So great was his confidence in Buddha that he did not allow a competition of miraculous powers between Buddha and some of the teachers of non-brahmanical sects who requested him to arrange for it. These teachers were afterwards defeated by Buddha at a competition which was arranged by Pasenadi, king of Kosala, at their request3. Buddha had occasions to enter into discussion with four distinguished disciples of Nātaputta at Nālandā which was a stronghold of Jainism. These four disciples were Abhayarājakumāra⁴, Asibandhakaputta gāmani, Upāli, and Dighatapassi⁵. With the exception of the last named ascetic, the rest were, as the result of the disputations, converted to Buddhism⁶. So far as

towards Buddhism when it asserted itself as a rival of Jainism. Ajātasattu was a supporter of Devadatta who initiated a sect holding views similar to Jainism so far as its discipline was concerned. Abhayarājakumara, a Jaina; expostulated with Buddha for condemning Devadatta. This shows that Devadatta had Jaina sympathies and Ajātasattu by supporting him shows the nature of his religious views. He, however, was converted to Buddhism a year before Buddha's parinibbāṇa (Mr. V. A. Smith's Early History of India, p. 33).

- 1 Psalms of the Sisters, pp. 81, 82; Manorathapūraņī, I. p. 345.
- 2 Divyāvadāna, pp. 550 ff.
- 3 Ibid., pp. 143ff; Prof. Kern's Manual, p. 33.
- 4 Majjh. Nik., I, p. 392.: Prince Abhaya was one of the chief patrons of Nigantha Nataputta's order (Dr. Barua, op. cit., p. 375).
 - 5 Sam. Nik., IV, p. 317.
 - 6 Majjh. Nik., I, p. 371.

Buddha's missionary work among the Jainas is concerned, the above account records the very limited success that he was able to achieve.

Instances of conversion to Buddhism as a result of Buddha's activity among the followers of the remaining four non-brāh-

Buddha and the remaining four nonbrahinanical teachers. manical teachers are wanting in the Nikāyas, but that Buddha was not inattentive to recruiting his followers from among the disciples of these teachers appears from the fact that the religious doctrines held by them were criticised

in detail by Buddha. Many of the suttas contain such criticisms, which show that there was a movement set afloat by Buddha against the activity of the four teachers viz. Pakudha Kaccā-yana, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajitakesakambalī and Purāṇa Kassapa.¹ These criticisms are often found as side-issues on Buddha's discussions with his own disciples, and with men who used to come to him with the object of getting religious light from him or defeating him in disputation. Abhayarājakumāra, for instance, defined Purāṇa Kassapa's doctrines in course of his conversation with Buddha who had thus an occasion to criticise them². Similarly Ānanda once referred to the classification of beings made by Makkhali Gosāla but Buddha convinced him of the hollowness of such classification.³

We have so far dealt with the volume and nature of opposi-

Buddha's missionary activities in Magadha. tion met with by Buddha in the different places in Magadha. I am now delineating Buddha's activities in Magadha in connection with the propagation of his religion as recorded in the Buddhist scriptures. The places which have been

recorded as the scenes of his religious propaganda in Magadha are Gayā, Uruvela, Rājagaha and its suburbs Nālandā, Pātaliputta, Dakkhiṇāgiri, Andhakavinda, and Kallavālamuttagāma.

¹ For a detailed treatment of the doctrines of the four teachers, see Dr. Barua's *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, chs. XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI.

² Sam. Nik., V, p. 128.

³ Ang. Nik., III, pp. 383ff; see Dr. Barua, op. cit. p. 278.

Bodh-Gaya is in the eye of a Buddhist the most sacred place on the earth, as it was the birth-place of the Gayā religion which became almost pan-Asiatic in later times. Buddha's missionary work proper was started at Benaras a sketch of which has been given elsewhere. It was when he visited Gaya after finishing his first activities at Benaras that we find Buddha carrying on his missionary work at this place. Uruvela, a village in the suburb of Gaya, was the stronghold of the Jatilas, an order of brahmanical ascetics. As these ascetics were very difficult to be weaned from the cults in which they had placed implicit faith, it is said that Buddha was put to the necessity of exhibiting miraculous powers to soften their minds in his favour, though he was extremely reluctant to make use of these powers if it could be helped. After preparing his ground in this way, he tried to explain to them the efficacy of following the truth that he had discovered. This explanation shook the foundation of their beliefs to a great extent, though of course, their minds required to be worked up a little further before they could be fully converted1. They accompanied Buddha to Gayāsīsa where he delivered the discourse Adittapariyā yam (Fire Sermon) intended to explain to the Jatilas that the summum bonum which they wanted to attain through fire-worship could be had not through the worship of fire but through the extinction of fires of rāga, dosa, and moha kindled by the action of the sense-organs on the objects of those senses. The Jatilas after hearing this discourse gave up their cults and joined the order initiated by Buddha as bhikkhus. It was with these bhikkhus and the sixty one converts recruitted at Benaras and its neighbourhood that Buddha created a sensation at Rājagaha where he went next.

On the occasion of Buddha's fist visit to Rājagaha in the second year after Enlightenment, he stayed at Latṭhivana, five miles from the town. It was here that Bimbisāra with his ministers, courtiers, and village-headmen came to meet him. Buddha's youthful appearance led them to think that he was a disciple of the hoary-headed Uruvelakassapa who had been the leader of the Jaṭilas, and accompanied Buddha to Latthivana. But Uruvelakassapa's

homage to Buddha in their presence belied their impression. The youthful Buddha with his sonorous voice explained the first principles of Buddhism, the anicca (transitoriness) and anattā (absence of permanent essence) of the five skandhas (constituents of being), and brought home to the mind of the Emperor and his attendants that the religion preached by Buddha had excellences, by virtue of which it could lay claim of superiority to other religions of the time. 1

The importance of Rajagaha from the point of view of missionary work was very great. It was a great resort of religious teachers and wanders (paribbājakas) who used to come to the city usually in the company of the traders who supplied them with food and raiment in their journey from distant places. The city was moreover situated at the junction of several trade-routes facilitating communication and transit of messages to and from distant places. This made it extremely important for the propagation of the truths that Buddha wanted to preach broadcast. Over and above these, the city provided other advantages, valuable for a religious organizer. viz. of entering into disputations with the religieaux and asserting the superiority of the religion by defeating them; of setting on a sound footing the organization by which the bhikkhus could pursue the ideals, secure from cares for the bare needs of their lives; and of establishing suitable hermitages for the monks in the caves of the surrounding hills so convenient for deep thinking and the pursuit of yoga. The description of the hills with their hermitages requires a little elaboration in view of their importance in the history of the spread of Buddhism. The highest of the hills called the Vultures' Peak (Gijjhaküţa-pabbata)2 was a favourite resort of Buddha. In the first few years after Enlightenment, he spent his time frequently at this place with some of his distinguished disciples, viz, Sāriputta, Moggalāna, Mahākassapa Anuruddha, Punna Mantaniputta, Upali, Ananda, and Devadatta, delivering discourses and imparting them necessary training

¹ Mahavastu. III, p 441; Vinaya, I, 22, 1-2; Watters' Yuan Chwang, II, p. 146; Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, pp. 42, 43.

² For its identification, seet Arch. Suru, Report. 1905.6; Mr. Cunningham indentifies it with Sailagiri (Anc. Geo. p. 466).

for their spiritual progress and missionary works. To facilitate communication with Buddha and his disciples, Bimbisāra made a road from the foot to the top of the hill. The peak was the scene of the nefarious attempts of Devadatta supported by Ajātasattu to kill Buddha for not putting him in charge of a body of monks, as he did in regard to Sāriputta and Cave dwellings

Moggalāna. Besides the hermitages on the Vultures' Peak, there were ten other abodes of bhikkhus on the hills surrounding Rājagaha² viz.

- (1) Corapapāta (the precipice whence robbers were flung to death);
- (2) Isigilipașse Kalasilā (the black rock³ by the side of the Rşi-giri)4;
- (3) Vebhārpasse Sattapaṇṇiguhā (where the first Buddhist Synod was held);
- (4) Sitavana Sappasondikapabbhāra the cave situated in a hill infested with snakes and near the crematorium called Sītavana which Buddha used to visit with his disciples for passing some time at the place as part of the spiritual training of his disciples. From the nature of this hermitage it would appear that it was specially suited to those monks who took up the sosānika dhutanga i.e. practising samādhi on a cremation ground for their spiritual uplift.
 - (5) Gomata-kandara;
- (6) Tinduka (the cave deriving its name from the Tinduka trees 'Diospyrus Embryopetris'):
 - (7) Tapoda-kandara (Tapoda=hot spring);
 - (8) Tapodārāma6;
 - 1 Watter's Yuan Chwang, II. p. 151.
- 2 Digh. Nik., II, pp. 116, 263; Vinaya, II, p, 76; see D.N. Sen's Rājaghha in the Buddhist Scriptures in the Report of the Second Oriental Conference, pp. 613-624 and Sites in Rajgir in the J. B. O. R. S, Vol. iv.
- 3 Watters' Yuan Chwang, II, p. 155. The Chinese pilgrims refer to the cases of religious suicide committed here, said to have been approved by Buddha. Cf. Sam. Nik., III, pp. 119-124; IV, pp. 55-60! V, p 320.
- 4 The name Rsi-giri was transforemd into Isi-gili which was supposed to have been deriven from the fact that the hill devoured (gila—to devour) the ascetics i.e. those ascetics who entered it never returned, so congenial the place was to them (Majjh. Nik., III, pp. 68ff.)
 - 5 Divyāvadāna, p. 268
 - 6 Hot springs still exist there see Arch. Sur. Rep. 1904-5.

- (9) Indasālaguhā¹ where Buddha delivered the Sakkapañha-sutta (No. 21) of the *Dīgha Nikāya*;
- (10) Pipphali-guhā named after Pipphali mānava, the former name of Mahākassapa who used to stay here².

These hill hermitages could not provide sufficient accommodation for all the monks staying at Rājagaha.

For this reason as also out of love for solitude, many monks dwelt in arañña-kutikas (leafsheds) in the jungles on the hills³. Dabba Mullaputta was entrusted with the charge of grouping the monks according to their subjects of study or methods of spiritual discipline, and of allotting to them suitable residences.

Though Buddha accepted the Veluvana Kalandakanivāpa4 from Bimbisara and resided there very often, the Vinaya rules did not yet allow the monks to have any residences specially made for them by the laity. A setthi of Rajagaha felt for this inconvenience of the Buddhist monks and enquired whether it would be objectionable to them if he built monasteries (vihāras) for their use. He was told that up till now the monks had not been permitted by Buddha to have such vihāras. They had to dwell in "the woods, at the foot of trees, on hill-sides in grottoes, in mountain caves, in cemetries, in forests, in open plains, and in heaps of straw" (arañña, rukkhamūla, pabbata, kandara, giriguhā susāna, vanapattha, ajjhokāsa. and palālapuñja)5, This question raised by the query of the setthi was put up before Buddha, who thenceforward permitted the monks to use with some restrictions five sorts of residences viz. vihāra, addhayoga, pāsāda, hammiya guhā (monastery, cottage, storied dwelling, attics, cave)6. When Buddha allowed the monks to live in vihāras

Notable vihāras given by the laity.

given by the lay-devotees, the latter commenced building them in large numbers. Three such vihāras in the suburbs of Rājagaha are often mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures viz., Veluvana, Jivaka-ambayana, and Maddakucchi

migadāya. The first vihāra was presented by Bimbisāra on the

¹ Watters' Yuan Chwang, 11, p. 173.

² Manorathapuran, I. P. 175; Psalms of the Brethren, p. 363,

³ Majjh. Nik., III. p. 217; Jātakas, III, pp. 33, 71; V. p, 176.

⁴ For a description of the Veluvana monastery, see Mr. D.N. Sen, op.cit.

⁵ S. B. E., XX, p. 157; Vinaya, II, p. 146.

⁶ S. B. E., XIII, pp. 173, 174 and fn, Vinaya, II, p. 146.

occasion of Buddha's first entrance into Rājagaha, the second by Jīvaka in the twentieth vassa of Buddha's ministry, and the third very probably by a Madda prince when Mahākappina was ordained as a monk¹.

Buddha's followers at the time of his visit to Rājagaha were the five brāhmaņa ascetics converted at Sārnāth, Yasa

Buddha's attempts atconversion of paribbājakas and the members of the religious orders.

with his fifty four companions, the thirty Bhaddavaggiya youths and three Kassapa brothers with their band of Jatilas. After enlisting Bimbisāra and his gāmaṇis and courtiers as laydevotees and fixing Veluvana for his own residence, Buddha made attempts to carry on further his missionary work. Sāriputta and

Moggalana were the first to be converted at Rajagaha with their companions the two hundred and fifty disciples of Sañjaya. Sāriputta had already made a good deal of progress in spritual culture and took only a fortnight to reach arabathood. This stage was attained at the time when Buddha was delivering a discourse at Sukarakhatalena in Gijjhakūta on the three vedanās, their origin, and destruction for the benefit of Dīghanakha paribbājaka, a relative of Sāriputta, who was fanning Buddha on the occassion2. Moggalana who went to Kallavālamuttagāma for practising meditation of the elements (dhātukammatthānam) fell into sloth and torpor on the seventh day after his ordination; but admonised by Buddha, he became diligent and attained the perfection of knowledge3. After the conversion of Sanjaya's followers, Buddha frequently visited the various halls (kutñhalsālās) and the abodes of Wanderers (paribbājakārāmas) and non-brāhmanical teachers of Rājagaha with a view to convince them of the efficacy of his religion by discussions. The discourses that were delivered at Rajagaha dealt mainly with the various doctrines of the paribbajakas

¹ Mahākappina's wife was a Madda princess, see Vinaya, 1, p. 105; Burlingame's Buddhists, Legends, II, pp. 169-176.

² The Sutta is named 'Dighanakha Suttantam' in the Majjh, Nik., 1, p. 501 and 'Vedanā pariggaha Suttantam' in the commentary of Buddhaghosa (Burlingame's Buddhist Legends, I, p. 203) because the first part treats of the tenets of Dighanakha and the last part of the Vedanās.

³ Manorathapuram, I, p. 161; Ang, Nik,, IV, p. 85.

and religious teachers because, Buddha had at this time to lay bare the weak points of their faiths and vindicate the strength of his own doctrines. He succeeded on many occasions to win over to his sideas lay-disciples many followers of other sects but he could not add much to the number of his bhikkhus. As for instance, the paribbājakas Vacchagotta, Dīghanakha, Sakulūdayi, and Acela Kassapa took life long saraņa in Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha but did not become bhikkhus.

Buddha utilized the opportunity of meeting the large number of emissaries sent to him in batches by his father Suddhodana for taking him to Kapilavatthu by converting them to

Buddha's flying visit to Kapila vastu and the converts made.

Buddhism. Sakulūdāyi, a playmate of Buddha was the head of the last batch of the emissaries. After conversion he was able to persuade Buddha to pay a visit to Kapilavatthu. The story of what Buddha did at this place forms the sub-

ject-matter of the next section. This much I should mention here that some of the converts, joining his order now, played shortly after an important part in the work of propagation of Buddhism and became in later times very prominent figures in the history of the religion. They were Anuruddha, Ānanda, Upāli, and Rāhula. Less prominent were Buddha's cousin Nanda, Bhaddiya, Bhagu. and Kimbila. Devadatta who joined the order along with others became prominent by his opposition to Buddhism rather than by helping it.

During the periods of Buddha's residence at Rājagaha througout his career, Buddha used to keep himself busy with the training of the bhikkhus. He constantly watched their conduct and their mode of performance of spiritual practices; inculcating upon them at the same time the essential principles of

Buddha's Industry for training up his disciples. Buddhism. The discourses in the Nikāyas show clearly how Buddha studied their character and predilections, and corrected their weaknesses by suitable advice, admonitions and courses of

disciplinary practices. In the Rāhulovādasutta, for instance, Buddha instruted Rāhucla how kāyakamma (deed), vacīkamma (word), and manokamma (thought) could be kept pure by paccāvekkhana (examination and introspection) because he had seen that Rāhula was not sufficiently self controlled. When, however, the disciple made some progress in self-control, he led

him up to realise gradually the anicca (want of permanent essence) and dukkha-bhāya (miseries inherent in the nature) of all worldly things and that the four dhātus or five skandhas collectively or separately do not constitute the attā (ego)1. Nanda, another of his disciples, could not check his anxieties for food and raiment, for which he used to be taken to task by the Teacher. In due course the check put upon him helped him to control his senses so much that he has been Buddha's praised in the Anguttara Nikāya as the chief of cousin Nanda. those who have control over their senses (indriyesu guttadvārānam aggo).2 To cite another instance, Anuruddha could not, owing to slackness of exertion, attain cittavimutti (emancipation) though he had advanced much Anurudha. through his diligence in the path of meditation whereby he attained dibbacakkhu (the divine eye). This slackness which was clogging his way was removed by Buddha's guidance supplemented by the personal care taken of Anuruddha by Sāriputta³.

The weakness of Kimbila lay similarly in his inability to muster up sufficient mental concentration through in-breathing and out-breathing. This was detected by Buddha and removed by his advice with special reference to the processes which he could not practise in a perfect way.4

The case of Ananda is interesting. In spite of his insatiable love of knowledge by which he rose to be the chief of the bahussutas (the learned), and in spite of the great care that was bestowed upon him by Buddha for his spiritual culture, he could not attain arahathood until after the death of Buddha, the reason being that he could not divest himself of his great attachment to Buddha, not as the founder of a religion but as a master to whom he was related as a servitor. This attachment had the element which provide a clog to his practice of the doctrine of detachment from the world, the

¹ Ang Nik., II, pp. 164-69; Sam. Nik., III, p. 136; IV, pp. 105-7; Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 414ff; III, pp. 277-80.

² Sam, Nik., II, p. 281; Ang. Nik., I, p. 25; IV, p. 166.

³ Ang. Nik., I, p. 282; IV, pp. 228ff.

⁴ Sam. Nik., V, pp. 322-325.

corner-stone of Buddha's teachings. Buddha used to admonish Ananda for his inability to get rid of this attachment because: therein lay the cause of his failure to attain the state of mind. required for arahathood; and in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta we find Buddha expostulating with the disciple for shedding tears. when Buddha expressed his desire to leave this world1. So long, as Buddha lived, Ananda could not rise above the stage of bahussuta with his inordinate desire for knowledge as evidenced by the frequent questions that are recorded to have been put by him to Buddha about the correctness of Purāņa Kassapa's divisions of mankind, Sariputta's exposition of the origin of dukkha (suffering) from phassa (contact), the theory of causation (paticcasamuppāda), the sense of the terms nirodha, loka, suñña, vedanā, iddhi, ānāpānasati and so forth2. The training imparted to Devadatta by Buddha was on lines that were calculated assuitable to his peculiar mental tendencies. This Devadatta. diciple made some progress in yoga attaining ability to perform some miracles. Buddha detected his predilection for gain and fame through the exercise of his power to perform miracles by which he had won over Ajātasattu tobecome his patron; and with the view of removing this love of gain and fame, he gave him advice and delivered to him discourses calcuted to remove this weakness; but so deep-rooted had been this tendency that he continued on his way to ruin, turning deaf ear to his master's wardings3. The instances can bemultiplied but those that have been cited are enough to show how the great teacher used to see through the mental composition of the disciples whom he had occasion to train personally, reading their tendencies and mental weaknesses as clearly as if they were reflected on a mirror. This accounts for his great. success as a spiritual trainer. His superhuman insight enabled him to spot the deficiency of his followers, and to suggest the remedy that could remove it. He was a master of this art and could play on the mental gamut of his disciples perfectly, creating spiritual symphony by striking on the right chords of their minds and enchanting them by the music thus produced.

¹ Dīgh. Nik., II, pp. 142-44.

² Ang. Nik., III, pp. 383ff; Sam. Nik., II, pp. 34-37; VI, p. 167.

³ Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 192ff.; Vinaya, MV, VII, 2ff.

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Shortly after his arrival at Rājagaha, Buddha felt the necessity of framing rules by which the conduct of the bhikkhus could be directed on right lines and the organization constituted

Buddha felt the necessity of framing Vinaya Tules. by them worked smoothly but vigorously for the fulfilment of the ideals that the new religion held before the bhikkhus. Though at the outset he himself was watching and guiding the conduct of his disciples, he saw that as the number of

bhikkhus was growing gradually and was not confined to a particular locality, it was necessary that he should frame a body of rules that would gradually dispense with his personal watch and ward. Moreover, as he was founding a religious organization which was intended to work long after his own span of life on the earth, it ought to be made in such a way that it might be self-sufficing, meeting its own exigencies in addition tomaking full provision for the performance of the daily duties that are required of its members. But though he felt the necessity of framing rules that could meet completely the requirements of his religious organization with its branches, he saw that it was not possible to frame them all at once, because the whole set of rules could not be evolved without having experience of the deficiencies of the organization and the faults of commission and omission committed by the bhikkhus. The factor that accelerated the framing of the rules was the fact that his disciples were at times deviating from the line of conduct that the popular opinion of the time generally laid down for the monks e.g. want of moderation in eating, impropriety in dressing, and the like. Any case for which no rule was in existence had to be handled on its merits and a rule had to be framed. The existence of the rules could prove to be a check upon the monks' conduct, as otherwise they enjoyed absolutelatitude in the fields of action that were without any restraint. The Vinaya rules evolved gradually by the occurrence of new incidents or the commission of new offences. Many of the rules, of course, were laid down on the model of those already current in the religious orders of the day, e.g. the holding of uposathas. There are others also that were framed, pursuant to the mentality of the people at large, while there were others again. prescribed in compliance with the requirements of the state. Asan instance of the former may be cited the prohibition of a.

prolonged stay of a bhikkhu at a particular place1 and the prescription of the rule for passing vassa and holding pvaāranā at a particular locality2 while examples of the latter will be found in the rule that soldiers ond convicts must not be allowed to join the order. It took a long time, of course, for the set of rules to be evolved in its completeness. A good deal of care was taken to make the code of conduct as perfect as possible, and that Buddha succeeded in achieving this object is apparent from the smooth working of the code for centuries. The basal frame-work of the code which was made at Rajagaha served to check the delinquencies on the part of the bhikkhus against which Buddha on many occasions gave this warning: "These will not conduce, O Bhikkhus, to the conversion of the unconverted and to the augmentation of the number of the converted; but they will result, O Bhikkhus, in the unconverted being repulsed from the faith, and in many of the converted becoming estranged3." I mention below the Vinaya rules framed at Rajagaha along with references to the circumstances which necessitated or suggested the framing of the rules :-

- (A) Re. Initiation.—Difficulties arose by the delegation of the power of initiation of the power of initiation to the disciples, as there took place cases of either indiscriminate initiation or refusal to initiate deserving persons. To avoid these difficulties; the power was vested in a panel of ten monks (I.31), and the procedure for ordaining a person was a far as possible laid down in details. The rules are in the main the following:—
- (1) The practice of giving ordination by the trisarana formula was abrogated and the form of natti catutthena kammena upasamdādetabbam (conferring ordination by three proclammations) was introduced (I. 28).
- (2) No one should be ordained unless he seeks it (I. 19); and if a heretic excepting a Jatila or a Sakyan seeks ordination, he should pass through a probationary (darivāsa) period of four months (I. 38), as there had been cases of heretics joining the

¹ Vinaya., MV., I, 53.

² Ibid., MV., III, 4, 3.

³ S.B.E., XVII, pp. 18, 19.

⁴ The references that have henceforth been put in the body are from Vinaya, Mahavagga.

order but giving it up shortly after. They used to speak ill of the dhamma as they were ignorant of its essence.

- (3) Ordination should not be given to persons suffering from five kinds of diseases (I. 39), to men in royal service, criminals proclaimed or punished, debtors, and slaves (I. 40).
- (4) The person to be ordained must have a upajjhāya and an ācariya. The reason for laying down this rule was that the untrained, though ordained, bhikkhus incurred the displeasure of the laity by their shabby clothing, want of moderation in their meals, want of refinement in manners etc. The initiated bhikkhu had to undergo a period of training under the upajjhāya or ācariya, who should be a bhikkhu of ten years' standing. Elaborate rules were made regarding the mutual duties and obligations of the student and the teacher, and the checks for non-compliance with them, the qualifications of a teacher, the period for which the student should live with the teacher, the reasons for the cessation of the relationship between the student and the teacher and so forth (I. 25; I. 31; I. 32; I. 35-37; I. 53).
- (5) Restriction of age. Ordination was once given to some boys of tender age who had not the capacity to know what the life of a bhikkhu means. Hence the rule was made that persons below twenty years should not be given upasampadā (higher ordination) while those below fifteen should not be given pabbajjā (I. 49, 50).
- (6) The system of telling the four *nissayas* at the time of the ordination. Though the bhikkhus took the vow of poverty, some of them took advantage of the devotion and charity of of the laity to pass an easy life. This led to the laying down of the rule that every person when admitted into the order should be told that he must live on the morsels of food received by begging, clothe himself in robes made of sewn rags, dwell at arañña rukkhamūla, vanapattha, etc. and take (gomutra) decomposing urine of cows as medicine.² The severity of the rule
- 1. Regarding the distinction between upajjhāya and ācariya, see S.B.E., XIII, pp. 178, 179 fn.; Mr. S.K. Dutt in his Early Buddhist Monachism, pp. 180, 181 says "the Ācariya was the actual instructor and the Upajjhāya, who was formally elected at the upasampadā, was instructor only in name. The latter, however, enjoyed a higher status. There was, however, absolutely no difference between the duties and obligations of an Ācariya and those of a Upajjhāya"

² Vinaya, MV., 1, 30.

scared away intending converts; therefore a relaxation of the rule had to be introduced. The bhikkhus were permitted to accept invitations to the houses of the laity receive food and raiment offered by them. Through the efforts of Jīvaka, the bhikkhus were allowed to use robes of six kinds of stuff besides the pamsukūla (VIII. 3). Five other kinds of residences were sanctioned in addition to those mentioned above to diminish the hardships endured by the bhikkhus. These five were vihāra, addhayoga, hammiya, guhā and pāsāda. The acceptance of the vihāras constructed by the setthis of Rājagaha was sanctioned by Buddha at the earnest request of the setthis. This however led to some abuses, as the undisciplined of the bhikkhus gave themselves up to luxuries and teased the people by asking them for contributions for constructing the ārāmas or supplying their luxuries. A large number of restrictions had therefore to be appended to the rule e.g. prohibiting the bhikkhus to ask the people for vihāras and diminishing the size of the buildings to limited dimensions¹ etc. The rule regarding medicine was also relaxed to some extent, allowing bhikkhus to use ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses etc. as medicines. (VI. 15, 17, 26).

- (B). Re. Uposatha and Pātimokkha assemblies¹.—It was Bimbisāra who brought to Buddha's notice that the institution of holding uposathas (i. e, assemblies for religious discussions held thrice fortnightly), prevalent in some of the religious orders of the time, was very useful and requested Buddha to incorporate it in the Buddhists code of Vinaya. These assemblies developed in course of time an offshoot in the Pātimokkha gathering where the monks confessed their offences of omission or commission as explation for them. The Pātimokkha assemblies gave rise to some serious difficulties which were obviated by the framing of rules under the following heads:—
- (1) Defining $(s\bar{\imath}m\bar{a})$ the limits of jurisdiction of parishes (II, 5-6; II, 12. 7).
- (2) Selection of the President of the *Pātimokka* assembly (uposathapamukha).
 - (3) Selection of a person to answer questions on Dhamma

¹ See Sanghādisesa VI, in Vinaya, III, pp.144ff. and Cullavagga, VI for detailed rules re. dwellings and furniture.

and Vinaya (II, 15, 5-6; 16).

- (4) Uposatha Hall and its requisites (II, 20).
- (5) Persons not allowed to attend the *Pātimokkha* assemblies (II, 36).
 - (6) Confessions by sick and absentee bhikkhus (II, 22, 24).
- (7) Procedure for convening a Pātimokkha assembly (II, 3, 19).
- (C). Re. Vassavāsa. The practice of spending the rainy season at a particular place was current among the ascetics of various religious orders. This was adopted by Buddha. Either the day after the full-moon of Āṣāḍha or the day after a month from it was fixed as the day of commencing vassavāsa (III, 1-2).
- (D). Re. Use of Foot-wear. Buddha permitted the use of foot-wear in view of the great hardship suffered by the bhikkhu Sona Kolivisa on account of the delicate skin of his feet, by a few monks who had boils in their feet, and by a few other bhikkhus for having had to walk with bare feet on soil full of gravels in places like Avanti. The use of foot-wear generally by all monks was allowed later on to remove the inconvenience in walking long distances, though many restrictions as to the nature of the foot-wear had to be laid down (v, 1ff.).

Lastly, at Rājagaha a few rules for settling disputes (cv., iv, 4-10) and elaborate rules for the guidance of monks in their daily life (cv., v) were laid down. Of the Pātimokkha rules, twenty one were framed at Rājagaha, viz. under Pārājikā one, Saṅghādisesa six, Nissaggiya Pācittiya three, Pācittiya ten and Pāṭidesanīya one¹.

In the fifth vassa, Buddha was invited by the people of Vesāli

Preparation at Rājagaha for missionary work at Vesāli and Sāvatthi. to visit the place for removing the pestilence ravaging the city. Buddha in response to the invitation visited the place and stayed there for a short time. The end of the pestilence synchronized with his stay there and was believed to have been due to the beneficent power of the

Teacher who made efforts to drive away the epidemic by uttering the Ratana Sutta. The incident went far to prepare the minds of the people to follow the lead of the wonder-worker in the

¹ Paņdit Vidhusekhara Šāstrī's Pātimokkha, pp. 378ff; Vinaya, V, pp. 1 44ff.

religion. Buddha visited Vesāli in the fifth vassa and many times subsequently and succeeded in having a large number of converts.

During the second vassa when Buddha was residing at Sītavana at Rājagaha, Anāthapiṇḍika, the Lord High Treasurer of Kosala came to see Buddha, and was converted to Buddhism. He invited the teacher to Sāvatthi to spend there his vassa; this marked the commencement of the spread of Buddhism in Kosala, details of which will be given in the following section.

In the early years of Buddha's career he was not so attentive

Lay-devotees indispersable for a religious order. Buddha's attention to same. to the formation of a society of lay-devotees, as to the order of monks, but he soon realized that a religious organization composed of bhikkhus needed a lay-society for its upkeep. The simple formula of *trisarana* which he had originally prescribed for utterance by his lay-devotees as a mark of their devotion to Buddhism

was not regarded by them as dequate to bind them up closely with the Buddhist order; hence Buddha in course of timepesircribed that every lay-devotee of his should observe the fiveprecepts, and the more advanced among them the eight precepts. on the six uposatha days and hear the religious discussions and discourses held at the assemblies of the sanghas. The topics that formed the subjectmatter of his discourses meant for the lay-devotees were the merits of dana and saddha, the four truths, mental discipline etc. The growth of the lay-Buddhist society was imperceptible in its first stages but gradually became sufficiently noticeable not only by the number but also by the distinguishing marks of the members of the lay-society1. The first remarkable enlistment of lay-devotees took place at the timewhen the chiefs of the eighteen srenis and other officials of Bimbisāra paid their homage to Buddha and became his followers in the second year of Buddha's career. Before this, of course, the conversions of Trapusa and Bhallika at Gaya, and Yasa's father at Benares as lay-devotees had been effected; but then the mere utterance of the formula indicating the taking of refuge in Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha was the mark of their belonging to the Buddhist lay-society. The lay-society of

Rājagaha gradually attained large dimensions, so much so that the Buddhist bhikkhus swelling in number could be easily maintained by the supply of the bare necessaries of life by the lay-society. A few names of lay-devotees preserved to us in connection with the discourses in the Nikāyas may be given here to show the classes of people who joined the Buddhist order as lay-devotees during the periods of Buddha's missionary work at Rājagaha:

- 1. The gāmaņis—Talapuṭa naṭagāmaṇi (Sam. iv, p. 306)¹; Yodhājivagāmaṇi (Sam. iv, p. 308); Assāroha gāmaṇi (Sam. iv, p. 310); Maṇicūlaka gāmaṇi (Sam. iv, p. 325); Rāsiya gāmaṇi (Sam. iv, p. 340); etc.
- 2. The gahapatis—Jotikā (Sam. v. p. 344); Mānadinna (Sam. v, p. 178) Sirivaddha (Sam. v, pp. 176-7), Soṇa gahapatiputta (Sam. iv, p. 113); Dārukammika gahapati of Nādika (Ang. iii, p. 391); Belaṭṭha Kaccāna, a sugar merchant of Andhakavinda (Vin. I, p. 224); Pukkusāti kulaputta (Majjh. iii, p. 237); Dighāvu upāsaka (Sam. v. p. 344); Jivaka; Anāthapindika and his seṭṭhi friend; etc.
- 3. Jaina disciples of Nālandā—Asibandhakaputta gāmaņi, Upāli, Abhayarā jakumāra (see ante, p. 90.).
- 4. Brāhmaņas—Kasibharadvāja brāhmaņa of Ekanālā; Dhanañjana brāhmaņa (Sam. I, p. 162); etc.
- 5. Ladies—Sāri brāhmaņi and paribbājikā, mother of Sāriputta of Nālakagāma; Dhanañjant a brāhmaņt (Sam. i, p. 160); Velukaņṭaki Nandamātā of Dakkhināgiri (Ang. iv, p. 63); Cundi rājakumāri (Ang. iii, p. 35); etc.
 - 6. Kings Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu.
- 7. Paribbājakas—Vacchagotta (*Majjh*. I, p. 489); Sakuludāyi (*Majjh*. II, p. 1); etc.

Of course no inference can be drawn from the above list as to the number of people who became lay-devotees of Buddha, because the list is only fragmentary and far from being exhaustive. The largest amount of support came from the rich setthis, some of whom have been mentioned above. So far as Rājagaha was concerned, I do not think it would be erroneous to state that the largest number of converts was supplied by the vaisya community. This inference draws its support from the fact that

eighteen śrenis visiting Buddha with Bimbisara were all of the vaisya community, each of the śrenis consisting of a large number of individuals. The list of the eighteen śrenis is found in the Mahāvastu¹, from which it appears that the crafts and industries constituting the professions of the srenis covered a large range, showing that they fairly represented the various branches of the vaisya community. The Nikāyas bristle with instances of setthis lending their whole-hearted support by men and money to the Buddhist sangha. We shall have occasion to mention them as we deal with the various localities to which they belonged. The interview between Buddha and Anatha pindika was brought about by a rich setthi relation of the latter a resident of Rājagaha²; and it was through this relation of Anāthapindika that the other rich setthis of Rājagaha became disciples of Buddha.3 A great emporium as Rājagaha was, it was natural that Buddha should have a large number of followers from among the local merchants. They could on account of their wealth make munificent gifts to the Buddhist sangha providing the bhikkhus with boarding and lodging; for instance, it was at the offer of an arama by a setthi, who was moved by the hardships of the monks as to shelter, that Buddha allowed the monks to live in the aramas; and at the offer of a sugar-merchant to supply the monks with sugar that Buddha permitted the use of sugar by the bhikkhus. It was on account of the active interest taken by them in the progress of Buddhism that names of many of them have been recorded in the Buddhist scriptures.

In the closing years of Buddha's life in Magadha took place two notable conversions viz., of Ajātasattu and Jivaka. Ajāta-

Buddha's activities in Magdha towards the end of his career.

sattu became king in the 72nd year of Buddha's life and continued his patronage to Devadatta who with Kokālika, Kaṭamoratissaka, Khaṇḍadeviyāputta Samuddadatta and Thullanandā bhikkhuni⁴ as the foremost disciples started a sect intended to be a rival to Buddhism. The

- 🤝 1 Mahāvastu, III, p. 44.
 - 2 Vinaya, II, pp. 154-55.
 - 3 Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 216.
 - 4 Vinaya, III, p. 171; IV, pp. 66, 335.

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cause of his influence with a few people is attributed to his power of working miracles attained through jhana under the Sukarakhata in Gijjhakuţa1. He direction of Buddha at collected about 500 disciples and established a centre at Gayāsisa where a monastery was built for him by Ajātasattu³. A point of difference between the religious doctrines preached by him and those by Buddha lay in the bias to rigorous life that appealed so much to the people at large, but which Buddha left to the option of his disciples for adopting or rejecting it. Ajātasattu, who was used as a tool by Devadatta for the execution of his purposes, felt remorse when he was advanced is age for helping Devadatta in his evil designs as he gradually became impressed with the desicded superiority of Buddha to Devadatta in all direction. Jivaka, who about this time returned to Rājagaha after completing his medical education at Takkhasilā and became so eminent a physician that his services were eagerly requisitioned by the ruling princes, volunteered his services for the medical treatment of Buddha and his disciples and professed his firm faith in Buddhism. He was a medical adviser of Ajātasattu and thereby got opportunities of bringing home to his mind the greatness of Buddha and his techings. The introduction to the Sāmaññapnala Sutta relates how he brought about the interview between Buddha and the king, on which occasion the latter was converted by Buddha by means of a discourse on the secular and spiritual merits acquired by a bhikkhu by his joining the order. This conversion took place in the 79th year of Buddha's life i.e. just a year before his parinibbana.

While staying at Rājagaha, Buddha used to visit other places within Magadha with his bands of disciples.

Other countries in Magadha.

Only the places which rose into prominence by reason of establishment of monasteries and large number of adherents there have been recorded in the Nikāyas. They are:—

1. Nālandā—It was then a small but a prosperous village

¹ Watters' Yuan Chwang, II. p. 10 refers to it as 'Devadatta Samādhi cave.'

² Jātaka, I, pp. 67, 319.

residence of the monks was at the monastery $P\bar{a}v\bar{a}rika-ambavana$. There was another monastery midway between $R\bar{a}$ jagaha and $N\bar{a}$ land \bar{a} called Ambalatthik \bar{a} where $R\bar{a}$ hula stayed at times.² From the nature of the discourses delivered there and from the particulars of the persons with whom Buddha entered into disputations, it appears that $N\bar{a}$ is a N \bar{a} taputta had there a firm footing³. Most of the discourses were intended to refute the doctrines of the Jaina faith, while the learned disputants, viz, Dighatapassi, Up \bar{a} li, Abhayr \bar{a} jakum \bar{a} ra, and Asibandhakaputta gam \bar{a} ni were the followers of $N\bar{a}$ igntha, $N\bar{a}$ taputta all of whom were converted by Buddha except the one named first. From the Bhagavati $S\bar{a}$ tra also, we learn that $N\bar{a}$ land \bar{a} was the meeting place of $M\bar{a}$ havira with Gos \bar{a} la.

2 Pātaliputta—During Buddha's life-time, it was only as village called Pātaligama which Buddha visited with his disciplesin the last days of his life. The laity of place invited Buddha and his disciples who on their arrival at the place were accommodated in a rest house probably known later on as the Kukkutaārāmā. It was at this time that Sunidha and Vassakāra twoministers of Ajātasattu were fortifying Pātaligāma as a defence: against the Vajjians. This fortified village afterwards rose to be-Pātaliputta, the capital of Magadha and great emporium⁴. Out. of respect for Buddha, the two ministers named the gate: through which Buddha passed and the ferry ghat whence he departed as Gotama-dvāra and Gotama-tittha. Near Pātalipātta, there were two villages called Koţigāma and Nādika where-Buddha stopped in his last journey. It was at Kotigama that. Ambapāli came to invite Buddha to Vesāli⁵. Buddha passed from Koţigāma to Nādika where he had many faithful monks. and nuns and male and female lay-devotees, some of whom-

¹ Sum. Vil., p. 35; Majjh. Nik., I, p. 377; Dīgh. Nik., I, Sutta II. It is stated in Yuan Chwang's Records and Mahāvastu that Nälandā was the birth-place of Sāriputta, but in fact his birth-place was Nālaka which was an unimportant village near Nālandā.

² Majjh. Nik., I, p. 414.

³ Majjh. Nik., I pp. 379, 392ff; Sam. Nik., IV, pp. 110, 317, 323-Mahāvastu, III, p. 56.

⁴ Vinaya, MV., VI, p. 28; Digh. Nik.. II, p. 85.

⁵ Vinaya, I. p. 231.

died before his visit to the place¹, hence the discourses that he delivered here were are concerning the *Marana sati*.²

- 3. Dakkhināgiri—In the 11th year of Buddha's ministration, he visited the brāhmaṇa village Ekanālā and converted the two brāhmaṇas Kasi-Bharadvāja³ and Sampūrṇa⁴. A distinguished female lay-devotee Velukaṇtakī Nandamātā lived here⁵. It was at this place that Buddha formed his idea of the way in which the cīvaras (robes of the bhikkhus) should be made out of pieces of cloth stitched together like the rectangular pieces of land tilled by different persons in the rice-fields near the village.
- 4. & 5. Andhakavinda and Kallavālamuttagāma, two other villages near Rājagaha, though not so well-known had monasteries where Buddha stayed at times. At Andhakavinda we find him instructing some newly ordained bhikkhus and converting Belaṭṭha Kaccāna, a sugar-merchant of the place. Mahākassapa while here had once to ford a stream to attend a Pātimokkha assembly at Rājagaha. After this incident the Vinaya rule was instituted that a bhikkhu need not cross a stream, as wherever it exists, it should be made a boundary of the jurisdiction of a monastery. Kallavālamutta-gāma is important on account of its association with Moggalāna who underwent there his first course of training.

¹ Digh. Nik., II, pp. 91-92.

² Ang. Nik., III, pp. 303ff; 391.

³ Sutta Nipāta., pp. 12ff, Sam, Nik., I, pp. 172-73.

⁴ R.L. Mitra's Nepalese Buddhist Literature, p. 18.

⁵ Ang. Nik., IV, pp. 63ff.

The kingdom of Kosala is next in importance to Magadha in the history of the spread of Buddhism. It was at Savatthia the capital of Kosala, that Buddha spent al-Importance most the half of his career as a teacher¹. of Kosala. delivered the largest number of discourses and framed the largest number of Pātimokkha rules2; and it was here that the religion, which had passed its infancy in Magadha, developed into its full stature as found in the Nikāyas. Though according to Dr. Oldenberg³, Kosala was outside the limits. within which orthodox brahmanism prevailed, the territory was in fact within the said limits containing, as mentioned in the Nikāyas, many brāhmana settlements. Dr. Oldenberg bases his opinion on two passages, one of the Cullavagga (XII. 2, 3) viz.. "Buddhas are born in the puratthima janapadas", and the other of the Majjhima Nikāya (II, p 124) referring to Buddha as a Kosalaka. The word puratthima however does not imply pracyadeśa. The passage contemplates only Kapilavatthu lying on the northern extremity of Kosala and not the whole of the territory and moreover both the town and the territory lay on the west of Sadānīrā, an early limit of Aryan colonization as mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmana⁴. Hence, as a citizen of Kapilavatthu, Buddha could well be called a Kosalaka, though for the matter

¹ J.R. A.S., 1891, p. 339; Hardy's Mannual, p. 356.

² Vinaya, V, pp. 144-45.

³ Oldenberg's Buddha, Appendix, 1.

⁴ Satapatha Brāhmaņa, 1, 4, is quoted also in Oldenberg's Buddha, pp. 398-399.

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of that he was not an inhabitant of prācya-desa. We therefore find that at the time of the rise of Buddhism, Kosala was a brāhmaņical country, where the progress of the religion was not without its difficulties. The tracing of progress in the propagation of the faith in the kingdom is interesting in view of the above fact as well as for its inclusion of the home of the Sākya

Introduction of Buddhism in Kosala.

clan, to which the Teacher had belonged. Though Kosala was a brāhmanical territory, it did not deter Buddha from making attempts to spread his religion there from the

very commencement of his career as a preacher. The first attempt was made at the time of his stay at Benares through the first band of Buddhist missionaries, among whom figured the five inhabitants of Kapilavatthu and its precincts, namely the first five brāhmaṇa converts of the Teacher¹. The second attempt was made by Buddha personally. While at Rājagaha, he was repeatedly invited by Suddhodana and at last induced by Buddha's play-mate Udāyi to go to the place. During his short stay at the town on this occasion, he succeeded in converting some of the Sākyan youths to his faith. The third and the most successful attempt was made at the time when he visited Sāvatthi at the request of Anāthapiṇḍika, who presented to the Teacher the Jetavana-ārāma distinguished in later times as a great resort of bhikkhus, and placed at his disposal all the influence that he could command for the propagation of Buddhism in Kosala.

Inspite of the efforts of Anāthapindika to give Buddhism a a footing at Sāvatthi, the heads of the local sects resented the

Opposition encountered by Buddhism in Kosala:

intrusion of a new religion into the field which they considered as their monopoly. Buddha expected to meet a stubborn opposition from the leaders of the sects, and to ward it off, he had sent to Sāvatthi his ablest lieutenant Sāri-

putta entrusted with the ostensible work of supervising the

1 Mahāvastu, III, p. 420; Psalms of the Brethren, p. 284. According to the Buddhist legends, the thirty Bhaddavaggiya youths, converted by Buddha on his way from Benares to Uruvela, also belonged to Kosala (Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 188). Buddhaghosa says that the Bhaddavaggiya youths were brothers of the king of Kosala. They after their ordination lived at Pātheyya, a country situated to the west of Kosala (S.B.E. XVII, p. 146fn.)

construction of the Jetavana vihāra. Sāriputta was a past master in the art of disputation and had deep knowledge of the brāhmanic lore as well as that of the non-brāhmanic sects. He had to enter into disputation with many teachers, all of whom he was able to silence by dint of his able exposition of the Dhamma¹. A ground was thus prepared for the advent of Buddhism at the time of Buddha's arrival at the place. In addition to the opposition from the local teachers the disciples of the six non-brāhmanic teachers were also at Sāvatthi to render thorny the path of Buddha's progress in his mission. These people as also king Pasenadi were great admirers of these teachers and used to speak of them as distinguished teachers of schools and heads of orders, and revered by the wise (sanghino ganācariyā nātā yasassino titthakarā sādhusammatā) ganino while of Buddha as young in age and fresh as a recluse (daharo ceva jātiyā navo ca pabbajjāyāti)2. Sāvatthi, according to the Uvāsagadasao, was the head-quarters of the Ajivīka sect which held its founder Makkhali Gosāla in very high respect3. The influence established by this as well as the other five teachers was long standing, and honours and largesses used to be heaped upon them by the local people. These teachers were not agreeable to give in an inch of ground to the new preacher who in their eyes was but a callow youth, yet a long way off from the winning of his laurels. They therefore tried every means to dissuade the people from listening to his preachings. All his teachings, they said, were but reflexions of what they taught4. They made a combined effort to oust him from Kosala by persuding Pasenadi to hold a competition in the exhibition of their miraculous powers. Buddha defeated them all in this competition and thereby established his reputation as a great religious seer. The name and influence of the six teachers began to wane after this event while those of Buddha increased. Out of envy, they, it is said, went to the length of making the futile attempt of blackening Buddha's character by setting on

¹ Watters' Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 384, 394.

² Sam Nik., I, p. 68; Majjh, Nik., I, pp. 205, 400, 426.

³ Dr. Barua, op. cit., pp. 298, 299, 300.

⁴ Majjh. Nik., I, p. 84.

him two courtezans Ciñca and Sundaril. Buddha laid bare before the public the weak points in their doctrines and thus gradually sapped the foundation of their influence in the place. During this period, Buddha at times instructed his disciples in the ways in which to meet the arguments advanced by their opponents of the six non-brāhmanical sects and trained them to make clear expositions of the rational principles on which Buddhism is based².

Buddha and the bārhmamas of Kosala.

The opposition put forth by the six teachers and their disciples to the progress of Buddha's mission was not so strong as that of the orthodox brāhmanas and brāhmanical teachers. They could not look with favour upon persons having no sympathy with their faiths and discouraging the

observance of the forms and practices of their religion, not to speak of one who had raised the standard of revolt against same³. To some of the orthodox brahmanas, even the sight of the shaven-headed Buddha at the time of performance of sacrifices was considered ominous. The sight of Buddha at some distance was a cause for consternation to Aggika-Bharadvaja who exclaimed as follows to stop the further progress of the Preacher towards the place where he was performing a sacrifice: mundaka tatr'eva samanaka, tatr'eva vasalaka titthahi" [(Stay) there, O Shaveling, (stay) there, O Samanaka (wretched samana) (stay) there, O Vasalaka (outcast)]4. The adverse opinions held by the brahmanas generally about him have found expression in many places in the Nikayas in passages like the following:—"Who are these shavelings, sham friars, menial black fellows, the offscouring of our kinsmen's heels."5 They even sneered at the idea of Buddha coming 'to converse with brahmanas versed in the threefold Vedic lore's. We find it mentioned that a brahmana was offended with a brahmana lady with budhistic leanings for uttering in his presence the

¹ Kern, op. cit., pp. 33, 37; Watters' Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 389, 392.

² Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 64 ff.

³ Sutta Nipāta, pp. 50ff.

⁴ Ibid., p. 21; (translated in S.B.E. vol. X, p. 20)

⁵ Digh. Nik., I, p. 103.

⁻⁶ *Ibid.*, 1, pp. 81ff.

formula of salutation to Buddha and cursed her for doing so1, Evidences of hatred of Buddhism like those mentioned abovecan be multiplied but those that have been adduced are enough. to show the antipathy felt by the brahmanas of Kosala towards. Buddha and his disciples. The nature of the opposition encountered by Buddha in the place accounts for many of the topics on which discourses were delivered by him or discussions were carried on with the local brahmanas e.g. the origin of the caste-system and the purpose it serves; inefficacy of sacrifices; absurdity of solving the indeterminable problems like the existence or non-existence of soul: permanence and impermanence of the world etc; the falling off of the brahmanas from the ancient brahmanic ideal; the truth underlying the belief in spiritual sanctification by bathing in the rivers; the dependenceof the gods of the brahmanic pantheon on the law of karma, and so forth2.

The brāhmaṇas of Kosala had strong attachment to their religion and were lovers of truth, in whichever from it might be

Extent of success of Buddha's mission among the brāhmaṇas of Kosala.

found. Buddha achieved success in his mission in a great measure by appealing to this love of truth. He explained to them that the religion which they were following had in it a large measure of alloy which had diminished the value of the religion. The rites and ceremonies and false beliefs that grew round the modicum of

truth imbedded in the religion served but to cover it with a thick coating of untruth. Buddha by his power of disputation and knowledge of the brāhmaṇic lore brought home to the brāhmaṇas the truths that he was preaching. As soon as they saw the hollowness of their beliefs or the unsoundness of their philosophy, they with their characteristic love of truth embraced the religion which was placed before their eyes with all its charm. Some of them continued as laymen declaring their faith in Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha while others went further and became bhikkhus. Rich and influential brāhmaṇa householders.

¹ Majjh. Nik., II, p, 210.

² For references, see ante, I.

like Jānussoņi¹, Aggika-Bharadvāja², and Dhanañjani³ professed themselves as life-long upasakas of Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha. Intelligent and learned as they were, they naturally presented difficulty to Buddha in having them converted but once convinced of the truth of Buddha's doctrines, they proved to be his staunch adherents. When Buddha commenced his missionary work in Kosala, he was not so hopeful, but judging by the results of his missionary work here, it would not, I think, be wide of the mark to state that the difficulty of the task added to the glory of the success achieved, and the number of brahmanas. converted at this place was larger than those converted by him at any other. The distinct achievement of Buddha in this brāhmanic country is the conversion of some of the distingushed brāhmana teachers (mahāsālas) who lived on grants of villages made by kings and were held in high respect by the people of the locality. In spite of their high positions as orthodox brāhmana teachers, and regardless of the advice and importunities of their disciples and admirers, the renowned mahāsālas Pokkharasādi of Ukkattha⁴, Lohicea of Sālavatikā⁵, and Canki of Opasada took refuge in Buddha and promised to be his followers up to the end of their lives (ajjatagge pāņupetam saranam gatam). So great became Buddha's fame in Kosala that the sixteen disciples of Bavari came from as far a place as the bank of the Godavarī to join the order. It is not expressly stated in the Pitakas how far the social status of the brahmanas was affected by their becoming upāsakas (lay-devotees). Dr. Law suggests on the basis of a few statements in the Nikāyas that these upāsakas by their declaration of attachment to Buddhism, however slight it might be made themselves marked in the eyes of the people belonging to the Hindu society, and the thin end of the gulf that intervened at this stage became wider in proportion to the greater degrees of devotion to Buddhism developed

¹ Majjh. Nik., I, p. 175.

² Sutta Nipāta, p. 21.

³ Majjh, Nik., II; p. 209.

⁴ Dīgh. Nik., II, p. 87.

⁵ Ibid., I, p. 224.

⁶ Sutta Nipāta., pp. 192ff—Bāvari was once the purohita of King Mahākosala and his son Pasendi. He retired to the bank of the Godāvarī¹ hermitage was built for him by Pasendi.

in them in course of time. This gradually gave rise to a Buddhist lay-society¹. The Nikāyas mention only those names of brāhmaṇa converts with whom Buddha or his disciples had conversation or disputation. The names when scrutinized show that a pretty large number of brāhmaṇas of various ranks in life were converted. To give a clear idea, a few of these name with the names of the places to which the brahmaṇas belonged are given below:—

Brāhmaṇagahapatis of Sālā, Upāsaka, (Majjh., I 285)
Kapaṭhikamānava of Opsāda, " (Majjh., II, 164)
Brāhmṇas of Nagaravinda, " (Majjh., III, 290)
" " " Manasākata, " (Dīgh., I, 235)
" " Venāgapura, " (Ang., II, 30)
" " Icchānaṇgala, " (Ang., III, 30)
" " Daṇḍakappakaṃ, " (Ang., III, 402)

Also Jānussoņi, Sundarīkabharadvāja, Pingalakoccha, Assalāyana, Esukāri, Subha, Sangara and a host of brāhmaņas of Sāvatthi who became *Upāsakas*: (See *Majjh.*, I. pp. 39, 175, 205; II, pp. 147, 177, 208, 209; *Dīgh.*, III, p. 81; *Sam.*, I, pp. 177ff).

Like other countries, Kosalahad also many Paribbājakārāmas² the most frequented of which was the one provided by Queen Mallikā at Sāvatthi.³ Buddha and his disciples, and even, sometimes, his lay-disciples.⁴ visited these ārāmas, eagerly heard the views of these paribbajakas, and expressed their

Buddha and the paribba jakas of Kosala. disapproval of those views if they thought it necessary to do so. There were also occasions when the paribbājakas approached Buddha for removing their doubts. As the result of

these interviews we hear of paribbājakas like Vekhanassa⁵ and Potthapada⁶ becoming lay-devotees of Buddha. The high estimation in which Buddha was hled by some of the paribbajakas is evident from the reply given by Pilotika to Jānussoni's query

¹ Dr. N, Law, op. cit.

² Ang. Nik., IV, p, 378; V, p. 48 "añnattthiyānam paribbājakānam ārāma"

³ Mojjh. Nik., II, p. 22 "Samayappavadako tindukācīro Mallikāya ārāmo"

⁴ Ibid., II, p. 23.

⁵ Majjh. Nik., II, p, 40. He was the founder of a brāhmanical paribbājaka order.

⁶ Digh. Nik., I, p. 178.

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about Budda's erudition, "Who am I to judge of the knowledge of Samana Gotama, who am I to be able to praise him; he is praised of the praiseworthy, the best of gods, of men; whoever approaches him for disputation whether he be a brahmana khattiya, gahapati or samana-pandita he comes back satisfied, with the exposition of his dhamma". From these remarks it need not be supposed that Buddha had an unqualified success among the paribbājakas as these were many members of the class who would never recognise the excellences of the religion.

The greatest part of Buddha's missionary career was spent

Buddha converts Pasenadi of Kosala. at Jetavanārāma in Sāvatthi. He resided here for twenty one vassas in addition to many of visits paid to it at other times. In this way king Pasenadi got many opportunities of meeting him and holding with him conversation on

religious topics. From the references to Pasenadi in the Majjhima and Anguttara Nikāyas and in the Kosalasamyutta of the Samyutta, Nikāyas, it is evident that the king was a follower of the brāhmaṇic religion, had the brāmaṇa Bāvari as his first purohita, and celebrated sacrifices involving slaughter of animal victims. One of his queens Mallikā, and his two sisters Somā and Sakulā, were lay-devotees of Buddha³. It was probably through the influence of these ladies combined with the occasional instructions from Buddha that the mind of the king was gradually softend towards Buddhism. Later on he declared himself a lay-devotee of Buddha and showed signs of his devotion by occasional gifts to the members of the Order⁴.

Though the infant religion could not at first secure patronage from the king, it did from Anāthapindika, a great magnate of Sāvatthi and the High Treasurer of the realm. His valuable advice combined with pecuniary help made it possible for the religion to strike its root deep into the soil of Kosala. It was he who organised the delivery of a few discourses by Buddha to lay-people regarding the duties of house-holders and the place occupied by them.

¹ Majjh. Nik., I, p. 175.

² Sam. Nik., I, pp. 75-76; Sutta Nipāta. p. 192.

³ Majjh. Nik., II, pp. 108, 125-6.

⁴ For details, see supra, pp. 70, 71

under his religion. It was these discourses that served as the guide of the house-holders in the performance of their duties as lay-Buddhists¹. Thus it was Anāthapindika through whose efforts a place was assigned by Buddha to the lay-Buddhists in the framework of his religion. The postponement of a due recognition of their relation to Buddhism, important as it was, would not have been conducive to the speedy development of the organisation, and through which the religion expanded itself.

The lay-devotee, who as a supporter of Buddhism ranked next to Anāthapindika in importance, was Visākhā, the daughter of a setthi of Sāketa, and wife of the son of a Visākhā and rich setthi of Sāvatthi. She persuaded her fatherothers. in-law Migara and other members of the family to give up their faith in the doctrines of Nigantha Nataputta and adopt those of Buddha. Her anxiety for the comforts of the monks and nuns has become proverbial². She built the Pubbārāma monastery where Buddha resided for six vassas. It was at her instance that many of the Vinaya rules for both the bhikkhus and bhikkhunis were framed. Three other note-worthy lay-converts of Kosala whose names may be mentioned in this connection are Ganaka Moggalāna,3 Pancakanga thapati and Isidatta-purāna thapati who were all high state-officials.

A notable incident connected with Buddha's missionary work in Kosala is the radical change brought about in the life of Angulimāla who was so turbulent that even the king of the realm could not restrain him. He turned a bhikkhu and ultimately reached *arahatship*. This conversion made a great impression upon the minds of the people of Kosala as also of the king⁴, and helped greatly the propagation of the religion.

I have confined myself up to now to the relation of incidents that took place at Sāvatthi and its neighbourhood in course of Buddha's missionary work there. The events connected with the Sākyas in the Sākya territory will now engage our attention. Though the kingdom of the Sākyas falls within the limits of

¹ Ang. Nik., V, p. 1.

² Viraya, MT., VIII, 15, 7.

³ Majjh. Nik., III, p. 1.

⁴ Majjh, Nik., II, p. 23.

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Kosala, the Sākyas were politically independent and formed a separate entity from the social standpoint with customs and practices peculiar to itself. They were followers of the brāhmaņic

Buddha among the Sakyas. religion and did not at first look with favour upon the idea of Buddha launching a new religion in direct opposition to the timehonoured ones. If we examine carefully the

account of the reception accorded by the Sākyas to Buddha at the time of his visit to the land of his birth after Enlightenment, it will be evident that there was a rift in the lute welcoming his arrival. The people forgot to provide food for the Teacher and his disciples on the first day, refused to give them alms on the following day when they went out for collection of alms, deputed only those Sākyas who were junior to Buddha to receive him. These acts reveal the feeling entertained by them at the time towards Buddha and his religion. The situation was so dismal that Buddha had to have recourse to miracles for bringing the Sākyas under control. Ultimately he made a few converts from among the Sākyas, some of whom came to be counted among the leading disciples of Buddha².

Nigantha Nātaputta had been among the Sākyas some time

Nigantha Nataputta among the Sakyas. before Buddha and secured some followers. Mahānama, a relation of Buddha, had Jaina leanings. To bring him round, Buddha delivered to him a discourse on the uselessness of the severe forms of self-mortification practised by

the Jaina ascetics³. The result of this discourse upon Mahānāma's mind has not been mentioned anywhere. He, however, appears as an interlocutor⁴ in many discourses, but nowhere does he appear as giving up his faith to adopt Buddhism. The nature of the topics dealt with in the discourses delivered by Buddha at Devadaha near Kapilavatthu suggests the inference that there were at the place a few followers of Nigantha Nātaputta. There

¹ Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 198ff.; Burlingame's Buddhist Legends, III, pp. 2ff.

² See supra, pp. 103-08.

³ Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 91-95.

⁴ Ang. Nik., I, p. 219; III, p. 286; IV, p. 220.; Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 91 354 etc.

is no reference to the conversion of any of these Jainas to Buddhism. Moggalāna who was with Buddha at the time succeeded however in converting Vappa, a Sākyan Jaina to Buddhism¹. The discourses delivered by Buddha at Nigrodhārāma in Kapilavatthu speak of many lay-devotees coming to hear them². This as well as the fact that the Sākyans requested the Teacher to celebrate the inaugural ceremony of a new santhāgāra at Kapilavatthu testify to the fact that by his preaching he succeeded in making his religion popular among the local Sākyas³. He could not however make any headway in the brāhmaṇa village in the Sākyan territory, such as Silavati, Sakkara, Sāmāgama, Cātumā, Medalumpa⁴ with the exception of the village Khomadussa where all the brāhmaṇas seated in an assembly embraced Buddhism after hearing the preaching of the Teachel⁵.

As stated above the essential portion of the Buddhist disciplinary code was made at Rājagaha, where the organisation of the Buddhist monastic order was first set on foot. The disciplinary rules framed at Sāvatthi and Kapilavatthu were therefore of a more or less supplementary character, though in point of number they were the largest. As new cases arose, the rules framed at the primary stage of the Sangha had to be added to or modified at Sāvatthi. During his long stay at the place Buddha thought out the minute details of many of the Vinaya rules and tried to make the code as comprehensive as possible. The rules framed in Kosala are:—

- (A). Re. Initiation.—(1) Rāhula having been ordained without the knowledge of his mother and grandfather, the latter requested the Teacher to introduce the rule that no one should be ordained without the permission of his parents (1. 54. 6.).
- (2) The following were declared ineligible for admission, into the order in addition to those already named in the rules framed at Rejagaha, viz. a maimed person, an eunuch, a false

¹ Ang. Nik., II, 196ff.

² Ibid, V, p. 83.

³ Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 358ff. Sam. Nik., IV, pp. 182ff; Buddhist India,, pp. 19-20.

⁴ Buddhist India, p. 18; Sam. Nik., I, p. 119; II, p. 243, III, p. 5, IV, p. 14, V, p. 2; Majjh. Nik., I, p. 456, II, p. 118.

⁵ Sam. Nik., I, p. 184.

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titthiya, a parricide, an arhanticide, a sanghabhedaka etc. It was further enjoined that if any ineligible person be ordained by mistake, he should be turned out of the order (1.6). To stop the ordination of undesirable or disqualified persons, an elaborate procedure for ordination was also formulated. (1.76, 77, 78).

- (3) A slight relaxation of the rule for initiation was made by allowing a bhikkhu who reverted to the life of a house-holder to have ordination again if he repented for his action. (I.79).
- (B). Re. Upajjhāya and Acariya.—Hither to the rule was that a bhikkhu could have one samanera only, but a Savatthi, the rule was modified permitting intelligent bhikkhus to have more than one sāmanera. Additional checks were also laid down on the mutual duties of the student and the teacher (I. 55, 57, 58, 60).
- (C). Re. Ten Precepts—During the first few years of Buddha's career he did not specify the number of precepts that the bhikkhus should observe, though in a general way they were taught through discourses the necessity of establishing control over kāyakamma, vacīkamma and manokamma. The sāmaṇeras became naturally inquisitive as to the number of the precepts, and requested Buddha to enumerate and define them. Buddha complied with their request, thereby framing the rule as to the number of precepts to be practised by the bhikkhus.
- (D). Re. Vassavāsa—Though the idea of introducing the system of remaining at a fixed place (vassavāsa) during the rains first struck the Teacher when he was at Rājagaha, the detailed rules for the guidance of monks as to their duties and functions during the period of vassa as well as at its closewere worked out at Sāvatthi. The mentionable among them are:—
- (1) Sattāhakaraņiya or the rule of breaking the continuity of vassavāsa for seven days on account of unavoidable circumstances connected with the welfare of the Sangha. (III. 5-8).
- (2) The detailing of the adverse circumstances under which vassavāsa may be discontinued.
- (3) The rules for holding the Pavāraņā ceremony at the end of vassa when the bhikkhus had to confess their sins committed during the period; also rules prescribing punishments to be inflicted on them for non-confession, or for maliciously bringing a false charge against any bhikkhu.

- (4) The rules regarding the *Kathina* ceremony of the offering of robes to the bhikkhus by the laity at a close of a *vassavāsa*. Many difficulties arose regarding the proper preservation and distribution of the robes. Elaborate rules had therefore to be laid down.
- (E). Re. Medicaments—Originally, the bhikkhus could use cow's urine only as medicine. But in course of time the rule regarding the use of medicines was much relaxed, permitting the bhikkhus to use all kinds of medicines. Permission was also given to the invalid bhikkhus to use, for their conveyance vehicles, sedan-chairs, etc. (VIII. 26).

Though the order of nuns was instituted at Vesāli in the fifth year of Buddha's ministry, the necessity for a bhikkhuṇī-code was not felt till a year or two later. Sāvatthi provided a large number of abodes for the nuns. This accounted for the existence of a large number of nuns in the town. This fact suggested to Buddha the urgency of disciplinary code for the nuns. Buddha thus set himself to framing the code and as the result of his labours, almost the whole of the Pātimokhha for the bhikkhuṇis was completed. According to the Parivārapāṭha, 294 rules of the bhikkhu and bhikkhuṇi-Pātimokkha were laid down at Sāvatthi, but on actual calculation, we find the number to be 286. They comprise Pārājīkā 4. Sanghādisesa 15, Aniyatā 2, Nissaggiyā 34, Khuddakāni 148, Gārayha 10, Sekhiya 731.

It was at this place that a very important part of the *Vinaya* came into existence. Though Buddha had framed a good many rules for the guidance of the monks he mentioned in general terms the punishments for the breaches of the rules. In regard to many offences Buddha only referred to the class of the punshment that should be visited upon the offender. This gave rise to uncertainty as to the gravity or length of term of the punishment. To remove this difficulty as also to put on a sound footing the procedure for proving the guilt of an alleged offender before a panel of monks, he formulated elaborate rules governing the details of the various cases.

This sketch of the spread of Buddhism in Kosala would not be complete without a reference to at least some of the

various centres established within the territory for facilitating the propagation of the religion and the pursuit of spiritual exercises by the bhikkhus. The name of Jetavana rises first in our mind. As it is too well-known to need a description here, I pass on to the next important centre Pubbārāma, a great monastery, built by Visākhā six to seven miles to the north-east of the Jetavana Vihāra. It could accommodate a large number of monks and nuns in its numerous chambers while it afforded facilities for deep meditation in its secluded cells. On account of the amenities of monk-life available here, it was a favourite resort of Buddha and his disciples, the former passing there so many as six vassas1. The existence of the hermitages of Kālakārāma, Kantakivana and Anjanvana² at Sāketa is responsible for the name of the place as a resort of bhikkhus. It was very probably Visākhā's father Dhananjaya, who by taking a leading part in the movement, made it a Buddhist centre. Andhavana, situated at a short distance to the north-west of Jetavana Vihāra, ranks next to Pubbārāma in the provision of facilities to monks and nuns for meditation and spiritual exercises. It has been specially mentioned in the Samyutta Nikāya³ that nuns of Ālavi (a suburb of Sāvatthi) seeking solitude used to come to this monastery. There were at Alavi the hermitages Aggālava and Gomagga Simsāpavana which were also resorted to by the nuns. Midway between Savatthi and Setavyā stood Ukkattha containing an ārāma where two discourses of Buddha relating to the position of Brahmā were delivered4.

¹ Hardy's Manual, p. 356

² Ang Nik., II, p. 24, III, p. 169; IV, p. 427; Sam. Nik., V. pp. 73 174, 217.

³ San Nik., I, p. 128 Alavikā bhikkhuni yena Andhavanam ten' up-usankami vivekatthikini. See also Watters' Yuan Chwang. I, p. 398.

⁴ Majjh, Nik., I, . pp. 1, 326.

The territory to the east of Kosala and north of Anga and Magadha was occupied mainly by the various clans, namely, the Vajjis, Licchavis, Videhas, Mallas, Bhaggas, and Koliyas. All these clans lived side by side and most probably belonged to the same stock, and this accounted for the similarity of beliefs and practices that prevailed among them. Information about the ways in which the several clans except the Licchavis opposed the introduction of Buddhism among them is extremely scanty. It is only about the Licchavis that we can give a running account. Though the territory of this clan lay outside

Prevalence of brāhmaņ-ism among the Liccha-vis.

the limits of the brāhmaṇic middle-country, yet brāhmaṇism was here the prevailing religion. Belief in the brāhmaṇic pantheon, ceremonial worship of deities, performance of sacrifices, observances of ascetic practices, etc., wereall

current among its members. They however were not so orthodox as to prevent the non-brāhmaṇical religions from taking root in their country. We find that a brāhmaṇa named Kāraṇapāli used to perform the religious functions of the Licchavis (Licchavinam kammantam kāreti). There is also reference to another brāhmaṇa named Pingiyāni receiving cloths from the Licchavi youths as a token of their respect for him¹. There were a good many shrines on the outskirts of Vesāli and the regular worship of the images of the deities enshrined there

was carried on by the Licchavis¹. Again the fact that the Licchavis worshipped many gods and goddesses of the brāhmanic pantheon at the time when their country was being ravaged by famine and pestilence is very significant. These instances are sufficient to snow that the Licchavis were imbued to a large extent with the spirit of brahmanism. But inspite of this fact, the path of progress of Buddism among the Licchavis could not have been as thorny as among the people who were orthodox from the brahmanic standpoint.

When Buddha came among the Licchavis, Jainism had already run through a career of about 250 years from the time of Parsvanatha and had adherents in many of the Licchavis. This long career of Jainism in the kingdom of Vesāli was not there the only source of its strength. Nigantha Nataputta, the

Jainism among the Licchavis before Buddha's advent.

family of the Nata clan with wide influence in the land. This also operated as a source of strength to the religion, as it made it difficult for Buddha and his followers to carry on their missionary work. We have in the Nikāvas accounts of a few adherents of Nigantha Nataputta either disputing with Buddha

reformer of Jainism, belonged to a distinguished

or coming into contact with him or his followers in the course of their missionary work. In the first account we find that Saccaka, who as a disputant was held in high respect by the Licchavis, sustains a defeat in a religious disputation with Buddha. It is not however clear whether he became a Buddhist convert as the result of the defeat². In the second account in the Anguttara Nikāya, Abhaya and Panditakumāraka enquired of Ananada about the means of destruction of dukkha as pointed out by Buddha and were not satisfied with the answer. On another occasion he approached Buddha with the question whether ogha (flood of passions etc) could be overcome either by moral purity or severe penance. Buddha replied that it was only full control over mind, body, and speech that could save a person from ogha³. The most notable conversion made by

¹ Digh. Nik., II, p. 102; Mallas also had such shrines e.g. Makujabant dhana.

² Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 236, 250.

³ Ang. Nik., I, pp. 220-222.

Buddha among the lay Jainas was that of Siha who was a military official of the Licchavis and had a great influence in the country. Inspite of Nigantha Nātaputta's dissuasion, he met Buddha, and impressed by his teachings, became an upāsaka. The weaning of Siha from the Jaina faith gave a rude shock to Nigantha Nātaputta's followers who out of jealousy circulated the false report that Siha had killed animals for feeding Buddha and the bhikkhus¹.

Inspite of active oppositions of this nature, Buddha continued his work of conversion in right earnest. The high encomiums showered on Buddha by the Licchavis at a meeting of their assembly, the feeling of wonder expressed by Mahānāma at the sudden change of the Licchavis youths under Buddha's influence², and the desire of Otthaddha Licchavi with a large retinue to hear Buddha's discourses3, show that Buddha could create a favourable impression on the minds of the local people and achieve some success in his missionary activities. As a mark of their devotion to Buddha they dedicated to him not only the Mahāvana Kūtāgārasālā but also a large number of Cetivas which were also highly appreciated by him as places for meditation⁴. Of these Cetivas, the one at Gosingasālavana was particularly liked by him and his chief disciples Sariputta and Moggalana who passed there many a day in meditation⁵. The conversions made by Buddha among the Licchavis were not commensurate with the acts of generosity mentioned above, as the cases of conversion mentioned in the Nikāyas are not many. Ananda's exclusion of Vesāli from the list of places where the laydevotees lived in large numbers also point to the same conclusion⁶. The names of Mahāli, Mahānāma, Ugga-gahapati, Nandaka the minister, Pingiyani brahmana and a few others are mentioned as converts to Buddhism, Otthaddha Licchavi and

¹ Vinya, VI, 31, 12.

² Dr. B. C. Law, Ksattriya Clans in Buddhist India, pp. 88,89.

³ Digh. Nik., I., p 151.

⁴ See Dīgh. Nik., II, p. 102. "Ramaṇīyā Ānanda Vesāli, ramaṇīyaṇ Udenaṇ cetiyaṇ, ramaṇīyaṇ Gotamaraṇ Cetiyaṇ, r. Bahuputtaṇ C., r. Sārandadaṇ c., r. Cāpalam c."

⁵ Majjh. Nik I. p. 212; Ang. Nik., V, pp. 133-34

⁶ Digh. Nik., II, p. 169.

Bhaggava paribbājaka were much impressed by the teachings of Buddha but they did not adopt the religion. On account of the attachment of Sunakkhatta Licchaviputta to other beliefs and practices, Buddha had to be disappointed in him. He joined the order as a bhikkhu and remained as such for about three years. He expected to see the exhibition of his miraculous powers and to have from him the solution of some of the indeterminable problems, all of which Buddha deliberately avoided on principle. This exasperated Sunakkhatta who left the order and commenced speaking ill of it broadcast. This disparagement by Sunakkhatta became the topic of many discussions between Buddha and the Licchavis to whom he explained his position by stating that the benefits of the religion could not be derived by one who had attachment to other teachers and their doctrines and practices¹.

One of the most important events in the history of Buddhism transpired at Vesāli. It was here that Buddha gave his consent to the formation of the order of nuns at the importunities of Ānanda and Mahāpajāpati Gotamī. The latter had already

Consent to the formation of the order of nuns. advanced a little as a lay-devotee in the path of sanctification at the time of conversion of Rāhula and Nanda. It was after the death of King Suddhodana that she in the fulness of her grief resolved to embrace the life of a recluse.

She formed a band of recluses by bringing together a few ladies who had been bent on retirement from the world for some reason or other. With them she travelled under great physical stress and strain from Kapilavatthu to Vesāli where Buddha was staying and obtained his consent to the formation of the order of nuns by agreeing to comply with the eight ordinances laid down at the time by Buddha for the bhikkhuṇīs². She made a steady progress in spiritual culture under the guidance of Buddha and soon attained the highest stage of sanctification.

Buddha passed through Vesāli in the course of his last tour.

Buddha's last visit to Vesāli.

The only notable conversion made on this occasion was that of the famous courtezan Ambapāli who gave away her Ambavana to the

¹ Digh. Nik,, I, pp.15 cff; III, pp. 2ff.

² Ang Nik., IV, p 274.

Buddhist sangha. It was while dwelling at Cāpala Cetiya situated on the outskirts of Vesāli that Buddha resolved to end his mortal existence in three months.

During Buddha's residence at Vesāli he brought into operation for the discipline of the bhikkhus a few additional measures, which are as follows:—

- (1) The bhikkhus were practically prohibited from taking fish or flesh by the framing of the rule that they could take them if the fish or the animals had not been seen, heard, or suspected to have been killed for the bhikkhus (vi, 31. 14).
- (2) In view of the scarcity of food at Vesāli at a particular time, certain rules were relaxed allowing the bhikkhus to keep food and cook it indoors, eat such articles of food as they could pick up, take food before meal-time etc¹. When there was plenty in the land after some time, the rules were restored to their former severity.
- (3) The bhikkhus were allowed to have a *Kappiyabhūmi* outside their dwelling-place for the temporary storing of food (vi, 33).
- (4) The number of robes of the bhikkhus was limited to three.
- (5) An abnormal increase in the number of cases of religious suicide led to the promulgation of the rule prohibiting absolutely the commission of suicide generally (*Pārā*. III).

Of the *Pātimokkha* rules, ten were framed at Vesāli, comprising three under *Pārāijka*, two under *Nissaggiya*, *Pācittiya* and three under *Pācittiya*.

The kingdom of Videha became in the pre-Buddhistic days an important centre of brāhmaṇic culture on account of King Janaka's enthusiasm, and patronage of learning and spiritual culture which converted his court into an important

meeting-place of learned men specially from the western countries of Kosala and Kuru-Pañcāla². The Makhādeva and Mahā-janaka Jātakas and the Brahmāyu Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya³ testify to the prevalence of brāhmanism in Videha at

¹ S.B.E., XVII, p. 118.

² Brhadāranyaka Upanişad, III; Oldernberg's Buddha, p. 398.

³ Majjh. Nik., IJ., pp. 74ff; 133ff.

the time of Buddha. The *Nikāyas* are silent as to Buddha's missionary work in the place and the volume of opposition met by him there in the propagation of his religion. It is only in the *Majjhima Nikāya* that we find that he stayed at Makhādeva-ambavana of Mithilā and converted on a certain occasion Brahmāyu a distinguished and an old brāhmana teacher.

Not so however fruitless was his work among the Bhaggas.

Buddha among the Bhaggas.

Buddha succeeded in converting three distinguished inhabitants of the Bhagga country, namely Nakulapitā, Nakulamātā, and Bodhirājakumāra. There might have been

other converts but their names do not appear in the Nikāyas. Buddha and his chief disciple Moggalāna visited this place on two or three occasions and stayed at Suṃsumāragiri Bhesa-kalāvana-migadāya. Buddha delivered a few discourses, at the instance of Nakulapitā and Nakulamātā, two of his most favourite lay-disciples, detailing the duties of house-holders. The discourses delivered here by Moggalāna relate to the means of overcoming passions (māratajjanīya)². It was while Buddha was residing in this country that Bodhirājakumara requested Buddha to stay in his newly built palace Kokanada for a day sanctifying it by his presence, and give him opportunity of formally taking refuge in Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha.³ Three of the minor Pātimokkha rules, one under Pācittiya and two under Sekhiya were framed here.

In his missionary work Buddha was more successful among the Koliyas than among the Bhaggas. This was due partly to the contiguity of the Koliyas to the Sākyas and partly

Buddha among the Koliyas. to the connection of Buddha, with the Koliyas through his mother and wife. The first visit paid by Buddha to this country was from Vesāli in the fifth year of his ministry

when a fight became imminent between the Sākyas and the Koliyans over the right of drawing water from a stream⁴. It

¹ Ang, Nik., II, p. 61; III, p. 295; IV, pp. 85, 268; Sam. Nik., IV, p. 116.

² Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 95, 332.

³ Majjh, Nik., II, p. 91.

⁴ Burlingame's Buddhist Legends, III, pp. 70ff; Jātakas, V, pp. 412-413; Hardy's Manual, pp. 317-20.

was when the armies of the two clans were arrayed in the battle-field that Buddha intervened and brought about an amicable settlement by his thoughtful and pacifying discourses. Many members of both the clans were struck by Buddha's. greatness and were moved so much by his teachings that they retired from the world to become bhikkhus. Of those who wereconverted to Buddhism at this place, the names of Punnagovatika and Seniya-kukkuravatika should be mentioned, as they were typical brahmanic ascetics believing in the efficacy of severe penances¹. Kakudha Koliyaputta became a saddhivihārika (novice) of Moggalāna, while Suppāvāsā Koliyadhitā praised by Buddha as the chief of the panitadāyikānam (givers of sweet food)3, and Pātaliyagāmani, who required a pretty long discourse dealing with the various contemporary doctrines and the excellences of Buddhism to be convinced, became laydevotees4.

The prominence attained by the Mallas of Kusinara in the Buddhist literature is due to the accident of Kusinārā being.

Buddha among the Mallas. the site of Buddha's parinibbāna. The reason underlying the objection made by Ānanda to the selection of the place by Buddha for his parinibbāna was that it was unimportant as a centre of

Buddhism. The mandate issued by the Assembly of the Mallas that persons not according welcome to Buddha would be fined 500 kahāpanas shows that there was among the Mallas a party opposed to Buddha and his religion. Malla Roja belonged to this party but on coming into contact with Buddha, he could not resist turning a upāsaka5. Of the two well-known converts from this clan, one was Dabba Mallaputta, the distributer of food and assingnor of residences to the monks at Rājagaha6, while the other was Cunda kammāraputta who by serving to Buddha his last meal has been immortalized in the Buddhist literature?

¹ Maijh. Nik., I, p. 387.

² Ang. Nik., III, p. 122.

³ Ibid., I, p. 26; II, p. 62

⁴ Sam. Nik., IV., pp. 340-358.

⁵ Vinaya, I. pp. 247, 248

⁶ See ante, p. 99.

⁷ Digh. Nik., pp. 126-8.

The Malla country is the scene of two important discourses delivered by Buddha. One of them in the sutta is the Anguttara Nīkāya meant to explain to Tapassu gahapati the great charm inhering in the spiritual exercises practised by a monk, by virtue of which they could spurn the pleasures of worldly life. It was the attraction of this happiness in the life of a monk that persuaded even youngmen to turn recluses. Buddha explained the successive stages by which the highest spiritual culture could be reached through this life of meditation and discipilne¹. The other discourse is the Kinti sutta Majjhima Nikāya in which Buddha explained that he was out as a preacher not from any selfish motive but for the spiritual uplift of men who had by previous karma an innate inclination to the attainment of deliverance from the worldly miseries and required some assistance and guidance for the achievement of their object.2

¹ Ang. Nik., V. p. 263.

² Majjh. Nik., II, pp. 238-243.

1. ANGA. In the estimation of the orthodox brāhmaṇas, Anga occupied a place similar to that of Magadha, for it was

Similarity of conditions in Anga and Magadha in regard to religion,

beyond the Sadānīrā and was looked down upon along with Magadha as a country unfit for the performance of sacrific and bad enough to be a palace whither fever should be driven away from Brahmarṣi-deśa¹. Anga like Magadha had renowned brāmaṇa teachers, two of whom are mentioned in the Nikāyas. One is Soṇadaṇḍa

brahmaṇa living at Campā with 300 students and having a permanent source by of income granted him by king Bimbisāra², and the other is Pārāsariya brāhmana dwelling at Kajangala³ with Uttara mānava and other students⁴. Anga felt also the influence of Nigantha Nātaputta as apparent from the fact that Anāthapindika's son-in-law belonged to a family with Jaina persuasion. There were also in Anga paribbājkārāmas where the paribbājakas stayed from time to time in the course of their tour.⁵ The importance of the country in the history of the spread of Buddhism is on account of its being the easternmost place reached by Buddhism within Buddha's life-time⁶.

¹ Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, I. 4, 1; Atharva Veda, V, 22, 14.

² Digh. Nik., I, pp. IIIff.

³ For identification, see Cunningham's Ancient Geography (2nd. ed.), pp. xliii, 548, 723; J. R. A. S., 1904.

⁴ Majjh. Nik., III, p. 298.

⁵ Sām, Nik., V. p. 189; Majjh. Nik., I, p. 339.

⁶ It is mentioned in the Samuutta Nikāya (V, pp. 89; 168, 169) that the easternmost place visited by Buddha in the course of his missionary tour was Setaka, a nigama of Suhma in Rāḍha.

According to the *Vinaya*, the eastern limit of the Buddhist majjhima-desa is Kajangala situated within Anga at a distance of about 66 miles to the east of Campā. It was visited by Buddha and made the scene of the last sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya on Indriya-bhāvanā.

It is not definitely stated anywhere in the Nikāyas and other treatises as to the time, when Buddha paid his first visit to-

the country of Ariga. On more than one-Buddha's occasion Bhudha had been to Anga dwelling at activities in Campā, Āpana, Assapura and Kajangala, It. Anga. was during one of these visits that he converted the father-in-law of Anathapindika's daughter together with other members of hisfamily. During his absence at Campa on this occasion he left Anuruddha to carry on the missionary work¹. Sonadanda was converted at a time when Bimbisara, Pasenadi and Pokkharasādi had already become Buddha's disciples. The conversion of the two kings and the distinguished brāhmana teacher was cited by Sonadanda as a ground, justifying his desire to approach Buddha to listen to his teachings². We find that during Buddha's life-time there were at Anga several lay-devotees, as evidenced not only by passages in the Majjhima and Anguttara Nikāyas³ but also by separate mentions of their names in various places in the Buddhist scriptures. The most notable of them were Pessa-hatthārohaputta and Vajjiyamāhita gahapati. The former was a great admirer of the spiritual exercises and thought a house-holder he tried to practise the four satipatthānas4, while the latter was praised by Buddha for his insight into the Buddhist dhamma, enabling him to silence those paribbajakas who spoke ill of Buddha in his presence⁵. The Vinaya and the Theragāthā supply us with names of a few bhikkhus who were. inhabitants of Anga. One of them is the well-known Sona-Koli-

¹ Kern's Mannual, p. 38.

² Digh. Nik. I, p. 116.

³ Campeyyakā upāsakā; Kajangalā upāsakā, see Majjh. Nik., III, p. 298. Ang. Nik, IV, p. 59.

⁴ Majjh. Nik., I, p. 340. "presentness of memory in regard (i) to thebody (ii) to sensations (iii) to rising thoughts; and (iv) to *Dharma*". Kern, op. cit., p. 67.

⁵ Ang. Nik, V, pp. 189-192.

visa who was ordained a bhikkhu at Rājagaha, the others were Nandaka and Bharata whose psalms have been preserved in the *Thera-gāthā*¹. We also meet with the name of a bhikkuṇi belonging to Kajangala and engaged in instructing a few lay-devotees in the principles of Buddhism².

While Buddha was at Campā on a particular occasion, some of the bhikkhus completed a few official acts irregularly, unlawfully and without a full chapter of monks. This led Buddha to detail the various formal acts the bhikhus were to perform, mentioning the occasion, the procedure to be followed in each case, circumstances which would make them invalid and the punishments that would be inflicted on them for breaches of the rules³.

2. KĀŚĪ. The importance of Kāsi as a great centre of brāhmanic culture and learning is recognised in both the Brāhmanic and Buddhistic literature. The frequent mention of the place in the Jātakas is indicative of its great importance in those days. The Rsipattana of Kāśi has been Kasi an immortalized in the Pali as important well the place. Buddhist-Sanskrit literature as a resort of a large number of rsis in ancient times. The selection of the locality by Buddha for the delivery of his first discourse at the commencement of his missionary career is quite in line with its sacred tradition. In this land of orthodox brahmanism, Buddha's missionary work was naturally hampered the brāhmanas. For this opposition from reason his marked success here was net SO as it was in Magadha and Kosala. Buddha's ministration commenced with the conversion of two foreign traders Trapusa Bhallika who were travelling with a caravan along the trade-

¹ Psalms of the Brethren, p. 135; Vinaya, MV., V.I: it was on account of the very delicate feet of the bhikkhu Sona Kolivisa that the rule of using shoes by the bhikkhus came to be introduced.

² Majjh. Nik., III, p. 298.

³ Vinaya, MV, IX.

route from Dakkhiṇāpatha to Ukkala¹ a town in the kingdom
Buddha's
first converts.

of Gandhāra. Their conversion at Uruvela
was later on commemorated by the erection
of stūpas in their native villages² in Gandhāra.

Buddha after enlightenment turned his thoughts first to his comrades in asceticism then residing at Isipatana near Benares. He started from Uruvela and passed through Gaya, Aparagaya and reached Vasala where he was invited to a meal by a Inhuñka brāhmaņa to whom he pointed out as to what makes a true brahmana and tried to convert him to Buddhism. Thence he passed through Cundadvilam and Sarathipura, crossed the Ganges and reached Benares3. Here at Isipatana he visited his five comrades who would not accept Buddha's arguments regarding the futility of extreme self-mortifications in taking them to their spiritual goal. Their conviction had to be slowly overcome by Buddha through teachings from day to day impressing upon their minds the impermanence of all worldly things. They were enjoined to live as recluses. practising *jhanas* and self-control⁴. It was for them that he delivered his famous discourse, the Dhammacakkapavattana which is believed to have embodied truths found by Buddha under the Bodhi tree. It explains the majjhima patipadā or in other words the practice of control over citta which included dhyāna, attainment of pañña or true knowledge and perfection in the sīlas by pursuing the golden mean. The discourse shows the hollowness of extreme self-mortifications practised by the

1 & 2 Lalitavistara (Lefmann's edition, Vol- III, pp. 303, 310, 313: Uttarāpathe Ukkalam nāmādhisthānam.....Tehi dāni yathā Kesasthāli nāma adhisthāno tahim kesa-stupamkārāpitam. Bālukkho nāma nagaram tahim nakha-stupam kārāppitam.....Trapusabhallikanain Siluksa nāma nigama āvāstanam.....adyāpi Gandhāra-rājye adhisṭhānam Sitānamana jñāyati'. There has been a great difference of opinion with regard to the identification of Ukkala and the birth-place of Trapusa and Bhallika. Though the phonetic similarity between Utkala (Orissa) and Ukkala is very great and the identification of Ukkala with Orissa is alluring, yet in view of the evidence supplied by the Mahāvastu and supported by Yuan Chwang, Ukkala should be identified with a place in Gandhāra. Yuan Chwang noticed the remains of two of the stūpas mentioned above in the course of his journey from Balkh to Bamian (Watters' Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 111-113.)

² Mahāvastu, III, pp. 324-329; Lalitavistara, p. 406.

³ Majjh, Nik, I pp. 173-175; Sam. Nik., III, p. 66.

five brahmaṇas as the only path leading to mukti (salvation). The accumulated effect of the discourse and the teachings was the conversion of the five brahmaṇas to Buddhism.

Buddha accompanied by the five new bhikkhus passed from Isipatana to Benares and stopped on the bank of the river Varanā under a nigrodha tree where he met. Yasa's Yasa a rich setthi's son, who had already become sick of this world. Buddha found his mind a tabula rasa fit to receive his doctrines. He therefore addressed to him his discourse on dāna (charity) sila (moral precepts) sagga (heaven), etc., suited so much to house-holders. Yasa was ordained as a bhikkhu after which his fifty-four friends followed suit.

Thus far successful in his mission, Buddha entertined the idea of spreading his religion far and wide by utilizing the services of these sixty converts as preachers.

Buddha's missionary idea.

After sending them to their respective tasks in different places, he himself went to Uruvela for preaching his religion.

Buddha spent his first vassa at Isipatana and it was long before he visited it for the second time, for he came to this placeafter the 12th vassa on his way from Veranja to Vesali². But though his visits to this place were not frequent, Isipatana as it was nevertheless a very important centre of a centre. Buddhism through the missionary efforts of some of the most prominent of his disciples namely, Sāriputta, Moggalāna, Mahākotthita, Mahākaccāyana. When Buddha was staying here during his second visit, he delivered a discourse: on the true meaning of $avijj\bar{a}^3$, and advised the upāsaka Dhammadinna to follow practices enjoined in the suttantas. If these practices were too difficult for him to follow, he was asked to place faith in Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha4, for faith alone could make him a sotāpanna, that is one who is inthe first stage of sanctification.

¹ Vinaya, MV, i, 6; Mahavastua, Vol. III, pp. 405 ff; Rockhill's Life of Buddha, pp. 38-39.

² Kern's Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 36; J. R. A. S., 1891.

³ Sam. Nik., V, p. 429.

⁴ Ibid., V, p, 407.

The delivery of the first discourse by Buddha at the deer-park brought the place into prominence. As it was the first scene of Buddha's missionary activities he himself clothed it with a sacred memory and ranked it among the four places of pilgrimage most sacred to a Buddhist. The inscription on the Ashoka pillar containing the warning to the sanghabhedakas (schismatics) shows that it continued at the time to be a resort of many contentious Buddhist monks. Th beginning of a monastic establishment here are found in the Nikāyas where it is stated that bhikkhus often sat in a manḍalamālā and had discussions over abhidhamma², the interpretation of verses uttered by Buddha³, the meaning of avijjā and such other topics. As Mahākothita figures so often in the discourses as taking part in the discussions described therein, it seems reasonable to infer that he was permanently associated with the locality.

The only Vinaya rule framed here relates to the delegation of the power of initiation to the disciples. Buddha had hitherto been performing the initiation personally with the simple formula "Ehi bhikkhu, svākkhato dhammo, cara brahmacariyam samma dukkhassa antakiriāyāti (Come O bhikkhus, well taught is the doctrine, lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering), but with the increase of his disciples sent out from Benares it was no longer feasible for him to do so because the converts were growing larger in number and the conversions had to be made at distant places. So he had to delegate the power of initiation to his disciples and required the converts to be shaven, put on yellow robes and utter thrice the formula for taking refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Sanga.4

3. VASTSA. Buddha had been to the country of the Vatsas on two or three occasions and passed his ninth vassa at Kosambi. His tenth vassa was passed in a neighbouring forest called Pārileyyaka whither he retired in disgust at the quarrel that took place between the two groups of bhikkhus of Kosambi, viz., the Dhammadharas and the Vinavadharas⁵. At Kosambi he usually stayed at the hermitage

¹ Digh, Nik., Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta.

² Ang, Nik., 111, pp. 392-393.

³ Ibid., III, p. 399.

⁴ Vinaya, MV, vii, 15; i. 12, 3-4.

⁵ See Bk, II of this work.

Pāvārika-ambavana built by pāvāriya, a rich setthi. There were other hermitages, two of which had been constructed by the setthis Kukkuta and Ghosita. Sāmāvatī was converted by Khujjutarā praised by Buddha as the chief of the learned upāsikās. The queen's devotion to Buddha was resented very much by another queen as also by her father Magandiya, a minister of the king of Kosambi, having a great aversion to Buddha. It was during the absence of king Udena at the city that Magandiya plotted against the life of Sāmāvatī and burnt her to death. King Udena was shocked at this incident and turned an adherent of Buddihsm as this was the religion that could evoke so much of religious devotion in the queen¹. Of the other laydevotees, we may mention the name of Sandaka the paribbājaka who was converted against the will of his followers by Ananda². The only bhikkhu whose name is recorded in Nikā yas as belonging to the city is Pindola Bharadvaja praised by Buddha as the chief of the sihanādikānam (lit. Lion-roarers). He was the son of the royal chaplain of Kosambi and was versed in brahmanic lore3.

While Buddha was residing at Kosambi, he felt the necessity of framing rules for averting chances of future dissensions in his order. He detailed, as recorded in the tenth book of the Mahāvagga, the circumstances in which a schism could take place and dwelt on their evil consequences. Of the Pātimokkha rules, six were framed here, one under Sanghādisesa and five under Pācittiya.

4. CEDI. The country of the Cedis to the west of Kosala lay, it seems, beyond the pale of Buddhism during Buddha's lifetime. Sahajāti, a place in Cedi, attained some prominence as a centre of Buddhism after the death of Buddha. In the Cedia Anguttara and Samyutta Nikāyas we come across the name of this place as the scene of some of the discourses delivered by the bhikkhu Mahācunda and as the resort of many bhikkhus⁵.

¹ Buddhist India, p. 36; Burlingame, op. cit., I, pp. 277ff.; Yuan Chwang, I, p. 369: Divyāvadāna. p. 529ff.

² Majjh. Nik., I, p. 513.

³ Ang. Nik., I, p. 25; Sam. Nik., V, p. 224.; Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 110-111.

⁴ See Bk, II of this work.

⁵ Ang. Nik., III, p. 355; V, pp. 41, 157; Sam. Nik., V, p. 436.

Western and Northern Countries

Dr. Oldenberg's statement that Buddism was confined only to the prācya-deśa is due, I think, to the difficulty in the consul-

Dr. Oldenberg's statement that Buddhim was confined to the prācya-deśa criticised.

tation of unedited texts. He drew support from a passage of the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta¹ in which Ananda enumerated a few towns to Buddha for selecting one of them as the place of his parinibbana. As these were the towns where the Buddhist devotees lived in large

numbers, the westernmost of them was taken by Dr. Oldenberg as the farthest western limit of Buddha's missionary activities.² But a close study of the Nikāyas shows that Buddha did travel outside the prācya-deśa as far west as Verañja, Madhurā³ and as far north as the country of the Kurus⁴. Another evidence in support of our contention that Buddhism was not confined to prācya-deśa is that many disciples of Buddha hailed from paccantima janapada or border countries. The reason why the

Paccantima *janapada* an integral part of the area within, which Buddhism spread during

designation paccantima-desa was places like Samkassa and Ujjeni which are far away from the Indian Frontiers is to be found in the fact that they formed the border-land between majihima-desa of the Buddhists and Buddha's lifetime other places. The rules of discipline framed by Buddha were meant generally for those monks who

¹ Digh. Nik., II, p. 146.

² Oldenberg's Buddha, Excursus I.

³ Majjh. Nik., II, p. 83; Vinaya, Suttavibhanga I, 1; 4.

⁴ Majjh, Nik., I, p. 55.

resided with majihima-desa, boundaries of which are given in the Vinaya. Though the boundaries are not identifiable at present except on the eastern side yet it is known that places where Buddhism flourished like Samkassa, Avanti, Gandhara. etc. were distinguished as paccantima janapadas. Buddha himself relaxed some of the rules of discipline in regard to the monks of those places in view of the physical conditions within which they lived. This relaxation of the rules shows that Buddha had to take note of the convenience and needs of the monks of the distant regions indicated by the expression paccentimajanapada. This proves clearly that the religion in the contemplation of Buddha was not one confined to the eastern territories alone as supposed by Dr. Oldenberg but it was as well a religion that had its roots in the regions lying outside the majjhima-desa. This is corroborated by the fact that within a century after Buddha's nibbana, Avanti a Pātheyya rose to be important centres of Buddhism, so much so that the presence of monks from these distant places was regarded as indispensable at the meetings held for settling points of dispute raised by the Vajjian monks of Vesāli.

A. WESTERN COUNTRIES. Though the whole of western India was placed outside the majjhima-desa of the Vinaya, Buddhism made a fair progress there during, the life-time of Buddha and played an important role in the later history of Buddhism, and that although Buddha wandered generally within the prācyadesa, the religion however was not confined to the region, as supposed by Dr. Oldenberg, but spread over many regions of Western India counting among its adherents people from the western countries such as Roruka, Bharukaccha, Suppāraka, Avanti, Ujjeni, Aparānta, having their monastic establishments at some of these places. The westernmost point

reached by Buddha in his peregrinations was

Buddha at Veranja a place near Madhurā in the 12th year after his enlightenment. When Buddha was at Sāvatthi, some brāhmaṇas of Veranja (situated probably west of Madhurā) were there on some business. They had a talk with

¹ Vinava, I, V. 13; ix. 4. I, J.R.A.S., 1904, pp. 83ff.; Jātaka, I; Bhandarkar's Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 43.

him about the fruits of good and evil karma¹. On one occasion Buddha was invited by Veranja brāhmanas to go to their native country, which Buddha did at the outset of the twelfth vassa.2 We find from a passage in the Anguttara Nikāya³ that Buddha once stopped on his way from Madhurā to Veranja (antarā ca Madhuram antarā ca Veranjam) and delivered there a discourse to the house-holders on the ideal husband and wife. These house-holders were on their way from Veranja to Madhura. This shows that Veranja was situated near Madhura on the analogy of similar passages found in the Pāli texts where localities situated at a short distance from one another were described exactly in the way in which Madhurā and Veranja have been in the passage quoted above. Buddha and his bhikkhus had a bitter experience at Veranja. It was during their residence there that a famine broke out and the bhikkhus were put to a great difficulty in procuring their daily food. They were neglected by the people of the locality and would have starved but for the charity of some horse dealers of the northern country who stopped there in the midst of their journey and supplied them with steamed grain in pattha measures4. Buddha took up his residence at Nalerupucimandamula where a Veranja brahmana came and questioned him the reason of his not showing marks of respect to the aged brahmanas. To this question Buddha made a suitable reply justifying his behaviour and converted the brahmana to Buddhism⁵. At the very same place he had a similar talk with Pahārada Asurinda regarding the eight excellences of his dhamma and vinaya6. He left Veranja at the end of the vassa and accompanied by Ananda passed through Soreyya, Sankassa, Kannakujja, Payagapatitthanam, crossed the Ganges and reached Benares7. He met here Māhākaccāyana for the first time and by converting him paved the way for the establi-

¹ Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 290-291.

² Burlingame's Buddhist Legends, II, p. 193; Kern's Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 36, J.R.A.S., 1891.

³ Ang. Nik., II, p. 57.

⁴ Vinaya, III, p. 6; Burlingame's Buddhist Legends, II, p. 193.

⁵ Ang. Nik., IV, p, 172; Vinaya, III, pp. 2ff.

⁶ Ang. Nik., IV, pp. 197ff.

⁷ Vinaya III, p. II. (From Benares, Buddha went to Vesali where he spent his 13th vassa).

shment of a centre of Buddhism in Avantī.

Mahākaccāyana was one of the most distinguished apostles, of the Buddhist faith and made a substantial contribution to its property. He was the son of the royal priest of king.

Māhakaccā yana, founder of the centre Avanti

Canda Pajjota of Avanti. He was the nephew of rsi Asita (or Kāladevala) the great seer of the Vindhyācala who paid his homage to Siddhārtha when a child. It was at Asita's

advice that the young ascetic Nālaka (former name of Mahākaccayana) came to Benares to pay a visit to Buddha and being very much impressed by the unsurpassed erudition of the Teacher, became a Buddhist monk along with his comgroup of bhikkhus with Mahākaccayana. panions¹. This their head returned to their native country founded āśramas there at Kururaghara-papāta-pabbata and Makkarakata in Avanti. Of the notable converts made here, names of Punna, Sona Kutikanna of Aparanta, Isidatta a cara van guide of Velugāma and Kandarāyana brāhmana may be mentioned². In the *Thera*-and *Theri-Gāthā*, we come acrossnames of a few other monks and nuns of Avanti whose psalms have been preserved in the collection3 and in the Majjhima Nikāya we meet with the conversion of king Madhura Avantiputta by Mahākaceāyana by delivering the famous discourse on caste-system after the parinibbana of Buddha4.

A remarkable feature of the activities of Mahākaccāyana is that he as an expositor was engaged more in giving detailed expositions of Buddha's enigmatic sayings than delivering independent discourses of his own. People used to come to him for solving their doubts in regard to utterances of Buddha: Kalī upāsikā requested him to explain a stanza from Kumāripañha⁵ of the Sutta Nipāta ci.p. 126 the Hāliddikāni

¹ Mahāvastu, II, p. 30; III, p. 382; Romantic History of Buddha: (translated from the Chinese Abhinişkramana Sutra) by S. Beal, p. 276; Sutta Nipāta (P.T.S.) Nālaka Sutta, vs 696ff.

² Psalms of the Brethren by Mrs. Rhys Davids; Ang. Nik., I, p. 68; Sam Nik., IV, p. 288.

³ Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 41, 42, 107, 149, 292. Psalms of the Sisters, pp. 30, 31.

⁴ Majjh. Nik., II, pp. 83ff.

⁵ Ang. Nik., V, pp. 46ff.

gahapati from the Māgandiyapāñha of the Atthakavagga and Sakkapañha Sutta of the Digha Nīkāya (Sutta No. 21) and so forth¹.

It was under the guidance of Mahakaccāyana helped by Soņa Kuṭikaṇṇa that Buddhism inspite of adverse circumstances² gradually obtained a footing in Avanti. Though the country was situated at a long distance from Magadha, yet on account of its facilities of communication with the ports of Western India and the principal cities of Magadha and Kosala it became an important centre of Buddhism.

The centre of Buddhism in Avanti, it seems, laid special stress on the ascetic practices allowed by the Buddhist code for which it is remarked in the Vinaya that the bhikkhus of Avanti were followers of $dh\bar{u}tav\bar{a}da$ precepts³.

Though names of western countries other than Avanti are not found in the Nikāyas, we come across in the Vinaya Divyāvadāna Roruka and Aparānta as places where Buddhism spread during Buddha's life-time.

Rudhrāyana, king of Roruka, first received through Bimbīsāra, the message of the advent of Buddha in Magadha. Bimbisara sent him inscribed on a plate some of the principles of Buddhism which made a great impression upon Rudrayana's mind, so much so that he became a Buddhist upasaka and afterwards a bhikkhu⁴.

The notable figure of Aparānta is Puṇṇa who belonged to Suppāraka, a port of Aparānta. His firm resolution to propagate Buddhism inspite of adverse circumstances was commended by Buddha, who on account of this sturdiness in the cause of the religion considered him the fittest person to be entrusted with the work of preaching there his religion⁵.

B. NORTHERN COUNTRIES. The farthest place in the North visited by Buddha in the course of his missionary tour was that of the Kurus,—the ancient home of the highest

¹ Sam. Nik., III, pp. 12, 13; IV, p. 115.

² Ang. Nik., III, p. 256.

³ Vinaya, CV., II, p. 299.

⁴ Divyāvadāna, pp. 550ff; Psalms of the Brethren, pp. 90-91.

⁵ Ibid, pp. 45ff., Ibid., p. 70

brahmanic culture. Buddha delivered The land of important discourses in two of the brahmana the Kurus. villages of the country, namely, Kammassadhamma Thullakotthita. The association of the country with these two discourses has made it memorable in the annals on the spread of Buddhism. These discourses are the Satipatthana Sutta and the Mahānidāna Suttanta. The first deals with the principles of the Buddhist system of yoga and teaches how a person can reach a very high stage of sanctification by the simple process of constant satipatthana (self-possession) without having recourse to the more arduous methods prescribed in the brahmanic yoga-sāstras. The second discourse explains the tenfold² chain of causation (paţiccasamuppāda) leading to misery or salvation. A few other discourses relating to the means of cessation of dukkha, worthlessness of sensual pleasures the eight vimokkhas, etc. were also delivered at the place³.

It appears from the Ratthapāla and Māgandiya suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya that some of the brahmanas of the Kuru country held Buddha in great esteem and resorted to him to listen to his teachings. So great was Bharadvājagotta brahman's respect for Buddha that he used to offer a seat to him in his sacrificial hall in the face of protests by Māgandiya paribbājaka¹. Ratthapāla a member of the most respectable brahmana family of Thullakotthita approached Buddha along with a large number of brāhmana gahapatis to listen to Buddha's discourses. Ratthapala was so much impressed that he at once made up his mind to become a bhikkhu. He had some difficulty in having the consent of his parents to his ordination but ultimately he succeeded and became a bhikkhu. After the attainment of arahathood, he paid a visit to the land of his birth and made a great impression upon the mind of the Kuru king by giving an exposition of some of the principles of Buddhism.⁵

¹ Majjh. Nik., I, pp. 55ff., Digh. Nik., II, pp. 55ff; 290ff.

² In the chain the usual first two links have been omitted, and viññāna and nāmarula have been made co-existent instead of one being derived from the another. Cf. Sam. Nik., II pp. 92-93; Mrs Rhys Davids' Buddhism, p. 94.

³ Sam Nik., II, p. 107; Ang. Nik., V, pp. 29ff.

⁴ Majjh. Nik., I, p. 502; cf. ante, II, pp. 55ff.

⁵ Majjh. Nik., II, pp. 65-72.

The Nikāyas do not mention any other convert of the Kuru country except Māgandiya paribbājaka who was at first so very averse to Buddhism¹.

Buddha had also among his disciples the people of the more distant Madda country, the notable of them being Mahākappina and bhikkhu the bhikkhunis. two Khema and Bhadda Kapilani. Buddha con-The Land of verted Khemā, the queen of Bimbisāra, in the of Maddas seventh year of his missionary career after the institution of the order of nuns at Vesāli, She attained the highest stage of sanctification and was designated by Buddha as the chief of the highly wise nuns (mahāpañānam)2. Her fame spread all over Magadha and Kosala as panditā, viyattā, medhāvinī, bahussutā, cittakathī, kalyāņapatibhānā'tī (wise, experiened, intelligent and erudite)3. She had a discussion with Pasenadi Kosala on indeterminable problems and fully satisfied him by her expositions⁴. The conversion of Khemā opened up a new chapter in the history of Buddhism. Not only did it contribute to the popularity of the Buddhist order of nuns but also made easy the path of the spread of Buddhism in Sāgala, the capital of the Maddas⁵, sprung as she was from the royal dynasty of the Madda⁶ country. Besides Khemā the two other notable converts, who hailed from the Madda country, Mahākappina of the royal family of Kukkutavati, mentioned by Buddha of the chief of the bhikkhu ovādakānam⁶ (admonisher of bhikkhus) and Bhadda Kapilani of the chief of the Sāgala brāhmana families and wife of Mahākassapa, referred to by Buddha as the foremost of the nuns who attained the knowledge of their previous births (pubbenivāsa $anusssarantinam)^{7}$.

¹ Majjh, Nik., I, p. 512.

² Ang Nik., I, p. 25; Manorothapurani, I, p. 345.

³ Sam. Nik., IV, p. 375.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 375-380.

⁵ Cunningham's Ancient Geography, (2nd ed.), pp. 206ff, 686.

⁶ Manorathapārani I, pp. 318-324

⁷ Ibid., pp. 375-6; Psalms of the Sisters, pp. 47-49

BOOK 11 Schools of Buddhism

INTRODUCTION

The origin of the various schools, not long after Buddha's death, was rather a healthy sign of Tathagata's religion. After Buddha's death there was none at the time able to take his place as a religious teacher. His charming doctrine attracted thousands. of men seeking eagerly a solution of the various problems relating to life in this world and the next. There were among these the highly learned followers who were descended from brahmana families and imbued with an intimate knowledge of brāhmanic philosophy, learned members of various religious. orders like the Jatilas, Jainas, Ajīvikas. They were of a very speculative turn of mind and could not remain satisfied with the then current interpretations of the teachings of Buddha asthe common folk were, as a rule. These seekers after truth demanded a more thorough elucidation of the significant words of the Teacher, the leading Buddhist teachers of the time being. unable to furnish explanation. Naturally these Buddhist preachers took to hair-splitting argumentations but could not arrive at definite conclusions. The fundamental propositions about which they all agreed were1:—

- (1) All is momentary (Sarvam kṣaṇikam)
- (2) All is without self (sarvam anātman)
- (3) All is suffering (sarvam dukkham)

But round this nucleus of agreement were ranged several divergences of opinion as to both tenets (dhamma) and rules of disci-

¹ D.T. Suzuki's Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 140 (Item 3 is not mentioned in this book).

pline (vinaya) which were responsible for divisions in the fraternits¹. The development of the six systems of Hindu philosophy from the *Upanisads* as their common basis furnishes a parallel to the growth of schools of Buddhism out of a single original cult. "The founders of the Hindu schools" says Prof. Max Müller² "always pretend to find in the *Upanişads* some warranty for their tenets, however antagonistic in their bearing. The same applies to the numerous seeks that have existed and still exist in India." This remark applies mutatis mutandis to the various Buddhist sects. Each sect laid claim to the orthodoxy and special strength of its views and beliefs³ by "Genesis of culling out and emphasizing those sayings of Indian sects. Buddha that lent support to its particular doc-

trines, while the sayings that were not so tractable or positively antagonistic were either impeached or passed over in silence.

The formation of about twenty Buddhist schools within one or two centuries preceding or following the **Factors** reign of Asoka was due mainly to the following

peculiar to Buddhism for the

schools.

factors: origin of

(1) Want of provision for the supreme headship of the Buddhist church after the Founder's

death. Buddha thought that the prescription of heavy punishments for schisms in the church would check them effectively and that his Dhamma and Vinaya would be self-sufficing in keeping intact the religion established by him, obviating thereby the appointment of religious heads. In this supposition the Teacher no doubt delimited the need for the supreme headship, as the future history of the Buddhist church has proved, and magnified the unaided strength of dhamma and vinaya. According to the Sāmagāma Sutta⁴, Buddha hears of dissensions in the Jaina community as soon as the leader Nigantha Nātaputta was dead. He was afraid of like dissensions in his church after his death but consoled himself that there was no difference of

¹ See Ang, Nik., 1, p. 60.

² History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 162-163.

³ For illustrations see Points of the Controversy by Mr. Shwe Zan Aung, pp. 27 ff.

⁴ Majih. Nik., 11, p. 105.

opinion among his followers in regard to the dhamma¹ preached by him and to ensure further safety of his church (in this behalf) he delivered a religious discourse on the cause of Schism and the means to avoid them². He placed too much reliance on his dhamma the attachment of his followers to his dhamma and vinava which he supposed would be of the implicit type for ever.3 He instructed his disciples that after his death his teachings would be their Teacher. This is recorded in the Mahāparipibbāņa Suttanta4 and forms also the subject of a dialogue between Ananda and Vassakāra brāhmana, the minister of Magadhas⁵. Vassakāra asks Ānanda, "Has any bhikkhu been specified (by Buddha) as would after Buddha's death become the refuge (i.e. leader) of men under whom everybody would seek shelter." Ānanda answers in the negative. He asks again, "Has any bhikkhu been selected by the sangha as would become their leader etc." To this also Ananda anwers in the negative. Vassakara was curious to learn the cause of the prevailing concord of the church inspite of there being no leader (lit. refuge). Ananda replies "we are not without a refuge (appațisaraṇā) dhamma is our refuge. There is a treatise called Pātimokkhā which has been formulated by the omniscient Teacher and which all the monks living in the same parish (gāmakkhetta) have to recite in a monastery where they assemble on the uposatha days. Should there occur any difference or doubt in the recitation the bhikkus present should explain them in accordance with the dhamma (hence they have their refuge as dhamma)." In answer to another question put by vassakāra, Ānanda explains that though there was no supreme head of the Buddhist fraternity, there was

¹ Buddha's dhamma is thus detailed by him:—(i) Four satipatthānas (ii) Four sammāppadhānas; (iii) Four iddhipādas; (iv) Five indriyas: (v) Five balas; (vi) Seven bojjangas; (vii) Eight-fola path. See Dīgh. Nik., xvi, 50; Majjh, Nik., II pp. 77, 103, 104; Lalitavistara (Bibl, Ind.) a book of the Sarvāstivādins, pp. 34-37; and Sangiti-Paryāya, one of the seven Abhi-dharma books of the Sarvāstivādins in J.P.T.S. 1904-5, pp. 71, 75.

² See Kinit Suttain Majjh, Nik., II, p. 103.

³ See Pāsādika Suttanta (Dīgh, Nik., xxix), p. 121.

⁴ Dīgh Nik., xvi., 6, 6, 1. "Yo mayā Dhammoca Vinayo desito paññatto so ya mama accayena satthā."

⁵ Majjh, Nik., Gopaka-Moggalāna Sutta (No. 108), Oldenberg's Buddha (Eng. transl.) p. 108.

in each parish a qualified head who was respected by the people under his charge and whose guidance would be strongenough tokeep the great many parishes connected together in religious concord. This conversation makes it clear that each parish was under the control of the seniormost and best qualified monk that the parish could furnish¹. The bhikkhus residing under his suprintendence met together on the uposatha days and held religious discussions among themselves in order to elicit, the true meaning of Buddha's word. In the course of their discussions, they interpreted the terse expression of the Teacher in different ways and introduced additional materials in the interpretations, passing them in the name of Buddha to give them stamp of authenticity. This happened in most of the parishes scattered over the whole of northern India. There was none at that time in the whole of the Buddhist community who could dissolve the numberless divergences thus originated into one uniform whole and convert the threatening centrifugal forces then at work intocentripetal, conducive to the well-being of the whole sangha.

- (2) Grouping of disciples around a noted thera. Buddha awarded prominence to some of his disciples by extolling them for their attainment of proficiency in certain branches of the Buddhist dhamma². Of them, the following need mention for our purpose;—
 - (i) Sāriputta, the foremost of the highly wise (mahāpaññā-nam).
 - (ii) Mahāmoggalāna, the foremost of the possessors of miraculous powers (iddhimantānam).
 - (iii) Anuruddha, the foremost of the possessors of divine
- 1 In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttauta (Dīgh Nik., II, p. 77) it is enjoined upon the bhikkhus that they should offer due respect to the Sanghapitara or Sangha parināyaka (the head of the parish) who are bhikkhus of long standing and experience for the well-being of this sangha.

Childers in his Pāli Dictionary (s.v. sangha) says that a Sanghatthera is usually elected as the President of an assembly. He cities of instance, Kassapa, the then Sanghatthera was the President of the first council. He also points out that a Sanghatthera is not always the one who is the longest ordained for Sabbakāmin who was the longest upasampanna bhikkhu was not the President of the Second Council. See also Ang Nik., IV, 21; V.p., 353.

2 Ang. Nik.- I xiv, I.

- eyes (dibba-cakkhukānam).
- (iv) Mahākassapa, the foremost of the followers of $dh\bar{u}ta$ precepts $(dh\bar{u}tav\bar{a}d\bar{a}nam)$.
- (v) Puṇṇa Mantāniputta, the foremost of the preachers of dhamma (dhammakathikānam).
- (vi) Mahākaccāyana, the foremost of the expositors (sankhittena bhāsitam vitthārena attham vibhajjanantanam).
- (vii) Rāhula, the foremost of the students (sikkhākāmānam).
- (viii) Revata Khadiravaniya, the foremost of the forest-recluses (ārañīikānam).
 - (ix) Ananda, the foremost of the vastly learned (bahussutanam); and
 - (x) Upāli, the foremost of the masters of Vinaya (vinayadh-arānam),

Buddha used to observe the mental proclivities of the person to whom he imparted a religious lesson and selected a discourse that appealed to him most. He followed the same course, while prescribing to his disciples their duties for the attainment of arahathood. He also indirectly pointed out to his disciples the preceptor most suited to each in view of his peculiar mental leanings. This practice led to the grouping of students around a teacher or his direct disciples; hence the remark made by Buddha that "dhātuso sattā samsandenti samenti" on the principle that like draws like. In the Majihima Nikāya², we read of ten chief theras, viz. Sāriputta, Moggalāna, Mahākotthita, etc., each having ten to forty disciples under their tuition. Buddha on a certain occasion pointed out that the group of bhikkhus formed round each of these theras was possessed of the same special qualifications that characterised the thera himself. Thus the bhikkhus accompanying Sāriputta were mahāpaññāvantā, those accompanying Mahāmoggalāna were mahiddhikā, those accompanying Mahākassappa were dhūtavādā, those accompanying Devadatta were sinfully inclined (pāpicchā) and so on³. Yuan Chwang noticed about a thousand years later that on auspicious days the Abhidhammikas worshipped Sāriputra, the Vinayists. Upāli, the Śrāmaneras Rāhula, the Sūtraists Purņa Maitrāyani-

¹ Sam. Nik., II, p. 157.

² Majjh. Nik., III, p. 118.

³ Sam. Nik., II, pp. 115, 156.

putra, the Samādhists Mahāmoggalāna, the bhikkhunīs Ānanda, the Mahāyānists Manjusri and other Bodhisattvas¹. In the first four classes of bhikkhus, the aforesaid affinity between them and their leaders is obvious. In the next three classes, the affinity existed all the same though it may not be apparent on the face of it. For the Samādhists followed Mahāmoggalāna because he was the master of iddhi par excellence which could be obtained only through samādhi, and the bhikkhunis followed Ānanda because to him the order of nuns owed its origin. The Mahāyānists do not come within our purview at present. The principal points of resemblance between the followers and their preceptors were the ties that bound them together but these were the points which constituted the features by which the chief qualities of the preceptors were distinguished. These distinctions among them did not lie in any differences of doctrines which they professed but in the degrees of proficiency attained by each, in particular directions of Buddhistic sādhana. But the divisions though not proceeding from radical differences in doctrine grew stereotyped in course of time, and fusion between them later on became an impossibility due to the separatist frame of mind that their existence as separate orders naturally developed. Thus the division which had commenced without any doctrinal differences gradually gave rise to the latter and grew into full-fledged schools. History shows that this process of development actually came to pass. For instance, the school of the Sarvāstivādins who were connected with the original division of abhidhammikas with Sariputta at their head affiliated themselves to Sariputta's disciple Rahula at whose time however the doctrinal differences had not yet appeared, similarly the Sthaviravadins affiliated themselves to Upali, Mahāsanghikas to Mahākassapa and the Sammitiya to Mahākaccāyana.

- (3) Division of monks into bodies, each of which was meant to preserve a particular portion of the Buddhist scriptures. Throughout the Pāli literature, we often come across terms like these:—
 - (i) Suttantikas or masters of Suttanta (belonging to the Sutta-piţaka);
 - (ii) Vinavadharas or repositories of the rules of discipline;

- (iii) Mātikādharas or those versed in mātikā (i.e. abhi-dhamma);
- (iv) Dhammakathikas or the preachers of the Buddhist doctrine;¹
 - (v) Dīgha-bhāṇaka, Majjhima-bhāṇaka & c, (i.e. reciters of the Nikāyas)².

The object of this is obvious. In those days, when writing was hardly used for recording in books the sayings and preachings of Buddha, the means that was utilized for preserving and handing them down to posterity was reciting them regularly and committing them to memory. This was akin to the method that had been in vogue in India form the earliest Vedic period, the need of which mainly gave rise to the numerous Vedic schools. A similar cause produced a similar result among the Buddhists and we find that the memorizing of different portions of the Pitaka was entrusted to different sets of bodies hardened and separated from one another in course of time and bearing names descriptive of their functions³.

It should not be inferred from this that side by side with these bodies, there were not religious students who specialised in a number of branches of the Buddhist scriptures and received epithets like āgatāgamā, bhhussutā, tipeṭakin pañcanekyika. But the existence of such scholars with such wider scopes of knowledge does not preclude that of bodies of scholars having as their special duties an accurate memorising of special branches of the sacred lore. This is confirmed, and that its origin dates back as early as the first council is evidenced, by the fact that in that council Ānanda was requested to recite the Suttas white Upāli the Vinaya. This would not have been the case if Ānanda or Upāli was not generally famed for proficiency in the particular branches of the Piṭaka. Elements of such specialisation have found to have existed still earlier in Buddha's

¹ Dīgh. Nik., Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, iv; Ang. Nik., II, p. 117.

² Sum. Vil., p, 15.

³ Vinaya, IV. 15. 4. (S.B.E. xiii, p. 339), "On the pavāranā day the greater part of the night has passed away while the bhikkhus were in confusion, the bhikkhus were reciting the Dhamma, those versed in Suttantas were propounding the Suttantas, those versed in Vinaya were discussing the Vinaya, the Dhamma preachers were talking about the Dhamma".

life-time as can be noticed in a quarrel that took place between a dhammakathika and a vidayodhara1. Commonness of duties gave rise to unity among the dhammakathikas on one side and the vinayadharas on the other in such a maked way that each groupmade the cause of one individual member its common cause and participated in the dispute. This is sufficiently indicative of the crystallization that had commenced in each group round itscommon function and the awakening of a consciousness of common interests that bound together its individual members-Indications of stages previous to this crystallization into bodies. are found in the Vinaya in connection with the arrangements. made by Dabba Mallaputta for the residence of the bhikkhus2. Dabba Mallaputta made such an arrangement that the bhikkhus. adopting the same mode of life (sabhāgā) resided in the same place in order that the Suttantikas could recite suttantas among. themselves. Vinayadharas discuss the rules of discipline with one another, the Dhammakathikas talk mutually about questions of doctrine and so on. Instances are not rare of a feeling of rivalry among these bodies, each member of which wished and was pleased to see the body to which he belonged take precedence over other bodies in having seat or food in assemblies or in thanks giving after a meal³.

These separate bodies, which existed for a particular function necessary for the whole Budhhist community e.g. the preservation of a particular portion of the Pitaka by regular recitations, imbibed in course of time doctrines, which could be looked upon as peculiar to the body holding them and in the way, the body developed into a separate religious school of Buddhism. Such instances are found in the Theravadins who had developed into such a school from the Vinayadharas, and the Sautrantikas from the Suttantikas. It must not be thought that all the divisions mentioned above in this connection developed into religious schools, but what I mean to point out is the fact that such divisions supplied from among them bodies which in time grew into full-fledged schools.

(4) Elasticity of the rules of discipline. The rules of conduct

¹ See Infra.

² Vinaya, II. pp, 75, 76.

³ Ibid., C V. IV, 6, 2; MV. IV, 13, 4.

were in the course of being defined but were not codified at the time. The Sakyaputtiya samanas like other contemporary religious orders possessed a set of rules known as the Pātimokkha for their guidance and the disciples had to recite those rules every fortnight in the presence of the congregation, the bhikkhus residing in forests (ārañnakas) not being excepted¹. The Pätimokkha, as we have it now, obtained its present shape after various additions and alterations according to the exigencies of times and circumstances. For instance, Buddha made some exceptions in favour of the bhikkhus who were placed at a disadvantage by reason of the locality in which they resided. In the border countries (paccantima janapada) such as Avanti, the converts were few and intractable, hence, Buddha at the request of Kaccayana and Punna Mantaniputta made some exceptions in their favour in regard to the rules for the formation of an assembly for the ordaining of monks and the wearing of leather-made shoes etc., prohibited to the bhikkhus dwelling in the middle country². Buddha's primary object was the emancipation of all beings and as a means to that end, he laid the greatest stress on the control of mental functions³ permitting greater latitudes in the discipline of body and speech according to the circumstances of each individual than were allowed by the contemporaneous sects of Jainas, Ajīvikas. etc. In the Mahāparinibbāņa Suttanta,4 one of his instructions was that the sangha might, if necessary, abolish the minor rules, making thereby the Vinaya (or rules of conduct) subject to changes as time and circumstances required⁵. Besides elasticity, there were other causes for changes in the Vinaya rules, one of which was hinted at by the Chinese traveller Fa Hian in the

¹ Majjh. Nik.. II, pp. 8, 9. "Te (āraññakā sāvakā) anvaddhamāsam sanghamajjhe osaranti pātīmokkhuddesāya".

² See Vinaya, I, pp. 197, 198; Divyāvadāna, p. 21.

³ Majjh. Nik., Vol. I p. 56.

⁴ Dīgh. Nik., II, p. 154. "Ākankhamāno Ānanda sangho mama accayena ikhuddānukhuddāni sikkhāpadāni samuhantu". Cf. Milindapanha, p. 143.

⁵ Ang. Nik., I p. 230. Vajjiputtaka bhikkhu said to Buddha that it would be difficult for him to practise the 250 rules which were recited every fortnight. Buddha asked him whether he would be able to practise the three sikṣās viz. adhisīla, adhicītta and adhipaññā, to which he replied in the affirmative.

course of his remarks bearing on the Mahāsanghika schism: "Certain bhikkus (of Vaisāli) broke the rules of Vinaya in ten particulars saying that Buddha had said it so". Another cause of such division is mentioned in a Sanskrit treaties as lying in the fact that the seceders sought "different interpretations for the commandments of the departed master".

- (5) Dialectical differences. According to Profs. Beal and Minayeff³, the practice of preserving the sacred lore in one's own vernacular contributed also to the formation of schools. At present, evidences are not strong enough to put this conclusion on a solid basis and we are now not in a position to point to any particular school as the result of the operation of this factor alone.
- (6) Austerities and ritualism. It is well known from Buddha's life that his attainment of Buddhahood led him to adopt 'middle path' which eschewed austerities as a means of attaining religious goal. We are also aware that just after his renunciation he became a disciple of two gurus under whose guidance he led a life of severe austerity for a few years which only opened his eyes to the fact that such austerities could never fulfil his mission. For this reason austerites could not be expected to figure in the doctrines preached and recommended by him to his disciples. But in spite of this position we find in some of the earliest portions of the Pitaka such as the Majjhima and the Anguttara Nikāyas that Buddha is praising ascetics4 who were given to the practice of dhūta-precepts involving austerities. This is an inconsistency which can be explained in two ways, first, by holding that the passages were interpolated in later times by those disciples who were in favour of such practices, and secondly by the position that Buddha changed his attitude later on in view of the strong tendency of the people who took to or believed in the efficacy of the austerities and who could not be satisfied with a religion barren of such practices. In either case, we have to admit that austerities crept
 - 1 Beal's Records of the Western Countries, I, p. liv.
 - 2 Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, p. 177.
- 3 Minayeff's Intro. to Pāli Grammar; Beal's Abstract of four Lectures one the Buddhist Literature in China. p. 49.
 - 4 Ang. Nik., III, pp. 344ff.
 - 5 See Rern's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 75-76.

into Buddhism in early times and the adoption of these by Buddhists led to the formation of schools.

Likewise ritualism which Buddha from the commencement of his career as such eschewed as a thing with which the religion preached by him should have no connection could not be kept in abeyance for a long time. The passages 1 found in the early portions of the Pitaka advocating certain rites may, like the references to austerities, be explained in the way indicated above. Whatever might be the explanation, it is certain that by degrees rites and ceremonies entered into Buddhism giving it an appearance which could in no way be distinguished from the elaborate rituals of brāhmņic worships barring differences in the rituals themselves. The introduction of this feature could not certainly have been welcome to the founder of the religion but it was a feature that was demanded in an increasing degree by the large mass of the laity as well as by a great body of their religious teachers. The schools or groups of Buddhists that adopted the rituals naturally fell apart from those that did not do so and ritualism was taken as a feature distinguishing certain schools from the rest.

The above factors have been generalised from the history of the Buddhist church during the three and half centuries after Buddha's death, and have been mentioned as the chief ones that led to dissensions, and development of schools. It is clear from Buddha's savings that he had apprehension for future dissensions among his followers. He often laid stress upon the importance of samaggā parisā² i.e. the unity of the Buddhist

Buddha's apprehension for future dissension among monks, and the remedies.

monks as the means of keeping it strong and uninjured in the face of oppositions made by its opponents in various ways. To remedy the evil of breaches in their own camp, he charged his favourite disciples Ānanda, Sāriputta and Moggalana³ with the duty of settling disputes when-

ever they took place among the monks in order that it might be nipped in the bud. In his opinion it was only the wicked and

¹ See Digh. Nik., Mahāparinibbāņa Suttanta.

² Dīgh. Nik., Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, p. 76; Ang. Nik., I, p. 243; II, p. 70; IV, p. 21.

³ Ang. Nik., II, p. 239.

selfish bhikkhus who achieved their selfish ends by introducing new principles of Dhamma and Vinaya which proved sources of heated contentions¹. He was however not very particular in regard to existence of differences in abhidhamma (i.e. atirekadhamma or minor points of doctrine)2, ajjhājīva (minor rules of livelihood), and adhipātimokkha (minor rules of discipline), which he regarded as inevitable in all religions³. When it was necessary to check the currency of dissentient views with regard to doctrine, a neutral bhikkhu was sent to a sane and reasonable member belonging to the party which held the views in order to convert him to the orthodox opinion and if the attempt failed no other steps need be taken4. As regards the other two classes of differences just mentioned, there were punishments⁵ to check them but as they have no bearing on the present subject they may be passed over. To stimulate the bhikkus to stand united, he held out before them the prospect of a happy and glorious life that of god Brahmā that will fall to a monk's lot to lead in after-life as the result of any act of his that served to re-unite bodies of monks separated from one another, while he declared the monk sowing dissension among his brethren as doomed to perdition for a kalpa6.

Every quarrel or difference of opinion among the bhikkhus was not characterised by Buddha as sanghabheda. A breach in the sangha accompanied by the conditions laid down in the Vinaya was designated sanghabheda. It is thus described in the Vinaya, "For not only is a formal putting forward and voting on the false doctrine essential to schism as distinct from mere disagreement, but the offending bhikkhus must also be quite aware that the doctrine so put forth is wrong, or at least doubtful, and also that the schism resulting from his action will be or will probably be disastrous to the Dhamma. In other words, the schism must be brought about by deliberately putting forward a doctrine known to be false, or at least doubtful, or with

¹ Ang Nik. V, pp. 73, 75.

² See Atthasālini, p. 2.

³ Cf. Points of the Controversy, p. 351.

⁴ Majjh. Nik., II, p. 238.

⁵ See Adhikaranasamathas in Vinaya, C V. IV, 14.

⁶ Ang. Nik., V, pp. 73, 75, 78; Vinaya, CV. vii, 5.

This definition obviously represents the opinion of the conservative school of the Theravādins who naturally looked down upon those who differed from them on religious points and ascribed an evil motive to their entertainment of the differing views. It is very reasonable that the dissenters may have an shonest belief on their own views clear of the evil motive of injuring the Dhamma. It will, therefore, be apparent from a neutral standpoint that evil intention is not essential of saṅghabheda. The real essentials are :—(1) Belief in a dissentient religious view regarding either one or more points of faith or discipline; (2) the entertainment of the view by eight or more

The conditions as laid down in the Vinaya, leading to a sanghabheda; and how it is distinguished from sangharāji,

than eight fully ordained monks; (3) the division taken among the aforesaid eight or more monks must show a majority on the side of the dissenters.¹

Sangharāji is a disunion confined to eight monks. This restriction as to number forming the essential of sangharāji shows that it might at

any moment develop into a sanghabheda, by drawing an additional monk into the difference. Of course, bonafide belief and the full ordainment of monks are necessary requisites.

During Buddha's life-time dissensions of minor character took place in the Buddhist sangha, only two of which attracted his attention and which were called by him sanghabheda and condemned to be as heinous a crime as patricide or matricide³. The first dissension occurred at one of the monasteries of Kosambi⁴ where abhikkhu through ignorance of the law committed a breach of discipline. The monks attached a magnified gravity to the offence and punished him by

¹ Vinaya Texts (S.B.E.), pt, III, p. 27 1n.

² Vinaya, CV. VII, 5, 1; Milindāpañha, p. 108: "No layman can create a schism, nor a sister of the order, nor one under preparatory instruction, nor a novice of either sex. It must be a bhikkhu under no disability, who is in full communion and co-resident" (S.B.E., vol, xxxv p. 163).

³ Vinaya; MV. x, 3, 1; Kathāvatthu, xiii, 1.

⁴ Ibid., Mv. x; Majjh. Nik., I, Kosambī-Sutta; Dhammapada. Atthakathā, Kosambī-vatthu.

ukkhepana (excommunication). The accused, on the other-

Germs of dissensions in the fraternity during Buddha's lifeat Kosambi

hand, attributed the offence to his ignorance of the law which did not deserve the severepenalty inflicted on him. The justice of the cause gained for him several adherents who time: (i)Division worked to have his penalty set aside. This caused a division not only among the monks-

but also among the lay-devotees and ultimately led to Buddha's mediation before the differences could be settled. This dissension. it is true, did not last long owning to the presence of the Teacher who removed the doubts of both the parties by his lucid explanations but yet it argues the existence of germs of dissension which bore fruits of farreaching importance in later times.

The next dissension originated with Buddha's cousin, Devadatta, who in his advocacy for more (ii) Devadataustere discipline requested the Teacher to ta's division. introduce the following five rules¹ in the monasteries:—(The brethren) shall (1) live all their life in the forest;

- (2) subsist solely on doles collected out-doors:
- (3) dress themselves in rags picked. out of dust heaps;
- (4) dwell always under tree and never under a roof; and
- (5) never eat fish or flesh.

The Teacher declared that he could not make the rules obligatory upon all the monks on the ground that it would conduce. more to their welfare to make the observance of these rules. optional. Devadatta took this opportunity to create a division. in the sangha (congregation) and departed to Gayasisa with five hundred followers.

We have reason to believe that this secession of Devadatta from the original brotherhood gave birth to sects which existed up to the end of the fourth century A.D.2 and a remnant of whose practices was found by Yuan Chwang to be in three sanghārāmas in Karnasuvarņa. The two foregoing instances of

¹ Vinaya, Cv. VIII, 1; Jātakas, I, p. 34; Oldenberg's Buddha (Hoey's: transl.), pp. 160, 161.

² Beal's Records of the Western Countries, vol 11.

division in the sangha during Buddha's life-time illustrate that the Buddhist church could not keep itself intact inspite of his personality and sublime teachings.

Within the period of Buddha's ministry which covered less than half a century and the few localities to which Buddhism was confined at the time, the various forces were already at work for the formation of schools. It can therefore be well imagined that in the absence of the great Teacher, the monastic order, which though well-organized with precautions against schisms, had to give way to the growth of as many as twenty schools or more. The appended chart shows the number of schools and the way in which the united church of Buddha gradually become subdivided. The time of emergence of the schools cannot be definitely specified at present. Mrs. Rhys Davids has tried in her Introduction to the *Points of the Controversy* to assign an approximate date to the Ceylonese traditions. Some of the conclusions drawn by her require however further corroboration to put them beyond the range of doubt.

¹ This chart is based mainly upon the tradition as preserved in the Pāli works. I have used Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, Mrs. Rhys David's Points of the Controversy and Prof. Geiger's valuable Appendix B to his Translation of the Māhāvaṃsa where all the references to the varying lists of schools have been collected and arranged.

It was about a century after Buddha's death that we meet with the great division in the Buddhist church, a division between the conservative and the liberal, the hierarchic and the democratic. It is in this division that germs are traceable of the Mahāyānic doctrines which in the later history of Buddhism gained ground and eclipsed the Hīnayānic schools. Details about this schism are found in the Ceylon chronicles¹ as well as in Pāli² and Buddhist Sanskrit works³ (extant in Tibetan and Chinese translations) which unanimously record that a schism occurred in the Church through the Vajjian monks who deviated from the othodox rules of discipline in regard to ten points and instituted a new school under the name of Mahāsaṅghikas. We learn further from the Kathāvatthu⁴ of Moggaliputta Tissa and the Samavadhoparaca cakra⁵ of Vasumitra that the school had

Schism of the Mahāsanghikas also a number of tenets which were peculiar to itself. The ten points⁶, which the Theravadins considered as breaches of the rules of discipline which caused the conflict between

them and the Mahāsanghikas are:-

- 1 Mahāvamsa, Ch. IV; pp. 23ff.
- 2 Vinaya Texts (S. B. E.), pp. 389-414.
- 3. Rockhill's Lifi of the Buddha, pp. 173ff. for the version of the school of Sarvāstivādins (translated from Tibetan); Beal's Four Lectures on the Buddhist Literature in China, pp. 83ff. for the version of the school of Dharmaguptas (translated from Chinese).
 - 4 See Mrs. Rhys Davids' Points of the Controversy, p. xix.
 - 5 Transl. by Prof. Wassilief in his Der Buddhismus.
- 6 Vinaya, CV. XII, 1, 10; 2.9. Cf. Rockhill, op. cit., pp. 171, 172 and Beal, op. cit., pp. 83-94.

- (1) Singilona kappa—or the practice of carrying salt in a horn for use when needed, which contravened according to one view the rule against the storning of articles of food (Pācittiya 38).
- (2) Dvangula kappa—or the practice of taking food after midday, lit. when the shadow (of the dial) is two digist wide $(P\bar{a}c. 37)$.
- (3) $G\bar{a}mantara\ kappa$ —or the practice of going to a neighbouring village and taking a second meal there the same day, committing thereby the offence of over-eating ($P\bar{a}c$. 35).
- (4) Avāsa kappa—or the observance of uposathas in different places within the same parish.
- (5) Anumati kappa—or doing an act and obtaining sanction for it afterwards (MV, IX. 3. 5).
 - (6) Acinna kappa—or the use of precedents as authority.
- (7) Amathita kappa—or the drinking of milk-whey after meal (Pāc. 35).
- (8) Jalogipātum—or the drinking of fermenting palm-juice which as not yet today (Pāc. 51).
- (9) Adasakam nisīdanam—or the use of a borderless sheet to sit on (Pāc. 89).
- (10) Jātarūparajatam—or the acceptance of gold and silver (Nissagg. 18)¹.

The above ten points as given in the Pāli and other texts are also stated by Yuan Chwang in his account of the Council at Vesāli. A remarkable difference between Yuan Chwang's account and the traditions in the Pāli and other texts is noticeable in connection with the Māhasanghikas at the meeting of the Council at Vesāli. According to the former, the Mahāsanghikas renounced all their deviations from the orthodox rules and took to those that were approved by the Theravādins, while according to the latter, the seceders did not in practice

1 For a discussion on the interpretations of the terms, see Minayeff, Recherches, I pp. 44-50.

The first three rules seem to be relaxations of stringent tules, made by Buddha regarding the storage of food and eating to suit the condition created by famine in Vesāli. The people of Vesāli continued to observe the relaxed rules though they were abrogated later on by the Theravādins in their Vinaya.

adopt the rules which they should have done according to the decisions of the council, in which they were outvoted. Inspite of their defect, they remained as subborn as before and asserted their separateness from the Theravādins by convening a council of their own. Watters disbelieves the tradition of the texts and relies on Yuan Chwang's account as true, and Kern also arrives at the same conclusion after comparing the various traditions¹.

The Kathāvatthu, which received its final shape in Asoka's council, had been growing by accretions since the holding of the council at Vesāli². This work attributes a few differences in tenets to the Mahāsanghika school. Bhavya, Vasumitra, Vinītadeva and Tārānātha trace the origin of this school in Mahādeva's five articles of faith which were,³—

- "(1) An arahat may commit a sin under unconscious temptation.
 - (2) One may be an arahat and not know it.
 - (3) An arahat may have doubts on matters of doctrine.
- (4) One cannot attain arahatship without the aid of a teacher.
- (5) 'The noble ways' may begin with a shout that is, one meditating seriously on religion may make such exclamation as "How sad" and by so doing attain progress towards perfection."

The first four of the above articles of faith have been found in the Kathāvatthu⁴, the commentary of which states them to have been held by the two branches of the Mahāsanghika school known as the Pubbaseliyas and Aparaseliyas⁵. Prof. Poussion after examining the works of Bhavya, Vasumitra and others sums up, regarding the five articles of faith, thus,—"Several traditions indicate that there was a council concerning the five points, and that this controversy was the origin of the Mahāsanghika sect⁶." Yuan Chwang relates that Mahādeva enunciated five dogmas, as enumerated above, which formed

¹ Kern's Manual, p. 109; Watters' Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 75-77.

² See Point of the Controversy, pp. xxxi ff.

³ J.R.A., 1910, p. 416.

⁴ Kathāvatthu, ii, 2; ii. 3, 1 (ii, 1, 5); ii, 4; ii, 6.

⁵ Kathāvatihuppakaraṇa Ailhakathā, see the references noted above. 6 J. R. A. S., 1910, p. 416.

the subject of bitter controversy among the bhikkhus. At the instance of the reigning king, an assembly of arahats and non-arahats was summoned, in which the arahats voted against the five dogmas¹ whereas the inferior brethren sided with Mahādeva and started the Mahāsanghika school at Pāṭaliputra². This testimony of the Chinese traveller regarding the ten points of the breaches of the rules of discipline and the five dogmas of Mahādeva goes a very great way to prove that a schism did happen in the Buddhist chruch at or about the time of the second Buddhist Council. The agreement between Vasumitra's work and the Kathāvatthu in regard to the essential tenets of the Mahāsanghika school proves beyond doubt that the school existed before the time of composition of the Kathāvatthu. i.e., at or about the time of the Second Council.

The two classes of tradition preserved in the Buddhist literature, one attributing the schism of the Two traditions for the origin of Mahāsanghikas to the ten points of the breaches the schism of the rules of discipline, and the other to accounted for. Mahādeva's five articles of faith, may be accounted for in this way: The former appear in the Ceylonese chronicles and various versions of the Vinaya, while the latter in the Tibetan and Chinese versions of later Buddhist Sanskrit books dealing with the history of schools. One feature deserves our attention in this matter, namely, that in some works the differences as to the rules of discipline alone are referred to, while in other works the differences in regard to the doctrines to the exclusion of those regarding the rules of discipline are recorded. This can be accounted for, perhaps, either by the particular leanings of the authors of those works, or by the exclusive nature of the subject with which the works were concerned; for instance, the various versions of the Vinaya mention only the differences as to the points of discipline, and the Ceylonese chronicles composed by the Ceylonese bhikkhus whose principal care was for the Vinaya rules³ put aside

¹ They were the adherents of the Sthaviravada school which a few years later branched off into many schools of which the Sarvastivadins were the foremost.

² Watters' Yuan Chwang, I; pp. 268, 269.

³ Ibid., II, p. 234.

matters of doctrine, while the latter Buddhist Sanskrit writers confine themselves to doctrines alone. Yuan Chwang was for the first time interested in the record of divergences in regard to both discipline and faith; and that was because as an annalist he was more catholic than either of the two classes of authors. It should, however, be borne in mind that very probably the schism with the Mahāsaṅghikas had its first beginning in the breaches of the then current rules of discipline encroaching in course of time on matters of doctrine.

The principal objective of the Mahāsanghikas in seceding. from the main body of orthodox Buddhists becomes apparents to us by a glance at the subject matter of the rules regarding. which they differed and the doctrines which they turned to profess. To put it in a nutshell, they wanted to have an amount of latitude and freedom regarding certain of their actions which the strictness and narrowness of orthodoxy was not ready toallow, and to carry into their organization and general governance a democratic spirit which set an nought what appeared to them an unreasoning servility to the monastic: authorities, which could not be supported in a reasonable management of the monasteries. The exclusive power and privileges which by lapse of time the arahats came to claim for themselves at the expense of the bhikkhus of lower order were looked upon by the Mahāsanghikas as a re-appearance in a different garb of the selfish exclusiness of the brahmanas,. against which the rise of Buddhism was, as it were, a revolt. To yield to this meant but the yield to the same evil which the: brāhmanas wanted to perpetuate and the Buddhists wanted to eradicate. It was in this sort of logic that the Mahāsanghikas found a justification for their conduct and it is upon this that they found a force which could unite them into a body. The first to begin the campaign against the above tendencies of the arahats came naturally from the monks belonging to a clan which was noted throughout its existence for its democratic: spirit, viz., the Vajjians. An expression of this spirit noticed at the very inception of the schism was found in the strong opposition that was made by them to the procedure by which it was decided by the orthodox arahats to make their decision at a. council binding upon the opposing party. According to the: procedure, only the arahats could be present in the Council and.

not the non-arahats. When by the application of this method of decision, the new party was outvoted, the latter rejected the decision of the majority and convened another council which was called Mahāsaṅgīti¹ because it included both the arahats and non-arahats of the new party and from which the party itself took the name Mahāsaṅghika.

The seceders, according to the chronicles, revised the Dhamma and Vinaya in their own way and the doctrines which

Alteration made by the Mahāsan-ghikas in dhamma and vina va.

were thus supported in the revised collections were known as the Ācariyavāda² as distinguished from the Theravāda of the first council. The *Dipavaṃsa* says that the Mahāsaṅghikas did not stop after changing the Vinaya rules; they went further by laying down for themselves new

doctrines contrary to the established ones. When according to the usual procedure at the Mahāsangiti held by them, they recited for the settlement of the texts for their purposes the $S\overline{u}tras$ and the Vinaya, they made alterations in the texts and their arrangement and interpretations. They also replaced portions of the text by others according to their liking, and even rejected certain parts of the canon though they had been accepted according to tradition by Mahākassapa's council. They refused to include Parivara, Abhidhammappakarana Patisambhidā, Niddesa, and the Jātakas within the Piţaka collection3. The importance and accuracy of the decision by which the Mahāsanghikas discriminated between the original portions and the later interpolations are found in the full support that the decision obtains from modern researches bearing out their discrimination in toto. The Parivara (pāṭha), which is a sort of index to the Vinaya and meant as a manual for the bhikkhus has been proved by many Buddhist scholars to be a composition of a later date than that of the canon⁴.

1 Beal's Records of the Western Countries, Vol. II, p. 164, runs thus 'And because in the assembly, both common folk and holy personages were mixed together, it was called the assembly of the great congregation."

I am indebted to Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D. Lit., for some suggestions in this connection.

- 2 Dīpavamsa, Ch. iv.
- 3 Dīpavamsa, Ch. v, vs. 32-38.
- 4 Rhys Davids, Hibbert Lectures, p. 42; Oldenberg's Intro. to the Vinaya Pilaka, Vol. I. p, xxxiv.

The Abhidhamma literature also has been proved to have developed after the Council of Vesāli and received its final form in Asoka's Council. Lastly the three works, the Paţisambhidā, the Niddesa and the Jātakas are found to have been added to the canon witout any discrimination long after its close. It would have been proper if the Paţisambhidā had been put in the Abhidhamma collection and if the Niddesa which is only a commentary on the Sutta Nipāta as also the Jātakas which form a commentary on the canonical Jātaka book had been excluded from the Piṭaka collection

Yuan Ohwang relates that the Mahāsanghikas accepted the canon as rehearsed in Kassapa's Council but they included

Literature of the Mahā-sanghikas.

some discourses which had been rejected by it as non-canonical, and that the Mahāsaṅghikas divided their canon into five parts, viz., Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma, Miscellaneous, and

Dhāranīs². It is from the Chinese travellers Fa Hien and Yuan Chwang that we learn that this school had a complete canon of its own. Fa Hien took away from Pāṭaliputra to China a complete transcript of the Mahāsanghika Vinaya in 414 A.D., and translated it into Chinese two years later³. According to Yuan Chwang, the Vinaya of the Mahāsanghikas was the same as the one rehearsed in the first council. The Pali authorities also mention that the difference between the orthodox school and the Mahāsanghikas lay only in the ten rules of discipline. From this we see that the differences between the versions of the Vinaya of the two schools were negligible⁴. In Nanjio's Catalogue, we find mention of an Agama called Ekottaragama (corresponding to Pāli Anguttara Nikaya) and two Vinayas, viz., Mahasanghika Vinaya and Mahāsangha-bhiksuni Vinaya existing in Chinese translations⁵. We have at present practically no information regarding the Abhidharma literature of the Mahā-

¹ Oldenberg, op. cit., p. xxxiv.

² Watters' Yuan Chwang, II, p. 160; Kern's Manual of Buddhism. p. 4.

³ Takakusu, Records of the Buddhist Religion, p. xx.

⁴ Watter's Yuan Chwang, II, p. 160—Watters finds expressly mentioned in the Chinese translation of the Questions of Sāriputta that the Vinaya settled in Mahākassapa's Council was called the Mahāsanghika Vinaya.

⁵ Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripituka, Cols. 247 and 253 and Ms. No. 543.

sanghikas. Yuan Chwang's biography furnishes us with a reference enabling us to be sure as to the existence of treatises forming part of their Abhidharma literature. The reference is furnished by the passage in which it is stated that Yuan Chwang studied certain Abhidharma treatises of the Mahāsanghika school with two monks at Dhanakataka, the centre of the Pūrva and Apara-śaila schools¹. Similarly, the Sūtras are merely mentioned as Mahāsanghika-nikāva-āgama in the Chinese work She-ta-sheng-lun, ch. 1 (No. 1183)2. We expect much light on the present point from the information which, we hope, the Chinese scholars would in the near future place at our disposal. Thus far can, however, be said regarding the $s\bar{u}tras$ that they were common to all the Buddhist schools in the form appearing in the Pāli Sutta-Piţaka. The only work now available of the Mahāsanghika school is the Mahāvastu partly in prose and partly in verse It is professedly the Vinaya of the Lokottaravāda school³, a branch of the Mahāsanghikas, and depicts the life of Buddha like the Lalitavistara and the Abhinişkramana $S\bar{u}tra$ of the other schools.

The Mahāvastu has been edited by Prof. Senart about which he and M. Sylvain Levi furnish us with some information. It was properly speaking a book belonging to the Lokottaravādins of Bamian in Kashmir. The versified portion of the work is in

The linguistic san ghika diterature

a language approaching Sanskrit while the prose medium of Maha- portion is in Sanskrit At present further information about the linguistic medium which might have been used by the Mahāsanghikas in

their literature at the different localities where they spread is not forthcoming except this that Csoma Körösi tells us from a Tiberan source that their 'sūtra on emancipation' (i.e.,) the Prātimokṣa-sūtra) was in a corrupt dialect, and Wassiljew informs us from the same source that their literature existed in Prākrt.

Up till now the manuscripts explored from Central Asia have been shown to be the remnants of the literature of the Sarvāstivādins and the later Mahāyānic schools.

¹ Watters, op. cit., II, p. 217.

² Ibid., II, p. 161.

³ Mahāvastu, ed. by Senart, p. 2.

Nowhere do we find in the published portions of the manus-

The popularity and centres of influence of the Mahāsaṅghika school.

cripts any mention of the Mahāsanghikas. The history of the school shows that it suffered much in its early days at the hands of the orthodox Buddhists because it was the outcome of the earliest schism in the Buddhist church. It held in

high esteem and even claimed Mahākassapa, the president of the first council, as its patron-saint and founder, and believed that the new doctrines and rules of discipline were deducible from the canon settled by him1. One of the main obstacles in the way of its general popularity was its failure to secure the support of any king; for royal patronage usually counted for much in the establishment of a religion on a secure footing. Yuan Chwang records a tradition that a hundred years after the death of Buddha, a dispute regarding doctrine took place in the Buddhist church and 'King Aśoka' (most probably Kālāsoka of the Mahāvamsa) sided with the heretical party the Mahāsanghikas. The orthodox monks left Pāţaliputra and went to Kashmir. The king afterwards changed his mind and repented of having supported the heretical party. This is, no doubt, an echo of the legend in the Mahāvamsa2 that king Kālāsoka, being misled by the seceders the Vajjiputtakas, supported them, but afterwards by the warning of his sister Nandatheri, changed his mind and supported the cause of the orthodox party, the Theravadins. The tradition of the Mahāvamas corroborated by Yuan Chwang shows that the Mahāsnghikas lost the support of the then reigning king of Magadha which they had at first secured. It is evident that their first centre was at Pāṭaliputra³ where they continued to reside side by side with the Theravadins and the later religious schools. We learn from Yuan Chwang that he saw followers of different schools dwelling in the same monastery, from which it seems that the acrimony of their early hostile relations diminished a good deal at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit. I-tsing (671-695 A.D.) informs us that the Mahāsanghikas were found in his time mostly in Magadha

¹ J. A. S. B., 1838, p. 143; Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus, pp. 294, 295; Eitel's Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, p. 88.

² Mahāvamsa, Ch. IV, vs. 37-44.

³ Watters, op, cit., I, p. 269, 'the majority of inferior brethren at Pataliputra began the Mahasan ghika School.

(Central India) and a few in Lata and Sindhu (Western India) and some in a few places in Northern, Southern and Eastern India¹. Before I-tsing, both Fa Hien and Yuan Chwang had come across the adherents of this school though not so frequently as those of the others. The earliest notice of this school is found in the inscription on Mathura Lion Capital (about 120 B C.)2 mentioning that it had a very strong opponent in Buddhila, an adherent of the Sarvāstivāda school. The schol acquired some followers in Afghanistan as is evidenced by the Wardak vare discovered there, containing relics of Buddha that had been presented to the teachers of the Mahāsanghika school during the reign of Huvishka by one Kamagulya of the place, whose father had probably built the vault within which the Wardak vase war deposited³. Yuan Chwang confirms this evidence by his reference to three monasteries at Andarab where he arrived after three days' journey from the country of Wardaks4 (near Ghazni). There was another centre of the school at Karle, in the Bombay Presidency, famous in the history of Buddhist architecture for its possession of the largest and finest cave-temples⁵ which are still standing as memorials of their past glory. That this cave was in the possession of the Mahāsanghikas is shown by two inscriptions at the cave-temples, one recording the gift of the village of Karajaka by Gautamiputra Sātakarni to the monks of the Vāluraka caves for the support of the schools of the Mahasanghikas6, and the other of the time of Vāsishtiputra Siripulumāyi recording the gift of a nine-celled hall to the same school by an inhabitant of Abulama? Though the Mahāsanghikas did not receive much attention from the Buddhist writers and donors, the Karle caves show that the school commanded a great popularity in that part of the Bombay Presidency where the caves exist; for, otherwise the

¹ Takakusu's Records of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing, Intro, p. xxxiii.

² Ep. Indica, vol. IX, pp. 139, 141, 146.

³ Ep. Indica, vol. XI, p. 211.

⁴ Watters' Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 267, 269.

⁵ See for its description Fergusson's Indian & Eastern Architecture, pp. 117ff; Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples of India, pp. 232ff.

^{√ 7} *Ibid.*, pp. 71ff.

cave-temples could not have been so richly decorated with such fine specimens of sculptural and architectural beauty by a series of donors through centuries anxious to express their religious devotion and zeal in the best way that their resources could command. The offshoots of this school, the Lokottaravādins and the Caityavādins wielded also much influence in Buddhist society for a long time paving the way for the advent of Mahāyānism which later on came to be diffused over the whole of India.

It will appear from what has been stated previously that though germs of Mahāyānism are traceable in the doctrines of the Mahāsanghika school, it was affiliated to Hinayanism and

The doctrines of the Mahāsan-ghikas.

possessed a *piṭaka* similar to othose of ther prominent Hinayāna schools. The Mahāsanghikas claimed for themselves more orthodoxy than the

Theravadins and believed to have preserved more accurately the pitaka as settled by Mahākassapa in the first council. The little that we know about their doctrines from the Kathavatthu, the Mahavastu and the works of Bhavya, Vinitadeva and Vasumitra¹ points to the fact that they subscribed to the cardinal principles of Hinayana schools. A comparative study of the Mahāvastu of the Mahāsanghikas with the Pāli Vinaya of the Theravadins shows the great doctrinal affinity existing between the two schools. One of the objects common to both the treatises being the delineation of the early part of Buddha's missionary career, the same discourses have been recorded in each, the difference lying only in linguistic garbs. These discourses embody the essence of Buddha's teachings; and faithfully preserved, as they are, in the Vinaya of the two schools, it is apparent that the Maharanghikas and the Theravadins had no difference of view regarding what constituted the most important portion of Buddha's teachings. The discourses dwelt on the four aryan truths and their interpretations²; the eightfold path leading to emancipation³; the absence of soul as a separate entity4; the karma being the motive force in trans-

¹ Prof. Masuda's translation of Vasumitra's work from the Chinese has been mainly relied on here. (Calcutta University Journal of Letters, I pp. 7ff.)

^{2 &}amp; 3 Mahavastu, III, pp. 331-333; Vinaya, I, pp, 10-11

⁴ Ibid., pp, 335-337, 447; Ibid., 13-14.

migration¹; the theory of paticcasamuppāda²; the method of imparting spiritual teachings by gradual stages commencing from the simple dānakathā, silakathā etc. and ending in the higher truths³; thirty seven Bodhipakkhiya dharmas⁴ etc. The schools however differed in their Buddhalogical speculations, and the corollaries issuing therefrom. Prof. Takakusu has ably shown in his article on 'Docetism'5 the way in which the idealizing process was carried on by the Buddhists, giving rise to the belief of the Mahāsanghikas and others that Buddha was lokottara (superhuman) and had no worldly attributes (sāśrava dharmas), and the mortal being popularly known as Sākya Gautama was required only for lokanuvartana (conforming to worldly ways) for the benefit of this world. The corollaries based on this belief are that Buddha is omnipotent, speaks truths and nothing but truths. His $r\bar{u}pa-k\bar{a}ya$ (physical body), life, energy, and powers are limitless. He is always self-possessed and in samādhi (trance)6. The most important doctrine that resulted in this way lay in the theory of the Bodhisattvas. The Mahāsanghikas by idealizing Buddha had to make room for a class of beings called the Bodhisattvas who by passing through various trials and by making immense self-sacrifices rose to higher stages of Bodhisattvahood. These acts are classified as the four caryās (practices), the ten $bh\bar{u}mis$ (stages) and the six pāramis.9 It was these Bodhisattvas who could attain Buddhahood in course of time. The Bodhisattvas in the various births were believed to be born without passing through the embryonic stages. They could not entertain feelings of enmity and hatred (vihimsasamjñā and vyāpādasamjñā) and were above sensual desires kāmasam jña). In conformity with this belief they supposed

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1 Mahavastu, II, p. 363; III, 65, 66, 168.
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² Ibid., pp. 448-49; Vinaya, I, pp. 1-2.

³ *Ibid*, III, pp. 257, 408; see *supra*, pp. 47, 48.

⁴ See R. Kimura's Developed Doctrines etc. p. 27.

⁵ Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. IV.

⁶ Mahāvastu, I, pp. 167-69; II, pp. 147, 220; Calcutta University Journal of Letters, I, pp. 7ff.

⁷ Viz., prakṛticaryā, praṇidhānacarryā, anulomacayā, and anivartan- caryā.—Mahāvastu, I, pp. 46ff,

⁸ Mahāvastu, I, pp. 77ff-

⁹ Ibid., III, p. 226.

that Rāhula was self-born (aupapāduka) as Bodhisattvas could not be subject to kāma¹.

The attainments of Sākya Gautama were regarded by them as the ideal to be kept in view by every Buddhist, for according to them it was for the enlightenment of worldly beings that the lokottara Buddha adopted the human form to enable people to imitate his examples and ultimately attain Buddhahood. It was this point which brought about the schism between the Mahāsanghikas and the Theravadins. According to the latter, the summum bonum of a Buddhist should be arahathood and not Buddhahood as it is exceedingly rare that a Buddha appears in the world. It is possible for the Buddhists to become arahats in large numbers but it is exceedingly difficult for them to attain Buddhahood. The Mahāsanghikas believed in the plurality of Buddhas, as will be evidenced from the first line of the Mahāvastu² and according to them the summum bonum of a Buddhist should be Buddhahood and not arahathood. In accordance with this principle as also for other reasons stated previously they did not look upon the position of an arahat as the highest stage of sanctification.3

It was the Mahāsanghikas who originated the worship of caitya and favoured that great religious merit could be acquired by even a single circumambulation of a $st\bar{u}pa^4$. Traces of $st\bar{u}pa$ worship are also found in the Pāli works but as such worship is not in consonance with the principles of the Theravādins, it seems that in later times the former borrowed it from the Mahāsanghikas.

¹ Mahāvastu, I, p. 153.

² Mahāvastu, I, p. 1; III, p. 229.

³ See supra, pp. 232, 233.

⁴ Mahāvastu,. II pp. 362 ff.

I do not wish to reiterate the points that have already been found out after laborious researches by Pāli scholars and published in their works. I wish here to confine myself only to certain points about the language or dialect used by the Theravadins in their literature. Before proceeding to the task, I want to point out that the Theravadins were otherwise known as the Vibhajjavadins and wherever we see references to the latter, they can be applied to the former without any feeling of Dr. Oldenberg was uncertain as to the identity of the two names and the classes they denote, but after comparison of the lists of schools supplied by the Northern and Southern Buddhist sources, he found out that Vibhajjavada was but another name of Theravada. This conclusion finds corroboration in the Ceylonese chronicles which state the very same There would have been no room for this doubt if he had noticed that in the Majjhima Nikāya, Buddha declares himself to be a vibhajjavādin and not an ekāmsavādin, indicating that his method of teaching was analytic and not synthetic.² Again in the same Nikāya, Buddha on hearing the doctrines of .Ālāra Kālāma and Rudraka Rāmaputra says that he possesses a better knowledge than those teachers because he knows the .ñānavāda as well as the theravāda.3 These two references go to prove that the doctrine represented by the Pali scriptures was Theravāda. It was also called Vibhajjavāda owing to the

¹ Oldenberg's Intro, to the Vinaya Pitaka, I, p. xlii.

² Majjh, Nik., II, pp. 99, 197.

³ Ibid, I, p. 163.

particular mode of teaching the dhamma adopted by the Pālists. Profs. Kern, Rhys Davids and others have endorsed the view that the whole Pali literature represents the tenets of the Theravada school. Though much has been said by scholars regarding the doctrine and literature of the Theravadins alias Vibhajjavādins, nothing has been definitely stated as to the position of the Pāli language in relation to Buddhist literature. Many a tough problem in his history of Buddhism can besolved by studying the history of Buddhist schools, viz., the original language of the Tripitaka and the time and place of origin of the Pali language. The passage occurring in the Vinaya,¹ 'Anujānāmi bhikkhave saka niruttiyā Buddhavacanam priyāpumitum" (I permit, O bhikkhus, to learn the words of Buddha in one's own dialect) carries a very great weight in regard to our present subject. It is stated by Wassiljew and Csoma Körösi² on the strength of Tibetan sources that the Sarvāstivādins recited their 'sutra on emancipation' (prātimoksasūtra) in Sanskrit, the Sāmmitīyas in Apabhramsa, the Mahāsanghikas in a corrupt dialect (a prākrt) and the Sthavira or Theravadins in Paisaci. These four dialects are also mentioned in the Mahāvyutpatti while enumerating the subjects of a grammar.3 The Sanskrit manuscript Vimalaprabhā4 of the mediaeval period contains a remark that the Pitakas were written in 96 countries in 96 languages.⁵ The manuscript gives. in detail the names of the countries, and the language current in each of them. It also records a tradition that soon after the death of Buddha, the Sangitikārakas wrote down the doctrineof the three yanas in book-form. Under the direction of Tathāgata (tathāgata-niyamena), they preserved the three piṭakasin the Magadha-bhāşa, the Sūtrāntas in Sindhubhāşā, the Pāramitās in Sanskrit, the Mantras and Tantras in Sanskrit, Prākīt, Apabhramsa and uncultured Sabarādi mlecchabhāṣā and!

¹ Vinaya, CV., v. 33, 1.

² Wassiljew, Buddhismus, pp, 264, 295; Csoma Körösi in J.A.S.B.,. Vol. VII, p. 142.

³ Mahā vyutpatti, p. 64.

⁴ MS, No. 4727 mentioned in the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrith Manuscripts in the Government Collection, A.S.B., Vol. I, p. 77.

⁵ The number 96 seems to be a rough way of indicating a large: number.

so forth. The manuscript further mentions that the Buddhists. did not pay much attention to Sanskrit regarding metres and grammatical rules, indicating thereby that it had in view the mixed dialect (gāthā as it is usually termed) used in some of the Buddhist Sanskrit books like the Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu, etc. The above statements of Indian writers of old have an evidentiary value as will be seen presently. Scholars like Stein, Grunwedel, Le Coq, Leumann, Hoernle, Sylvain Levi by their unflinching zeal in the search of manuscripts in Central Asia have brought to light many things confirming the assertions of the mediaeval writers. These scholars have saved from eternal oblivion remnants of manuscripts in so many languages as Sanskrit, Prākṛt, Kuchean, Khotanese, Proto-Tibetan and Eastern Iranian. Some of the fragments of Sanskrit and Prākṛt manuscripts as also a few discovered in Nepal havetheir counterparts in the Pali pitakas. 1 Among them are found almost complete portions of the pitakas, e.g., the Sanskrit. versions of the *Udānavarga* and the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra*, and the Prākrta version of the Dharmapada. Prof. Kern in his introduction to the translation of the Saddharma Pundarika2 has shown that the various versions of a passage in Sanskrit, Pāli. and Prakrt reveal that they are not based upon one another but upon a common original, which is now lost. Dr. Hoernle in editing the fragments of the manuscript Saddharma Pundarika: remarks that the Sanskrit text found in Nepal bears many similarities to the former but with some variations, from which it may safely be concluded that "the text of the Saddharma: Pundarika, to which both the Central Asian and the Nepalese. manuscripts go back, was written in a language that had far more Prākṛtisms than either of the two versions."3 we see that the two versions are based upon an original work in Prākṛt. He has also shown by comparing the fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts with passages in the Pāli Sūtra and Vinaya

¹ E.g., Āļanāļiya Sūtra; Sangīti Sūtra; Pravāraņā Sūtra; Candro-pama Sūtra; Śakti Sūtra; Śuka Sūtra; etc. Hoernle's Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkestan, pp. 18, 36, 41, 46.

² S.B.E., vol. xxi, pp. xi-xv.

³ Hoernle's Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern. Turkestan, p. 161.

'Piṭaka that there was a complete Sanskrit canon which was independent of the Pāli canon but with a commonness from which it could be safely inferred that both the Sanskrit and the Pāli canon were based upon a common original. This original very probably dates back to the lifetime of Buddha and was the one which was recited in the first council. The manuscript

All the versions of the Piṭaka were based upon one common original in Magadhabhāṣā.

Vimalaprabhā says that just after the demise of the Tathāgata, the Sangitikārakas put down the Tripiṭaka in the Magadhabhāṣā. That this tradition had a kernel of truth in it appears from these facts:—(1) Buddha preferred preaching in the spoken dialect of the

masses in order that his doctrines might be readily intelligible to them; (2) he was born and bred up in a place, the current dialect of which, if not the same as that prevailing among the masses of Magadha among whom he preached, must at least have been influenced by the latter in view of the widespread influence that is, as a rule, exercised by the principal dialect of the metropolis; (3) it is not likely that Buddha who used a · dialect at Kapilavastu up to about his 29th years should have found the dialect of Magadha unintelligible to him; on the other hand be used the dialect of Magadha easily and fluently, from which it is allowable to infer that the dialect of Kapilavastu was not at least separated from the dialect of Magadha by a gulf which required previous education or preparation to bridge up; and (4) his early missionary tours were generally within the limits of the country of Magadha. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to state anything more definite than what has been said above about the dialect in which Buddha preached. Buddha's preachings that were learnt by heart at the time and handed down to posterity no doubt existed in the very dialect used by him which has been termed the Magadhabhāṣā. It is very likely that this dialect has been dragging out its thin thread of existence under the layers of various other dialects or languages that have accumulated in the Pāli Piṭaka in its present form; and many of the various antiquated words and expressions that meet our eyes in the said Pāli text and which differ from the genuine Pāli words and expressions in several respects can with probability be credited to the Magadhabhāsā,

Dr. Oldenberg agrees with us in holding that the Palis version of the Tripitaka was not the original version but a reduction of same. He then takes up the question as "to what part of India did the Pali originally belong, and from whence did it spread to Ceylon." The solution he arrives as it that Pāli was the original language of Kalinga, i.e., of countries south of the Vindhya mountains, This solution is based on the resemblance of the Khandagiri inscription to the Pāli language.

Time and place of origin of the Pāli language of the Theravadins.

It is asserted by Dr. Oldenberg that the Palis Tripitaka was taken to Ceylon from Southern Indian probably from Kalinga or Andhra with which countries Cevlon stood in close connection; and he attaches little importance to the Cevlonese tradition that Mahinda took the Pāli canon to-Ceylon. These inferences of Dr. Oldenberg age open to doubt for reasons which are given below:

(1) Franke by an exhaustive and comparative study of the inscriptional Prākrts and Pāli has come to the conclusion that the home of literary Pāli was at Ujjayini surrounded by localities where the inscriptional dialects are more akin to Pāli than the dialects of the Franke's result of comparative inscriptions found in the East, South, and study of inscrip-South-west.¹ tions.

(2) There were two centres of the earliest form of Buddhism, one at the well-known metropolis. Pāṭaliputra and the other at Ujjayinī. The establishment of the

Csoma Korosi's statement as to seen in the light of conclusion of Grierson and others as to the development of Pāli from Paisācī

second centre of Buddhism was mainly due to Mahākaccāyana, one of the great disciples of the Paisaci dialect Buddha. He was a native of Ujjayini, being a son of the priest of king Canda Pajjota of the place. After completing his brāhmanic education, he succeeded to his father's office. It is said that he was sent by king Pajjota to fetch. Buddha, but was on his arrival there ordained after which he returned as a bhikkhu to his native land

¹ Oldenberg's Intro, to the Vinaya Pitaka, I, p. liv. 2 Otto Franke's Pāli and Sanskrit, pp. 131, 132, summarised by Grierson in his paper 'Home of Literary Pali' in the Bhandarkar Com-memoration Volume, p. 117.

Avanti. Buddha could not come with Mahākaccāyana but he said that Mahākaccāyana would be able to satisfy the king with his exposition of the law. Another noted disciple of this part of the country was Punna Mantaniputta who was a trader and an inhabitant of Sunaparanta. On one occassion he went with a caravan to Sāvatthi where he heard a discourse from Buddha, resolved to become a Buddhist monk and became a disciple of Mahākaccāyana. From the conversation that Punna Mantāniputta had with Buddha, it appears that people of Sunāparanta were rough and rustic in their manners and Buddha was afraid lest he (Punna) should receive rough treatment as their hands.2 However, it is said that Punna won many people to his side. Mahākaccāyana once sent information to Buddha through a disciple of his Sona Kutikanna, that the number of bhikkhus at Avantidakkhināpatha was not very large. The activities of these two chief disciples of Buddha for the propagation of Buddhism in Western India met with some success even as early as the 5th century BC.3 The Chinese travellers, who saw followers of the Theravada school at several places in eastern India and Ceylon, found them also at Surat and Bharukaccha,4 Lāţa and Sindhu.5 Csoma Korosi and Wassiljew furnish us with the information that the Theravadins preserved their literature in the Paiśāci dialect.6 Prof. Konow places the home of Paisaci at Ujjayini or more properly, about the Vindhya mountains. He also points out that Pāli closely agrees with Paiśācī. Sir G. Grierson holds the view as well that Pāli is a literary form of Paiśācī⁸ but does not agree with Prof. Konow

¹ Majjh. Nik., III, pp. 267 ff. Sam. Nik., IV, p. 60; Divyāvadāna, pp. 37-39; Mahāvastu, III, p. 382.

² Vinaya, MV., v, 13, 2.

³ Upāli's name is associated with this school in the tradition given by Csoma Korosi.

⁴ Watters' Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 241, 248. Yuan Chwang refers to the Theravada School as the Mahayanist Sthavira School; for a discussion on the subject see Watters, op. cit., II, p. 235.

⁵ Takakusu's Records of the Buddhist Religion, p. 7.

⁶ Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus etc., pp. 294, 295.

⁷ Z.D.M.G., lxvi, (1910), pp. 114 ff, summarised by Sir G. Grierson in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp, 119, 120. See also J.R.A.S., 1921, pp. 244-45, 424-28.

⁸ Indian Antiquary, 1915, p. 227 fn,

regarding the home of the dialect; he is of opinion that its place of origin was in the North-west at and near Takṣaśilā, and states that the dialect very probably passed from the Northwest to Rajputana up to the Konkan coast. The tradition preserved by Somadeva, 1 Dandin 2 and Subandhu that the Brhatkathā was written in Paiśācī by Gunādhya, and inhabitant of the region about Ujjayini, favours the view that Paisaci was for sometime the spoken dialect of Ujjayinī. But the strongest ground for the view is philological which has been exhaustively dealt with by Prof. Konow and need not be repeated here. The close resemblance that subsists between Paisacī and Pāli may be seen by a glance at the two passages, mentioned below, one in Paisacī and the other its Pali rendering.3

(3) The great importance attached by the Pāli writers and Chinese travellers to Mahinda for the propagation of Buddhism in Ceylon should not be dismissed as baseless. The integrity of the chapter of the Mahavamsa detailing Asoka's missionary activities and supplying us with names of missionaries has been

Mahinda's connection embarking from an western port.

corroborated by the discovery of a casket on which are inscribed names of two missionaries with the place of sent to the Himavanta which are identical with origin of Paiśācī those given by the and his journey to those given by the Mahavamsa. In these Ceylon therefrom, circumstances, it would be unreasonable to doubt the statement regarding mission to Ceylon unless they are negatived by

other stronger evidences. Dr. Oldenberg disbelieves Mahinda received his Bendhistic education at Ujjayinī. He bases his opinion on the Mahavamsa which states that Mahinda studied the Tripitaka at Pāṭaliputra4 when Mahinda was twenty years old. But there is nothing in the Mahavamsa to indicate

- 1 Somadeva's Kathāsarita-sāgara, Intro.
- 2 Dandin's Kāvyādarśa, p. 35. See also Bühler's article in the Indian Antiquary, vol. I.
 - 3 Paiśācī (Kumārpāla-carita):-

Paññāna rachivā guna-nithinā Cintetabham raññã anaกีกีa-puกิกีena matanādi verino kiha vijetabba.

Its Pali rendering:-

Paññānam rājinā guna-nidhinā raññā anañña-puññena

Cintetalha madanādi verino kehi vijetabha.

4 Oldenberg's Intro. to the Vinaya Pitaka. p. li.

that Mahinda accompanied his father on his way to Pāṭaliputra. for assumption of royal power. On the contrary we learn that Mahinda's mother continued to live at Vidisā, 1 owing to her subsidiary position among Asoka's wives. Asoka had two other wives referred to in the Buddhist-Sanskrit works as living with him at Pāţaliputra. It was usual with the Hindu kings and chiefs to be polygomous, but it was the principal wife alone who enjoyed a status in the eye of the laws relating to inheritance.² Children born of wives other than the principal either lived on appanages or retired from the household life.3 It was due to this custom, I believe, that Mahinda joined the Buddhist order and continued living with his mother at Avanti instead of coming to Pāṭaliputra with Asoka. It was not until his twentieth year that he was called by Asoka to the metropolis where he was asked to be ordained and to devote himself to the study of the Tripitaka. It is this fact which has been mentioned in the passage of the Mahavomsa which has been utilized by Dr. Oldenberg as pointed out already. There is nothing in this passage to show that the Tripitaka studied by him was in the Pāli language. The passage of the Mahavamsa is silent on this point and Dr. Oldenberg supplied it on the strength of the resemblance that the language of the Khandagiri inscription bears to the Pali language. If he did so, it was not as the result of the development of the Pāli piţaka from the spoken dialect of Kalinnga as Dr. Oldenberg supposes, nor as the result of Mahinda being educated at Pāṭaliputra, for Mahinda had his early education at Ujjayinī. The Pāli piţaka was more easily intelligible to Mahinda than any other for the reason that he was educated in a place where Paisaci was the current dialect and Pāli was the literary one and used in the piţaka. which in course of time supplanted the Paisacī piţaka. The carrying of the Pāli piṭaka to Ceylon for the first time by Mahinda has been disbelieved by Dr. Oldenberg. But there are reasons for doubting Dr. Oldenberg's conclusion. Mahinda when he was charged by Asoka with the duty of propogating Buddhism in Ceylon came to Avanti where he stayed immediate-

¹ Mahāvamsa, Ch. xiii.

² V.A. Smith's Early History of India, p. 191.

³ Ibid., p. 185.

ly before his journey to Ceylon. Dr. Oldenberg states that Pāli pitaka was taken to Ceylon by a certain person from a port in Kalinga. But as I have already shown, there is no reason to doubt the tradition of Mahinda's sailing to Ceylon for the purpose and as it is a historical fact that he stayed at Ujjayinī before sailing out, it would be natural that he would choose to start from a port on the western coast which was near Ujjayini than from one on the far off eastern coast overcoming the difficulties of communication that existed in those days in going to a distant place. It may be said in a general way that in ancient times Ceylon had closer connection with western India than the eastern in almost all matters. Now as to the question of choice of the pitaka which Mahinda took to Ceylon: From what has ben said above as to the early education of Mahinda, his connection with Ujjayinī as his birthplace, and his stay there up to his twentieth year during which time he became familiarised with Paiśācī as the spoken dialect, it is, I think, reasonable to infer that his choice would fall upon the Pāli piṭaka, Pāli being the literary form of Paisaci, the pitaka in that language gradually supplanting its progenitor the Paisaci version.

To sum up; In view of the combined arguments advanced by Sir G. Grierson, Profs. Sten Konow and Franke that Pali is the literary form of Paiśācī which obtained currency in the region about Ujjayini, and in view of the statement made by Csoma Körösi and Wassailjew on the authority of Tibetan sources that there was a Paisacī version of the pitaka, it is only natural to infer that the pitaka using Pālis its medium was based upon the one in Paiśāci. It has also been shown from Csoma Korosi and Wassiljew's statements that the Theravadrins had their literature in Paiśāci,—a fact which is significant for my purpose, because of the connection of the Theravadins with Avanti, and their exodus to Ceylon from there. The early education of Mahinda makes it apparent to us that he must have been more inclined to the literary dialect of his birthplace than to any other and it was only natural that he should take the Pāli version with him to Cevlon because it was the version of his country that was growing into popularity and throwing the Paiśāci version into the shade.

Buddhism has at present two principal devisions, namely, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, the former being subdivided into Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika, and the latter into Mādhyamika and Yogācāra¹. Each of these four schools has its origin in the teachings of one great teacher, promulgated over 2,000 years ago, and has developed in its own way through several centuries. The present section aims to unfold the history of one of them, the Vaibhāṣika, formerly known as the Sarvāstivāda school, the appellation of Vaibhāṣkia having been given to the school by Hindu philosophers in view of the fact that its doctrines were based upon the Viobāṣā-sastras compiled at at the council of Kaniṣkat.

Almost all the treatises dealing with the schools exclusively or *inter alia* record their number as eighteen traditionally fixed, affiliating them to one or other of the two primitive schools, Sthaviravāda and Mahāsanghika. Deviations from this sort of classification and are found in the Tibetan work *Bhiksuvarhhagrapṛtstha*³ and the *Records* of I-tsing.⁴ They affiliate the eighteen schools to the four original ones, viz. (1) Āryasarvāstivadin, (2) Mahāsanghika, (3) Ārya-sāmmitīya, and (4) Ārya-sthavira. The duration of existence of these four as independent schools was comparatively longer, and the

¹ For the tenets of the four schools, see Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Satis Candra Vidyābhūaṣṇa's Medieval Logic (1st ed.), pp. 66 ff.

² Dr S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, op, cit., p. 66.

³ Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 180, fn.

⁴ Takakusu's I-tsing, pp. 7-8.

number of adherents larger¹. Other schools were shortlived, spite of their points or coalesced into one another in of difference. The most primitive school was the Sthaviravāda, the doctrines of which have been fully preserved in the Pāli literature. The school that can claim priority in age and preservation of pristine originality next to the Sthavira-vada is the Sarvāstivāda. Its literature is vast but to our misfortune the whole of it is yet in manuscripts², some of which are in Buddhist Sanskrit and the rest in Clinese and Tibetan. The two schools mentioned above were associated with the names of two great emperors, Asoka and Kaniska, through whose effort and patronge, they gained ground and produced a rich extensive literature. The principal seat of the Theravadins was Magadha while that of the other was Kashmir in conformity with the location of the respective sovereigns from whom each drew its support.

An account of the Council of Kaniṣka³ is furnished by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang. It was held in Kashmir about

400 years after the death of Buddha at the instance of Kaniṣka. The king evinced interest to learn the truths of Budhism but he was perplexed by the varient interpretations given of Budha's teachings by the monks⁴. In concert with the head of the Buddhist church Pārśva, the king, convened a council with view to record the different interpretations, and selected Kashmir as the place of meeting. Five hundred arahats were called out for membership, the Sarvāstivādins forming the majority. The President of the meeting was Vasumitra who was also a Sarvāstivadin, believing in the realism of material existence in the past, present, and

¹ J.R.A.S., 1891.

² A few of these Mss. in Buddhist Sanskrit are deposited in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

³ Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 270 ff. In later Tibetan works the Council is referred to and some particulars are also given but they do not agree in details with Yuan Chwang's account. See *Ibid.*, p. 278 (citing Tārānāth, 58 and Vasubandhu-ehuan, No. 1463); Wassilief. Der Buddismus, pp. 183 ff.

⁴ The modern N.W. Frontier Province and Gandhāra were inhabited by many sects of Hindus and Buddhists. Kashmir was the stronghold on the Mahāsanghika and Sarvāstivāda Schools. See Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 202, 283.

future¹, and composed the two Abhidharma pādas (supplements) of the school². Pur snant to the resolution of the council were compiled the Vibhāṣās (commentaries or discussions) being the opinions of the different schools on the Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma, known respectively as the Upadeša Sutra, Vidaya-Vibhaṣa Sastra, and Abhidharma-Vibhaṣa Sastra. But as the decisions of the disputed points rested on the President³, the accepted version should naturally be in most cases that of the Sarvāstivādins⁴. It is for this reason that the Vibhāṣa denoted the literature of the Sarvāstivādins and specially the Abhidharma commentaries, and the appellation Vaibhāṣika was given them by latter writers⁵.

It was only this after council that the Sarvāstivāda schook rose to its highest importance. But the seed sown during the reign

Duration of Existence of the Sarvāstivāda or the Vaibhāṣika school.

of the great Buddhist emperor Asoka when the activities of the school were confined within Magadha and Kosala now grew into an extensive foliage sending forth its branches beyond these limits under the fostering care of Kaniska. With the spread

of Budhism into Kashmir by the first Buddhist missionary Majjhantika sent by Asoka under the advice of Moggaliputta. Tissa, the Sarvāstivādins thought it advisable to depute their representatives to Kashmir in view of its growing importance as a proselytizing centre. Yuan Chwang⁶ also tells us that Asoka not only sent Buddhist monks but also built monasteries at that place. Now as the school of Buddhism planted here camefrom Pāṭaliputra and through the numbers of Moggaliputta's church, it would naturally follow that the first church founded in these places was that of the Theravādins. With the growing

- 1 Cf. Mrs. Rhys Davids, Points of the Controversy, p. xix.
- 2 Abhidharma Prakaraṇa Pāda and Abhidharma Dhātukāya Pāda; seeinfra, pp. 288 ff.
 - 3 Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 271.
- 4 V.A. Smith, Early History of India, pp. 267, 268. Mr. Smith is of opinion that the council was of the Sarvāstivādins and the literature written at that time. viz., the Mahā-vibhāṣā, belonged to this school.
- 5 Prof. Takakusu in his article on the Sarvāstivādins (E.R.E., xi, p. 198) says that the Vibhāṣā is the name of the commentary compiled some time after Kaniṣka's reign to explain the Jūānaprasthāna Sūtra of Kätyāyaniputra.
 - 6 Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 269.

importance of the place as a centre of Buddhism, other schools also made their way to Kashmir, and it is not unlikely that the Sarvāstivādins owing to their closer connection with the Theravadins would follow next. But it should be remembered that the Sarvāstivāda school of Kniska's time brought in further changes in the doctrine for which it has been distinguished from the older schorol, was named the Ārya-sarvāstivādin¹. However; the original Sarzaāstivāda school had its birth before Asoka's council (3rd century B.C.), for, the Kathāvatthut which obtained its final shape in this council took notice of same for refuting its tenets. The school does not seem to have gained much importance at this time or a century later, as the Sanchi or Bharhut inscriptions³ did not mention it or any other schools which abounded in the later inscriptions. About the beginning of the *Christian era, it came to be recognized as one of the principal schools not only in Kashmir and Gandhāra but also in Central India. The adherents of this school began to be the recipients of donations in the shape of monasteries, images, etc. from monks, laymen kings and queens4.

Fa-hien (391-414 A.D.) noticed the existence of this school in Pāṭaliputra and China while Yuan Chwang (629—645 A.D.) found it "chiefly in Kashgar, Udyana, and several other places in the Northern Frontier, in Matipura, Kanauj and a place near Rājagrha in Nothern India and also in Persia in the West." Since this time the geographical expansion of the school continued further funtil in I-tsing's time the adherents of the school were also found in Lāṭa, Sindhu, Southern and Eastern India, Sumatra, Java, China, Central Asia, and Cochin China. San-karācārya (eighth century A.D.), set himself to refuting the doctrines of the Sarvāstitvāda from the standpoint of a

- 1 Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, pp. 183 ff. quoting Bhikkhu Varhha-grapṛtstha which puts Mūla-sarvāstivādin as one of the four schools seceding from the Ārya-sarvāstivādin.
 - 2 Mrs. Rhys Davids, Points of the Controversy, p. xix.
 - 3 J.R.A.S., 1892, p. 597. (Bühler's letter).
- 4 Epigraphia Indi ca, Vol. ii, p. 212 (Kamari Inscription); Vol. viii, p. III (also Vol. ix, p. 29) (Set Mahet Image Inscription of the time of Kanişka or Huvişka); Vol. ix, pp. 135 ff. (The Inscriptions on the Mathura Lion-capital).
- 5 Prof. Takakusu, J.P.T.S., 1904-5, p. 71 citing Legge's Fa-hien, p. 99; J.R.A.S., 1891, p. 420; and I-tsing's Records, pp. xxii-xxiv.

Vedāntin¹, while Mādhāvacārya in the fourteenth century tried to give an exposition of the doctrines of the Vaibhāṣikas², by which title the Sarvāstivādins were afterwards known. Thus we see that the school, originating in the third century B.C., attained its highest development in the reign of Kaniṣka and lasted up to the fourteenth century; and counted as one of the four premier schools of Buddhism, it stood on the same level with one of them, namely, that of the Theravādins, why, by being compelled by force of circumstances to take shelter in Ceylon, have survived up till now³.

Wassiljew⁴ on the authority of the Tibetan sources makes the statement that the literature of this school was in Sanskrit.

Language used in the works of this school

The later works of this school, composed or compiled after the council of Kaniska, were no doubt in Sanskrit⁵, e.g. the *Prātimokṣa-sutra*, *Udāna-varga*, prose portion of the *Lalitavistara*.

Divyavadāna etc. but the ealier works seem to have been written in a Prākṛt dialect. This can be inferred from the following considerations. The council of Kaniska was held in Kashmir, the literary dialect of which at this time was Sanskrit. Though the Vibhāsās compiled at this council have not come down to us, yet the fact that they were composed at the place inhabited by people among whom Sanskrit was prevalent as the literary language, and to whom, in a large measure, the Vibhāsās were intended to appleal, is a strong reason for supposing that they were most probably compiled in that language. To this should be added the consideration that all the seven titles of the seven works on Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins in their Chinese version have been restored by Prof. Takaukusu to Sanskrit

¹ Vedānta Sūtras (translated in S.B.E., Vol. xlviii, pt iii), pp. 500-516.

² Sarva-darśana-samgraha (translated by Cowell and Gough), Ch. II, See also Ṣad-darśana-samuccaya, and Advaita-brahma-siddhi, pp. 67 ff.

³ Cf. E.R.E.. xi, p. 198—"The existence of the Sarvāstivādins can be traced during more than fifteen centuries of Indian history".

⁴ Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, p. 294. I am indebted to Dr. B.M. Barua, M.A., D., Litt. for this information and a few other suggestions here.

⁵ See Hoernle's Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature etc., pp. 166 ff.

originals. The names of those works appearing in the list furnished by *Mahavyutpatiit* and *Abhidharma-koṣā-vyakhyā¹* are also Sanskrit showing a great probability of the compilations of the works of this school in Sanskrit.

The discovery of manuscripts in connection with the excavations in Central Asia under the supervision of Dr. Stein lends support to the view and rouses the hope that more light would be forthcoming upon these obscure points. The finds that are already to hand prove that there was a complete Buddhist-Sanskrit canon belonging to the Sarvāstivādins. The order in which, roughly speakrig, Sanskrit and Prākrt alternated as a literary medium in North-western India, seems to my mind to be that in pre-Buddhist period Sanskrit was generally used as the medium, but with the movement initiated by Buddha and afterwards taken up by Asoka for spreading Buddhism, involving the necessity of appealing to the religious sentiments of the masses through a medium easily intelligible to them, the existing literary works began to be rendered into the Prākṛt versions and new Prākṛt works began to be composed. The prevalence of Prakrt as the literary medium lasted for a long time and this was followed by a period when Sanskrit re-asserted itself as the medium for literary uses. The factors which contributed to these changes are many, of which only one or two are patent to us and the rest are either obscure or stand even beyond the range of guesses. The only inferences that we can draw in these circumstances are from the fragments of facts that are coming up into view at times, giving rise in our minds to hypotheses which fit in best with the bases of our present knowledge of Buddhistic history of the times; these provisional inferences, however, will have to be modified in the light of facts that future may reveal.

The translation of six hundred and fifty-seven Buddhist canonical works from Sanskrit into Chinese is attributed to

¹ Published in the Bibliotheca Buddhica; see art, Agama.

² Kārikā III, cited by Prof. Takakusu in the J.P.T.S., 1904-5. p. 75, fn.; see also p. 76, fn., for the titles as restored from the Tibetan sources.

Literature of the school: (1) Sūtras.

Yuan Chwang. Sixty-seven of these works make up the $S\overline{u}tras$, Vinayas, and $Sastras^1$ of the Sarvāstivādins. In Nanjio's Catalogue² under the heading Hinayana $S\overline{u}tras$, the four

āgamas, viz., Dirghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Ekottarāgama, and Samyuktagama³ corresponding to the four Pāli Nikāyas, have been mentioned and the contents of the first three agamas have also been given. By comparing the contents with those of the Pali recensions of those works it becomes evident that the Chinese translations were made from an original which is not identical with the texts as represented in the Pāli recensions. The differences are not merely in the texts but also in the number and arrangement of the sūtras. In spite of the differences, however, the names and the subjects of the sūtras are identical with those of the Pali works. The other Chinese works placed under the aforesaid heading (*Hinayana Sūtras*) seem to be separate translations of the important $s\bar{u}tras$ comprised in the four agamas. In the Mahavyutpatti4, the four agamas bear the identical titles and to them a fifth agama is added, namely, the Kşudrakāgama. The Chinese translators do not expressly mention the school to which these agamas or sūtras belong, as they have done in the case of the Vinaya and the Abhidharma except in the case of the translation of the Buddhacarita and Abhiniskramana Sūtra⁵, in which the translator remarks that five different schools named the Life of Buddha in different ways as follows:—

- (1) Mahāvastu of the Mahāsanghikas,
- (2) Mahavyūha or Lalitavistara of the Sarvāstivādins,
- (3) Buddha's former Nidāna or Avadāna of the Kāśyapiyas,
 - (4) Buddhacarita of the Dharmaguptas, and
 - (5) Vinaya-piṭaka-mūla of the Mahisāsakas.
- 1 Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 20, 21; Śāstras here refer to the Abhidharma-pitaka.
- 2 Buniyu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka.
- 3 Divyāvadāna (p. 333) knows of four āgamas, viz., Dīrgha, Madhyama, Samyukta, and Ekottarika.
 - 4 Mahāvyutpatti, Art. Agama.
 - 5 Nanjio's Catalogue, col. 163.

The Chinese translators used, as a rule, to mention the name of the school to which the works translated by them belonged. Want of this indication in the case of the agamas leads us to infer that the various schools were at one in their acceptance of the texts of the agamas. It is natural that it should be so in view of the sanctity and reverence attached to Buddha's sayings which none of the schools dared to alter without committing sacrilege and, therefore, the differences were confined to the doctrines only, originating in the divergent interpretation of the same texts as also in the variations in the stress laid on particular aspects of their meaning. The collection of these sayings varied in number in the different schools, and this accounts for the varying number of sütras on the same subjects in the compilations of the different schools. Though the *Udānavarga*¹ and the *Dharmapada*² are in verse, their Theravada and Sarvastivada recensions agree in the substance of the sayings versified in them, though they disagree as to the length and arrangement of their respective treatments of those sayings. The Kathāvatthu collecting the doctrines of different Buddhist schools makes it clear that though the doctrines differ, they all refer to the same pitakas as their authority, which also goes to support the inference. Further, in the Kathāvatthu, the authorities cited in support of the doctrines of each school have been traced in the Pāli pitakas, proving thereby that there was no variation in the substance of the sayings though there might have been in the recensions. The Pratimoksa Sūtra of the Sarvāstivādins and the fragments of the Nikayas and the Vinaya found in Eastern Turkestan also corroborate the above inference³.

The Vinaya unlike the Sūtrapitaka experienced a very different treatment in the hands of the bhikkhus. We learn from the Chinese translations that there were four Vinayas belonging to four different schools, viz., Sarvāstivāda, Mahisāsaka, Dharmagupta, and Mahāsanghika⁴. There were constant

- 1 Rockhill's translation (Trübner series).
- 2 In the Kharosthi recension (ed. by Dr. Barua and Mr. Mitra).
- 3 Hoernle, Manuscripts Remains, etc., pp. 166, 168, 173.
- 4 Nanjio's Catalogue, col. 246 ff. Besides the complete Vinaya of the above mentioned schools, there were supplementary treatises dealing with sportions of the Vinaya text.

disputations among the bhikkhus on account of disagreement regarding minor rules of discipline, e.g., cutting and wearing of robes, inclusion of meat and milk (2) Vinava. in the articles of food, residence in monasteries within towns and cities, worship of caityas and images, etc1. To heighten the importance of the rules, each school invented episodes in the life of Buddha to serve as the basis of these rules. This accounts for a good many differences among the rules of several schools, but, there were also other causes such as divergences in the circumstances and surroundings that were responsible for the like differences. Though there were alterations in the supplementary portions of the Vinoya as adopted by the schools, viz., in the Mahāvagga and Cullavagga, the original Pātimokkha seems to have remained the same in all of them. It is evident from the Prātimoksas of the Sarvāstivāda, the Dharmagupta, and the Theravāda schools that the differences between them are negligible². Dr. Oldenberg has advanced his arguments to prove the Patimokkha to be the oldest part of the Vinaya. The frequent mention of the Patimokkha in the Nikāyas shows beyond doubt that this formed one of the earliest compositions of the Buddhists. Dr. Oldenberg, after a comparison of the Vinayas of the three schools, Mahisāsakas, Theravādins, and Sarvāstivādins, arrived at the conclusion that all the Vinayas were fundamentally the same though later additions were made to some of them.3

The Tibetan version of the Vinaya, an analysis of which is furnished by Csoma Korosi⁴, was based according to Wassiljew on the Sarvāstivāda recension of the Vinaya⁵. This inference finds support in the fact pointed out by Csoma Körösi that a picture representing Buddha in the middle with Sāriputta and Rāhula on his two sides appears on the first leaf

¹ See *supra*, pp. 221, 222, regarding Devadatta's school, and quarrel among the Kosambi bhikkhus; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 150; Takakusu, *I-tsīng*.

² J.R.A.S., Vol. xix, O.S., pp. 407-408; Pratimoksa Sūtra of the Sarvāstivādins (ed. by L. Finot in the Journal Asiatique 1913. See also Hoernle, op. cit., pp. 356-376.

³ Vinaya Piṭaka (ed. by Oldenberg), Intro., p. xxxvii.

A Asiatic Researches, Vol. xx.

⁵ Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus, p. 96.

of the Tibetan manuscript. The significance of this picture from our point of view lies in this that Sāriputta and Rāhula were the special objects of worship of the Sarvāstivādins. Rāhula, a disciple of Sāriputta has been mentioned by Chinese-authorities as the founder of the Sarvāstivāda school¹. It also appears from a passage in the manuscript that the Tibetan rendering was made by an inhabitant of Kashmir who was a follower of the Vaibhāṣika school which is nothing but a variant appellation of the Sarvāstivāda.

Thus, we see that the Sarvāstivādins had a complete Vinayain all its divisions, viz.. (1) Vinaya-vastu², (2) Prātimoksasātra³, (3) Vinaya-vibhāga⁴, (4) Vinaya-ksudraka-vastu⁵, and (5) Vinaya-uttara-grantha⁶. Prof. Csoma Körösi's analysis of the Tibetan Vinaya furnishes details of the first part of the book only, i.e., the Vinaya-vastu.

By way of illustration of the degree of similarity and dissimilarity existing between the Tibetan and Pāli versions of the Vinaya, I give here a rough sketch of the inferences that may be drawn from a comparison of the two versions of the first part of the Vinaya, viz., the Vinaya vastu. I should mention at the outset that throughout the Vinaya, we see as a rule that particular events are taken up by Buddha as the subjects of anecdotes pointing to a moral, which has been reduced by him into rules for the guidance of his disciples; and thus the Vinaya naturally divides itself into two portions, one giving the anecdotes and the other the rules, though, of course, the former are in every case followed by those of the latter to which they appertained.

In the two versions of the *Vinaya* there is very littledisagreement as to the rules but it is found that the same rulehas been elicited from different anecdotes. As for example, in the Pāli version, the rule that a person cannot be ordained: unless he has obtained the permission of his parents has been

¹ Eitel, Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, vs. Rahula. Cf. Hoernle, op. cit., p. 166.

² Corresponding with the Mahāvagga of the Pāli Vinaya-piṭaka.

^{3 &}amp; 4 Corresponding with the Sutta-vibhanga of the Pāli Vinaya-piṭaka, (including Pātimokkha).

⁵ Corresponding with the Cullavagga.

⁶ Corresponding with the Parivara.

educed from the ordination of Rāhula, who had not taken his mother's consent¹. In the Sarvāstivāda version appears the same rule but the occasion is differently stated, viz., a young man leaves his home secretly and joins the order without the knowledge of his parents.

It may be also be mentioned as a distinctive feature of the Sarvāstivāda version of the Vinaya that it is more diffuse at places than the Pāli version. Another distinction lies in the fact that certain points occurring in the former are altogether absent in the latter. In leaf 195 of the second volume of the Vinaya-vastu, reference has been made to the abstract meditation carried to excess by the priests of the Sakya clan, and explanations given of the terms relating thereto. In leaf 20 of the same volume five sorts of ghantis, (plates of metals) are mentioned as required at the time of prayer and the recitation of the Pratimoksa. The fourth volume of this book contains 470 leaves in which a complete life of Buddha has been given embodying accounts beginning with the origin of the Sakya race and ending with Devadata's (Lhas-byin) efforts to injure Buddha and cause divisions among his disciples. The subjects of the third volume are not found in the Pali Vinaya, but appear in its Sutta-piţaka. Thus, the Sarvāstivādins mixed up the Sūira and Vinaya while the Theravadins kept them separate. The belief current up to now that the one is a redaction of the other is baseless. have come from a common source, and reason of development in different centres, minor accretions have grown round them creating differences in their exterior. The commonness of the names of places, where the various scenes³ mentioned in the Vinaya are laid, supports the above inference while the mention of Kashmir in connection with its conversion to Buddhism found only in the Sarvāstivāda version on speaks a good deal in favour of the aforesaid probability of the existence of a

¹ Vinaya, I, p. 83.

² Asiatic Researches, Vol. xx, leaf 115 of the Tibetan Dulva.

³ Such as Rājagṛha, Śrāvasti, Sāketa, Vārāṇasi, Vaiśāli, and Campā. Asiatic Researches, Vol. xx, p. 44.

close connection between this school and Kashmir¹.

Yuan Chwang informs us that the Sarvāstivādins of someplaces allowed the use of the three kinds of pure flesh and the drink of grape syrup as beverage, which was contrary to the principles of Mahāyānism of which he was an adherent. In the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins as well as of the Theravādins the eating of meat with some restrictions was allowed by the orthodox². The Sarvāstivādins had a peculiar mode of wearing and colouring their robes not approved by the followers of several schools³.

It is the Abhidharma literature of the Sarvāstivāda school that deserves special attention. Prof. Takakusu has rendered valuable service by furnishing us with the con-

(3) Abhidharma. tents of the seven abhidharma books at present unique and preserved in Chinese traslations⁴. The number of books in this collection is just the same is in that of the Theravādins, the difference being that the latter collection consists of seven independent works while the former

1 Some points of agreement between the two versions: Vinaya-vastu-Vol. I, leaves 1-193 contain the subject of entering into the religious order—Pravra-jita-vastu corresponding with Mahākhandhaka paṭhama of the Pāli Vinaya, Vol. I, p. 98.

Leaves 193-357 contain "the description of the confession or self-emendation, and general supplication" corresponding with the Pāli. Uposatha-khandhaka.

Leaves 357-378 "on passing the Vassa" corresponding with Vassupanāyika-khandhaka tatīya (Vinaya, I, p. 158) and Pavāraṇa-khandhaka (Ibid., p. 178).

Leaves 378-404 (end of the vol.) and leaves 1—10 (of the next vol.) "on the subject of leather and skin" corresponding with Cammakkhandhakam pañcamam. (Ibid., p. I, 198).

The second volume of the *Dulva* contains the chapter on medicaments (leaves 11-78) and garments of priests (leaves 78 ff.) corresponding with *Bhesajjakkhandhakam* (I, p. 251) and *Kathi nakkhandhakam* and *Cīvarakkhandhakam* (*Ibid.*, pp. 265-310).

- 2 Watters' Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 53, 60; Körösi's analysis in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. xx, p. 67 and Vinaya, Mahāvagga, vi, 31, 14. The admissibility of grape-syrup as a drink is found only in a quotation given by Watters. See Watters, op. cit. pp. 237 ff.
 - 3 Watters, op. cit., I, pp. 150 ff. Takakusu, I-tsing.
- 4 "The Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins" by Prof. Takakusu in J.P.T.S., 1904-5, pp. 67-146; see also his article on the Sarvāstivādins in E.R.E., xi.

of one principal treatise the *Jāanaprasthāna Sutra of* Kātyāyaniputra with its six *pādas* or supplements¹. They are,—

- (1) Sangiti-paryaya of Mahākausthila,
- (2) Dhātu kaya of Pūrņa,
- (3) Prajñapti-sārā of Maudgalyāyana.
- (4) Dharma-skāndha of Śāriputra,
- (5) Vijñana-kāya of Devasarman, and
- (6) Prakuraņā pāda of Vasumitra,

Prof. Takakusu on a comparison of the Abhidharma works of the two schools comes to the conclusion that the "two sets have no real connection." Though there is no apparent connection between the two sets, yet it is clearly noticeable that most of the subjects treated in the two sets are found in the Sūtrapitaka but the mode of treatment in one is different from that of the other. The first pāda reveals a close relation of the Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivādins to the Suttas of the Theravadins. Prof. Takakusu hints that the first pado, Sañgiti-paryaya, has been modelled on the Sangiti-suttanta of the Dighu-Nikaya². He remarks that "the contents of the ones, twos, threes, etc. (in the suttanta and paryaya) are usually different." But it should be pointed out that the contents do agree with one another except that the instances of ones, twos, threes, etc., as given in the Pāli text exceed greatly in number those of the other as explained below³.

- 1 J.P.T.S., 1904-5, pp. 74ff.
- 2 Digh., Nik., III, Suttanta No. xxxiii.
- 3 E.g. (1) Section on Eka-dharmas:—

All beings live on food, etc.,—Takakusu's contents.

Sabbe sattā āhāraṭihitikā.

Sabbe sattā sankhāraļļhitikā. (Dīgh. Nik., Vol. III, p. 211).

(2) Section on Dvi-dharmas:—

Mind and matter—(Takakusu).

Nāma-rūpa—(Digh. Nik.).

Means for entering into meditation and coming out of meditation, etc. corresponding with Nos. i and ix of the Sangīti Suttanta, I, 9. The Suttanta enumerates 33 Dvidharmas.

(3) Section on Tri-dharmas:—

Prof. Takakusu's list can be identified with the following numbers of the Suttanta, i, ii, iii, v, vi, xi, xxvi, xxviii, xxxvi, xxxvii, lviii; except the three āpattivyuṭṭhānas. In the

If a text on account of its pithy baldness be considered earlier than another on an identical topic presented at length with much elaboration of details, then the Pāda should be regarded as anterior in age to the Suttanta. The statement of Prof. Takakusu giving an earlier origin to the Suttanta cannot from this standpoint be regarded as unimpeachable. His next remark that the "work was compiled after the council of Vesāli which was held chiefly for suppressing the ten theses of the Vajjian bhikkhus," based on a passage of the Pāda referring to the Vajjan bhikkhus of Pāvā, does not rest on a sound basis. Mr. Wogihara was right in rendering the passage to the effect that it was Nigantha Nāṭaputta of Pāvā, and not the Vajjianblikhkus¹ The Vajjianbhikkhus, again, were inhabitants of Vesäli and not of Pāvā, the residents of which place, namely the Mallas, were partly followers of Nigantha Nataputta and partly of Buddha, The object of Sariputta in putting the dharma as the summation of a few metaphysical and religious truths for its followers was to avert the danger of a split in the Buddhist church as had happened in the Jaina sangha just at that time.2 The close correspondence between the Suttanta and the Pravāya specially in their introductory and concluding passage shows that one is based upon the other and that the author is the same for both. Prof. Takakusu preferred the tradition which ascribed the authorship to Mahākausthila but the concidence of the other tradition (ascribing it to Sariputta) with that of the Sangiti Suttanta leads us to infer that Sariputta was the author of the work.

The fourth Pāda, the Dharma-skandha, is said in the colophon to its Chinese translation to be "the most important of

former list, the total number is 36 whereas in the Suttanta, it is 60.

(4) Section on Catur-dharmas:—

Prof. Takakusu gives us only 7 fours out of the total 21 fours; 5 of the fours correspond with the following numbers of the Suttanta i, ii, vi, xv, xlvii; the number of fours in the latter is 50.

In this way all the *ten dharmas* can be traced but it will be noticed that the *Suttanta* list is much longer than the $P\bar{a}da$ list.

1 J.P.T.S., 1904-5, p. 99, fn.

2 Digh, Nik., Vol. III, p. 210.

the Abhidharma works, and the fountain-head of the Sarvāsti-vāda system." The subjects treated contain nothing which can be claimed by the Sarvāstivāda as its own. They constitute the essence of Buddhism and if the claim of the Sarvāstivādins be admitted, that of the Theravādins of a similar nature cannot be denied an equal force on the same ground. It is only natural that, as Prof. Takakusu points out, the Sangiti-Parpāya should often quote this bock, traversing as they do the same ground.

Thirteen sections, again, of the above book are found in the seventh section of the *Prakaraṇa pāda*, "discussions on one thousand question", the author of which is Vasumitra. I think that as Vasumitra was a Sarvāstivādin, the section was meant to be a supplement discussing the exposition embodied in the *Dharma-skandha*.

The composition of the second $p\bar{a}da$, $Dh\bar{a}tukaya$, is attributed to either Vasumitra or Pūrņa according to different traditions. Preference should be given to the former tradition in view of the fact that this $P\bar{a}da$ is only enlarged treatment of the topics contained in section 4 of the $Prakaraṇa-p\bar{a}da$ of Vasumitra.

The fifth $P\bar{a}da$, $Vij\bar{n}ana-kapa$, is said to have been the work of Deva-śarman, an arahat of Viśoka (near Kausāmbi) who lived some time before the 5th century after Buddha' parinir-vāna. Yuan Chwang informs us that Deva-sarman refuted the views of Moginlin (Moggalāna) who denied the reality of past and future³, one of the chief principles of the Sarvāstivāda doctrine. This remark of Yuan Chwang finds support in the fact that the first section of this $p\bar{a}da$ records the opinion of Maudgalyāna about padgalas, indriyas, etc, the next section contaning interalia a discussion of the theory of $pudgala^4$ (soul). This work was highly appreciated by the Vaibhāsikas who gave it a canonical position which was denied to it by the Sautrāntikas⁵.

The third Pādr, Prajņapti-sara,6 gives an account of the

¹ J.P.T.S., 1904-5, p. 115.

² Ibid., p. 106.

³ Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 373.

⁴ J.P.T.S., 1904-5, p. 108.

⁵ Watters, op. cit., p. 374.

⁶ J.P.T.S., 1904-5.

life of Buddha, and its authorship has been ascribed to Mahā-Maudgalyāyana.

The Sarvāstivādins, as stated already, were like the Theravādins, a conservative school of the Hīnayāna. They held almost the same views as the Theravadins are Doctrines believed in the non-existence of soul, impermanence of material composites, the law of karma, and nirvāņa as "the cessation of passions (klesas) to be attained by transcendental knowledge". Their views about the human life and the universe were also similar to those of the Therevadins. Their chief exponent Katyäyaniputra in his Jñāna-prasthāna-sūtra accepts in every detail "the theory of the five skandhas the twelve āyatanas, the eighteen dhātus, the twelve-linked chain of causation, the three worlds (kāma, rūpa, and arūpa dhātu), the four classes of birth (andaja, samsvedaja, jarāyuja, and aupapāduka) and the four cycles antarakalpa, mahākalpa, sārākalpa, and sunyakalda)"2. The only difference between the doctrines. of the Sarvāstivādins and those of the Theravadins lies in this that the former admitted the reality of the elements (skandhas) that compose a being as against the latter's view of their unreality. Both the schools admitted the continual flux of elements or in other words the monetary existence (ksunikptra) of every one looked upon the elements of the past as disappearing to give rise to the present and the present as giving rise to the future, while the other believed that the elements of the past underwent changes to develop into the present and the present developed into the future. In short, the Sarvāstivādins admitted the reality of elements as existing in all times, -past, present and future. On account of their belief in the astitva theory of elements, they have analysed the material composites into various classes of elements which they have enumerated in connection with the exposition of their philosophy³. It appears from the Lalitavistara, a treatise originally belong to the Saravāstivādins, that the theory of paticcasamuppāda (chain of causation) found much favour with this school and parti-

¹ Yamakami Sogen's Systems of Buddhistic Thought, p. 165.

² Ibid., p. 178.

³ For the analysis, see Sogen, op. cit. pp. 119ff. and Kimura's Original and Developed Doctrines etc. pp. 12 ff.

cularly for proving impermanence and soullessness of beings. In Buddhological speculations, the Sarvāstivādins looked upon Buddha as a man possessing divine attributes as opposed to the Mahāsaṅghikas who believed Buddha to have had but an illusory existence in this world.¹

The Sammitiya School

The Sāmmitiyas were one of the four principal schools of Buddhism. They became the most influential and wide-spread by the time of Yuan Chwang. This was mainly due to the patronage that it could secure from the emperor Harsavardhana whose sister Rājyaśri was a bhikkhuṇi of this school. Previous to this period, the history of the school was not so eventful. Only its 'pudgala-theory' drew forth vehement criticisms from the adherents of other schools, and was taken up by the Kathāvatthu as the first question to be refuted by arguments favouring the Theravāda standpoint.

According to the tradition preserved in the Bhinna-nikāyadharma-cakra-sāstra¹ by Vasumitra, this school originated in the third century after Buddha's parinibbānā. It Time of branched off from the Vatsiputriyas for which emergence of the it was at times called the Vātsiputriva Sāmmischool. tiyas². The notice taken of its doctrines by the Kathāvatthu indicates that the school existed in Asoka's time. The next early evidence as to the existence of this school is furnished by the inscription of the early Gupta period discovered at Sarnath. This inscription also shows that the firs school that prevailed at Sarnath was that of the Theravadins. It was supplanted by the Sarvāstivādins at about 300 A.D. About a century afterwards this school again was ousted by the Sāmmitivas who continued till the time of Yuan Chwang³. The Sāmmitiyas could not prosper in the pre-Christian era but they gradually attained importance in Northern India during the Gupta period reaching climax in the reign of Harsavardhana.

From the figures supplied by Yuan Chwang regarding the number of Sāmmitīya monks in various places, it will be seen that though they resided in Ahicchatra, Sankassa, Hayamukha,

¹ Translated from Chinese by Prof. J. Masuda in the C.U. Journal of letters, I, p. 2.

² E.R.E., XI, p. 168.

³ Dayaram Sahni's Catalogue of the Museum at Saranath, p. 30; Ep. Indica, VIII, p. 172.

Visoka, Benares, Karnasuvarna etc., they had their predominance in Malwa, Sind¹ and the neighbouring places, such as Ānandapura, A-tien-p'o, Pi-to-shih-lo and A-fan-tu. The name Avantaka applied to the Sāṃmitīya school by Vasumitra shows that its centre in Northern Avanti i. e. Malwa must have been very important². The ascription of the origin of this school Mahākaccāyana, the famous missionary of Avantī, also shows that it must have had some connection with Malwa at the time of its emergence.

The Sāmmitīyas according to the Tibetan tradition, possessed a pīṭāka in the Apabhramsa dialect. Modern philologists

Language and literature of the school.

hold that the Saurasenī-Apabhramsa which prevailed in Malwa and Gujarat was the standard Apabhramsa dialect and that it was different from the pure Saurasenī. It was here that the

Jaina texts now existing in the Apabhramśa dialect were written. It is very probable that the Sāmmitīyas, who had a piṭaka of their own handed down orally from generation to generation, committed it to writing when they flourished in the Guptaperiod, using as their medium the dialect prevalent in the place *i.e.* the Apabhramśa.

The statement that Yuan Chwang carried to China fifteen treatises of this school³ shows that it had a literature of its own. I-tsing observes that it had a separate Vinaya, but it is not mentioned in Nanjio's Catalogue. Incidentally he tells us that this Vinaya had rules regulating the use of the undergarment, girdle, remedies and beds by the members of the sect in a way peculiar to itself⁴. The only treatise that is expressly mentioned as belonging to this school in Nanjio's Catalogue and now existing in Chinese translation is the Sāmmitiya-šāstra or Sāmmitiya-nīkāya-šāstra containing the tenets of the sect⁵. Most of the passages cited in the Kathāvatthu

¹ The number of Sāmmitīya bhikkus in Malwa and Sind was 20,0003 and 10,000 respectively.

² Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, pp. 182, 194; Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus, p. 85.

³ Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 20, 21.

⁴ Takakusu, I-tsing, pp. 7, 66, 140.

⁵ E. R. E., Vol. XI.

as giving the view of the Sāṃmitīya school have been found to be identical with passages on the subject in the Pāli Sutta-piṭaka. From this it seems probable that the Sutta-piṭaka of the Sāṃmitiīyas was a redaction of the original pitaka from which the Pāli piṭaka has been derived.

For information regarding the doctrines of the Sammitaya school, we have now to depend upon works belonging to the rival schools of the Theravadins and Sarvastiadins, viz., the Kathāvatthu, the Abhidharmakosayypākhyā, and the Vijnāna-kāya sāstra¹. The only remarkable doctrine of the Doctrines Sāmmitīyas is that regarding the nature of the 'pudgala'. They admitted the impermanence of material composites but at the same time held the view that there was an entity which should be distinguished from the five skandhas but which could not exist independently of those skandhas. This entity corresponds to what is called soul in Hindu philosophy but very different from it, as it in their opinion ceased to exist when the five skandhas came to an end. It served as the carrier of the five skandhas through births and re-births of beings as the Sāmmitiyas held that there is an antarābhāva i.e. an intermediate state between the death of a being and its re-birth2. They agreed with the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsanghikas in holding that the stage of an arahat is not immune from a fall to a lower stage that the spiritual progress of a convert is always gradual.

¹ The substance of the last two works is found in Prof. Stcherbatsky's Soul Theory of the Buddhists and Yamakami Sogen's Systems of Buddhistic Thought.

² E. R. E., XI, pp. 168ff. For details about the psychological views of this school, see Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Points of the Controversy*, Intro., pp. xviii, xix.

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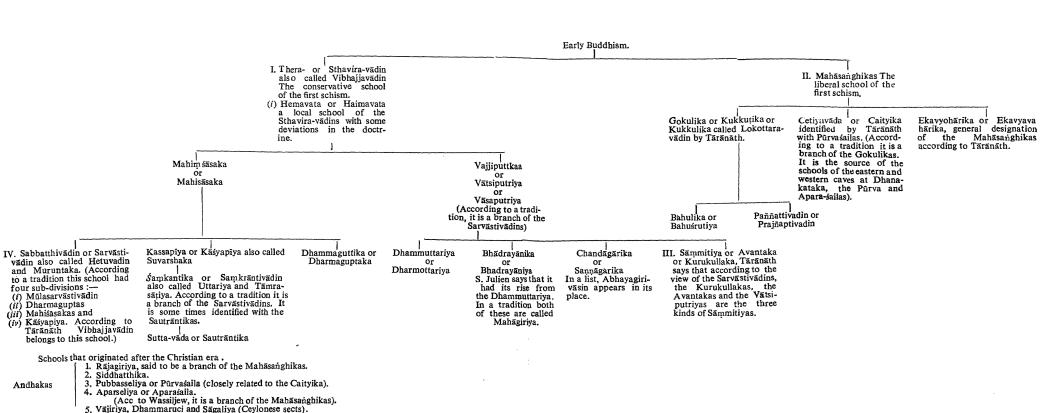
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