BUDDHISM
IN INDIA AND ABROAD

Anukul Chandra Banerjee

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PREFACE

The present work is an attempt to make a survey of Buddhism in India and abroad. It is divided into two parts. The first part contains eight chapters. Each chapter deals with a particular aspect of Buddhism in India. The second part, in two chapters, is a story of Buddhism of the neighbouring countries of India where it gained a firm footing and gradually progressed with the march of time. It deals with its introduction, expansion, ramifications into different schools and sects, literature and the like. In short, it is a history of the various aspects of this religious and cultural movement.

There is no denying the fact that Buddhism came to occupy a very prominent position in and outside India. It greatly influenced the Indian thoughts for several centuries and contributed largely to the growth of a huge mass of literature in Pali and Sanskrit. The fact should not be lost sight of that from the 3rd century B.C. to the 12th century A.D. Buddhism moulded thoughts, ideals and literatures of the entire South-east and North-east Asia. History of Buddhism is on this account not only a story of the growth of a great civilization but also a story of cultural contacts, through the medium of this expanding civilization, between the different groups of people in these regions.

After the attainment of independence, the study of Buddhism has gained international importance, particularly in Asia, and it is for this reason, the XXVth centenary of the birth of Gautama Buddha was celebrated with pomp and grandeur by the Government of India. As a result, keen interest has at present been evinced in the Buddhist studies. Attempts are also being made to restore the lost treasures embedded in Buddhism. But, unfortunately, there is still a great dearth of books covering the story of Buddhism.

This book is primarily intended for those who are interested in the comprehensive study of Buddhism as also the cultural contacts between India and her close neighbours.

A few of the chapters were published sometime back in the different periodicals.

I take this opportunity to thank my colleague and pupil Sri Sukumar Sen Gupta, M.A., Suttavisārada, Senior Lecturer in Pali, Calcutta University, who has taken great pains in preparing the Index. My affectionate thanks are also due to my pupils Dr. K. L. Hazra, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Lecturer in Pali, Calcutta University, Dr. Sukomal Chaudhuri, M.A., D.Phil., Lecturer in Pali, Sanskrit College and Sri Rabindra Nath Basu, M.A., Research Scholar, Calcutta University, for their assistance in connection with this work in various ways.

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PART I

BUDDHISM IN INDIA

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF BUDDHISM

In the sixth century B. C. India witnessed the origin and growth of Buddhism which subsequently became one of the greatest international religions. A brief survey of the various conditions and the trends of thought in the midst of which it originated is a necessity for an adequate understanding of Buddhism.

India was divided inio sixteen political divisions at or shortly before the advent of Buddhism. These sixteen divisions are technically known as Ṣoḍaśa Mahājanapada in the Buddhist literature. The rulers of these Janapadas were in constant conflict with one another and that is why they could not establish a big kingdom. These sixteen Janapadas were Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśī, Kośala, Vajji, Malla, Ceti, Vaṃsa, Kuru, Pañcāla, Maccha, Śūrasena, Assaka, Avantī, Gandhāra and Kamboja. These Mahājanapadas were not local names, but names of tribes or peoples. They grew up in the vast area extending from Kabul to the Godāvarī. Of them Assaka only was situated on the Godāvarī in South India. These Janapadas are referred to in the *Dīgha Nikāya. Aṅguttara Nikāya, Culla Niddesa, Mahāvastu* as also in the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* of the Jains. But there is no unanimity in regard to their names. The *Lalitavistara,* however, refers to sixteen Janapadas without mentioning their names. A brief account of each of them is given here :—

Political condition

Aṅga : It was once a powerful kingdom in ancient India. It was also rich and prosperous. It occupied the southern portions of modern Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Purnea in Bihar. Its capital was Campā which has been identified with Campānagara or Campāpurī, close to Bhagalpur. It was included in the kingdom of Magadha during the time of king Bimbisāra. We know that in the Buddha's time the king of Aṅga was a wealthy noble man.

Magadha : It was an important centre of political, commercial

and other activities. The ancient literature is also replete with accounts of the people of the then Magadha. It occupied the modern Patna and Gaya districts in Bihar. Its capital was Rājagṛha (modern Rajgir) or Girivraja. The Campā used to indicate the boundary between Aṅga and Magadha. It is said that in the Buddha's time it (inclusive of Aṅga) contained eighty thousand villages and about twenty-three hundred miles in circumference.

Kāśī : Of the sixteen Janapadas, Kāśī was the most powerful kingdom. Its capital was Benares which surpassed all other the then cities in splendour. The *Jātakas* record that Kāśī was over two thousand miles in circuit. It was subsequently incorporated into Kośala.

Kośala : It included Ayodhyā and its adjoining areas of the modern Uttar Pradesh. Its capital was Śrāvastī which has been identified with Sahet Mahet standing on both the banks of the Rapti adjacent to the borders of the districts of Gonda and Baharaich in Uttar Pradesh. Ayodhyā, Sāketa and Śrāvastī were the great and prosperous cities then. We are told that the struggle between Kośala and Magadha was the leading political topics during the Buddha's time.

Vajji : It comprised eight confederate clans. But the names of all the eight clans are still wanting. Among the Vajjis, Licchavis, Videhans and Jñātrikas were the most important and powerful. The Vajjis and the Licchavis were probably of the same clan. Its capital was Vaiśālī which was one of the six principal cities of India. Besar or Basar has been identified with Vaiśālī of the district of Muzaffarpur in North Bihar.

Malla : It lay to the south of the country of the Śākyas and Koliyas. It had two parts. The capital of one was Kuśāvatī or Kuśīnārā, and the other was Pāvā. Kuśīnārā is identified with modern Kasia, situated on the small river called the Gaṇḍaka, on the east of the district of Gorakhpur, while Pāvā with the modern Padaraona lying about twelve miles south-east of Kasia. It is said that the Mallas became very powerful in the Buddha's time and they formed a democratic government.

Ceti : It is also known as Cedi. It has been identified with modern Bundelkhand on the bank of the Yamunā and the adjoining region. Its capital was Śuktimatī. According to some scholars it was the city of Śuktimatī of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Ṛg Veda* and the *Mahābhārata* record that Cedi was a very powerful kingdom in the pre-Buddhistic time.

Vaṁsa : It was situated on the southern bank of the Ganges. Its capital was Kauśāmbī, modern Kosam, situated on the bank of the Yamunā, close to Allahabad of Uttar Pradesh. Udayana was the king of this territory. According to Prof. Oldenberg, Vatsya was Vaṁsa in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* records that it was a very rich and prosperous country.

Kuru : It may be identified with modern districts of Sonepat, Amin, Karnal and Panipat. It has two divisions, Uttarakuru and Dakṣiṇakuru. The two Kuru countries are referred to in the *Mahābhārata* and Dakṣiṇakuru used to rival Uttarakuru in its glory, prosperity and righteousness. The *Jātaka* records that it was one of the powerful kingdoms in the pre-Buddhistic period.

Pañcāla : It may be identified with the regions of North and North-East of Delhi, from the foot of the Himalayas to Chambal including Budam, Farakkabad and adjoining districts. It had two divisions—Uttara-Pañcāla and Dakṣiṇa-Pañcāla. The Ganges was the boundary between the two divisions. Ahicchatra or Chatravatī was the capital of Uttara-Pañcāla while Kāmpilya was of Dakṣiṇa-Pañcāla. Ahicchatra has been identified with modern Ramnagar in the district of Bareilly of Uttar Pradesh, while Kāmpilya with modern Kampil of the district of Farakkabad.

Maccha : It is usually referred to along with Śūrasena. It is said that Macchas were a very powerful Kṣatriya tribe. Maccha was the extensive region between the hills close to Chambal and the forest that formed the borders of the Sarasvatī. Its capital was Virāṭanagara, named after the capital of Virāṭa, the king of the Macchas. Virāṭānagara has been identified with the present town of Bairat in the Jaipur State. Several famous Aśokan edicts have been discovered at Bairat.

Śūrasena : It was situated on the Yamunā. Its capital was

Mathurā, which has been identified with present Maholi, five miles to the south-east of the modern city of Muttra (Mathurā) of Uttar Pradesh. It is said that Mathurā was a great centre of Buddhism for several centuries. In course of his peregrination in India, the famous Chinese traveller Fa-hien found many monasteries with hundreds of monks here. Archaeological excavations have explored many images of Buddha and Bodhisattva here.

Assaka : It stood on the banks of the Godāvarī. Potali, Potana or Podana was its capital. The *Mahābhārata* records that a royal sage Aśmaka established a city of Podana. It has been identified with Bodhana in the Nizam's state (Hyderabad). In the Pali literature we find that Assaka is always associated with Avantī.

Avantī : It comprised modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining places of Madhya Pradesh. It was once a very flourishing kingdom in ancient India. It was divided into two parts, northern and southern. Ujjayinī was the capital of the northern part, while Māhissatī was the southern part. But the *Mahābhārata* records that Avantī and Māhissatī were two separate countries. From the Mahāgovinda Sutta of the Pali *Dīgha Nikāya* we learn that Māhissatī was the capital of Avantī, and Viśvabhu was its king. From the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* we find that Avantī was popular, rich and prosperous. It was also a great commercial centre.

Gandhāra : It was the vast tract covering the Kashmir valley. Its capital was Takkasilā (modern Taxila) which was a noted centre of education and learning to which students from far off countries used to crowd. It was very fertile and the climate was accommodative. It was conquered by Aśoka and was included in his kingdom.

Kamboja : It was a region lying on the north-west of India. Its capital was Dvārakā. In the literature and inscriptions both Kamboja and Gandhāra are always associated together. It is said that Kamboja was a home of Brahmanic learning in the later Vedic period.

Of the sixteen Mahājanapadas mentioned above most of them had monarchical constitution, while a few others were republics. The kings of Magadha, Kośala, Vatsya, Avantī and others, who

were most powerful and had monarchical form of government were in constant conflict with neighbouring kingdoms to extend their suzerainty over them. Vajji which included the confederate clans of Vajji, Licchavi, Jñātrika and the like were most prominent among the then republics. As there was no king to rule over this territory its administration was entrusted to a select committee. Besides Vajji, there were other republican states like Malla, Śākya, Moriya and others mentioned in the Buddhist and Jaina texts.

Social condition

There were four social grades called colours (varṇas) which were the most characteristic features of great sociological significance of the age. They were the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. This system of social grades developed into a rigid caste system later on. At the head were the Brahmins who not only took a prominent part in the affairs of the society but also devoted themselves to the study of religious texts and performance of sacrifices. They further acted as priests in the religious ceremonies of the householders. Thus the Brahmins held a unique position in the social structure. The Kṣatriyas engaged themselves in wars and administration. The Vaiśyas carried on agriculture, rearing of cattle, trade and commerce. The Śūdras were assigned to menial works and were, in fact, slaves of the society. The caste-system during this period became hereditary. All claims to superiority were based on the ground of birth. The Brahmins during this age were haughty and led a luxurious life. The Vaiśyas, on the other hand, who used to earn immense wealth by their trade and commerce, fell a prey to all sorts of mundane pleasures. Women held a very negligible position in the society. They were regarded as household goods. Polygamy as also inter-caste marriage were prevalent in the society. A good system of education was current among the men of the three upper castes, while women of the upper caste had the privilege of getting it and that also was very limited.

Trade and commerce which usually play a very important rôle in the economic life of the people were not unknown in this age.

Economic condition

From the Buddhist and Jaina texts we learn that traders became immensely rich by carrying on sea-borne trade. The means of transport on the land was bullock-cart, while boats were used for the places on the banks of the rivers in the country. The ancient literature also mentioned other types of arts and crafts of the country. Handicrafts were the means of livelihood of the workers in wood (Sūtradharas), workers in metal (Karmakāras), potters (Kumbhakāras), weavers (Tantuvāyas), leather workers (Carmakāras) and the like. No silver coins were current then. Gold coins were also unknown. Half and quarter Kahāpaṇas[1] were in use then. Banking system was unknown in those days. Gold, silver and other valuable things were buried in pots in the ground. People of the upper classes were rich and prosperous, but the people of the lower classes were poor and had no position in the society.

Religious condition

The sixth century B. C. witnessed a great spiritual upsurge in several countries. In Greece appeared Parmenides and Empedocles, in Iran Zarathustra, in China Lao-tse and Confucius and in India Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha. In this period many mighty thinkers pursued the views of their predecessors and worked out new trends of thoughts. This period is, therefore, of great importance in the history of the religion. India was in a maze of inter-acting Philosophic and religious views, when Buddhism originated. The cult of sacrifice so much advocated by the Vedic Indian for a happy life in this world as also in the next, could not really secure for the performer the objects for which the sacrifices were performed. Merits achieved through them were efficacious only for a short time. They could not give eternal peace. They could bring only temporary happiness. Thus people gradually lost their faith in the efficacies of the Vedic rituals. The goal of human life is to attain permanent happiness and the mind of the people is naturally directed to things eternal. The trend of the view, therefore, turned against the rigidity of the Vedic sacrificial system,

[1] Square copper coins.

and people were inquisitive of true knowledge which could bring eternal peace. A new mood of life was found out. It was a life of renunciation as against the life devoted to the pleasures of senses. Thus the system of four Āśramas, *i.e.*, four stages of life was subsequently evolved. The four Āśramas were Brahmacarya (celebate life), Gārhasthya (household life), Vānaprastha (forest life) and Sannyāsa (life of renunciation). "These stages were prescribed for the highest caste only, the Brāhmaṇas, who monopolised intellectual culture and religious ceremonies, i.e., the homas, yajñas, etc."[2] The first Āśrama insisted that a student should pass his early years in the house of a competent teacher acquiring knowledge and conduct under his guidance. He was to collect food for himself as also for his teacher. With his formal initiation (Upanayana) commenced his studies. The *Gṛhyasūtras* prescribe mutual duties and obligations of a student and his teacher. After spending the first Āśrama (Brahmacarya), he could become a householder and marry. Even when he married he should lead a life of restraint. During the third Āśrama (Vānaprastha) he should give up family life and live in a forest, and should devote himself to the acquisition of true knowledge which brought happiness and peace of mind. In the last Āśrama (Sannyāsa) he should cut off all worldly ties and pass his days in the realisation of ultimate reality. The first Āśrama is concerned with education, the second with family life, the third with retirement from household life and the fourth with meditational practices to realise the highest truth.

The third and the fourth Āśramas, the Vānaprastha and Sannyāsa, were considered favourable for contemplation and obtaining true knowledge and peace of mind. Man's mind, therefore, gradually turned to the true knowledge and began to think it far better than the performance of Vedic rites and rituals. In the *Upaniṣad* we find the great quest for truth for the attainment of salvation and peace and in most of them are discussed the nature of Brahman,

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[2]Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, "A comparative study of Brahmanic āśrama and Buddhist monasticism",—*Jagajjyoti : A Buddha Jayanti Annual*, 1971, p. 11.

the soul and transmigration and the doctrine of Karma. Brahman is real, the universe is false and there is no difference between a living being (jiva) and Brahman—these are, in short, the fundamentals of the *Upaniṣad*. The realisation of the knowledge of Brahman could be made through true knowledge. The cultured classes of the age were thus in favour of deeper aspects of learning as opposed to the claborate and extensive Vedic sacrifices. The common people were still steeped in the superstitious beliefs and rituals. They used to believe that soul dwells within the bodies of men, animals, plants, etc. all alike. In other words, they believed in animism. The worship of trees, serpents, Yakṣas, Gandharvas and the like were also invoked in this age.

It is striking to note that we have no reference to the *Upaniṣad* or the Upaniṣadic teachers in the Buddhist texts. Some scholars maintain that Buddhism accepted most of the Upaniṣadic thoughts and that is why it is silent in this regard. But Dr. N. Dutta[3] holds that "it is idle to say that Buddhism issued out of the *Upaniṣad*s and was a phase in the evolution of Upaniṣadic thought. On the other hand it may be stated that Buddhism was a revolt against the Upaniṣadic thought and it was this denial of soul, which undermined the belief in the efficacy of the sacrificial rituals and ceremonies."

In the Buddhist and other texts there are frequent references to the six non-Buddhist teachers[4] who were respected by the wise, nobles and kings alike. They were well-known throughout the country as founders of schools of thought. Some of them were senior contemporaries of Gautama Buddha, and were also followed by a large body of disciples. It is interesting to study their life and viewpoints. Below are given the names of these six teachers and the doctrinal views they held :—

Contemporary religious teachers and other philosophic speculations

(1) Pūraṇa Kassapa—came of a Brahmin family. In his *A*

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[3] *The Indian Historical Quarterly* (Gautama Buddha 25th Centenary special issue), vol. XXXII, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 116.

[4] For details, *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. I, pp. 47ff ; *Milinda-*

History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy Dr. B. M. Barua observes "The true significance of the Pali epithet Puraṇa seems to be that Kassapa claimed to have attained perfect wisdom (pūrṇa jñāna), or that his disciples believed that he was replete with perfect wisdom."[5] He was an old and experienced teacher. He was the head of a religious Order with a large following. He was a contemporary of king Ajātaśatru of Magadha Tradition records that he drowned himself in the sixteenth year of the Buddha's missionary career. He upheld the doctrine of non-action (Akiriya-vāda), which, according to Dr. Barua[6] is the doctrine of the passivity of soul. According to this doctrine, a person does not earn merit by good deeds such as gifts, sacrifices and the like. Similarly, he does not incur sin by bad deeds such as killing, telling a lie, and so forth. It is the body which acts ; the soul remains passive. Whether we do good or bad deeds, the soul remains unaffected thereof. The body only enjoys the effects of Karma. Śīlaṅka, the Jaina commentator, calls this Akāravāda, and identifies it with the Sāṃkhya view. Buddhism, however, admits neither identity nor difference of the soul and the body.

(2) Makkhali Gosāla—was an important contemporary of Buddha. The Jaina and Buddhist texts furnish us with the accounts of his name and life. But Dr. B. M. Barua opines that they are unhistorical.[7] Dr. P. L. Vaidya observes, "he belonged to the sect of the Acelakas or Naked Ones, and, as the first part of his name indicates, carried a staff of bamboo (maskarin).[8] It is said

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pañha, p. 4 ; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 81, 96 ff ; B.M. Barua. *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, pp, 277 ff ; B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, pp. 21 ff ; *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 73 ff, as also his *Mahāvīra*, pp. 75 ff ; A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ajivikas*, pp. 10 ff ; N. Dutta, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, vol. I. pp. 34 ff ; Miss I. B. Horner, Gautama and the other sects, *J. A. O. S.* vol. 64, No. 4, pp. 284 ff.

[5] P. 277.

[6] Ibid., p. 279.

[7] Ibid., p. 298.

[8] *2500 years of Buddhism.* The Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, p. 17.

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that during the second year of Mahāvīra's career Gosāla was received as his disciple. Both of them lived together for about six years, but later on Gosāla broke away owing to his belief that all living beings were capable of reanimation. He predeceased Mahāvīra by about sixteen years. He founded an independent school of thought known as the Ājivika school. The *Majjhima Nikāya*, however, records his two other predecessors—Nanda Vacca and Kisa Saṅkicca.[9] He may thus be regarded as the third or last Tīrthaṅkara of the Ājivika school. He held the doctrine of fatalism (Niyatisaṅgatibhāva). According to him all beings are without power and force ; they are regulated by their destiny. In other words, they are helpless against destiny. He admits of no other cause whatsoever for the happiness and misery of a being. He denied the consequences of action and exertions. He further advocated the theory of purification through transmigration (Saṁsāra śuddhi). All beings would pass through several existences in order to attain emancipation. Like a ball of thread the consecutive existences are unalterably fixed. There are infinite gradations of existence and each existence is eternal.[10]

In the Post-Aśokan period this sect attained prominence and enjoyed royal patronage. It was also popular in South India.

(3) Ajita Kesakambali—was an elder contemporary of Buddha. He was a materialist. He denied the effects of Karma. According to him a Karma (action), good or bad, does not produce any fruit. There is no further life after death. A human being is composed of four elements. After death each of them returns to the corresponding elements, and the sense faculties (indriyas) into space (ākāśa). Everything ends in death. Nothing exists after death. It is mere idle to talk of the next world. "Fools and wise alike, on the dissolution of the body, are cut off, annihilated, and after death they are not."[11] His doctrine is similar to that of the

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[9]Nos. 36 and 76.

[10]B. M. Barua, *A history of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 306.

[11]*Dialogues of the Buddha*, Translated from the Pali by T. W. Rhys Davids, part I, Luzac and Company Ltd., London, 1956, p. 74.

Lokāyata or Bārhaspatya School, better known as the Cārvāka School. In Buddhism, it is known as the Ucchedavāda, annihilationism, which holds 'the cutting off, the destruction, the annihilation of a living being."[12]

(4) Pakudha Kaccāyana – was also known as Kakudha Kātyāyana as given in the *Praśnopaniṣad*. He was another elder contemporary of Buddha. He also came of a Brahmin family. According to him a being is composed of seven elements :—earth (paṭhavī), water (āpa), fire (teja), air (vāya), pleasure (sukha), pain (dukkha) and soul (jīva). These elements are ever lasting and immutable by their very nature. They are uncreated and produce nothing new. They do not move or change or trench one upon another, or contribute to pleasure or pain or both. There is, therefore, no killer or teacher or hearer. Killing a being means nothing but separating the elements constituting the body. 'When one with a sharp sword cleaves a head in twain, no one thereby deprives any one of life, a sword has only penetrated into the interval between seven elementary substances."[13] In Buddhism it is called Sassatavāda, eternalism, which maintains that the soul and the world are eternal.

(5) Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta—was another elder contemporary of Buddha. He was a founder of a school of thought and was highly respected in the country. He advocated Ajñānavāda (agnosticism). When a question was put to him, he resorted to equivocation. He did not give any positive opinion. His teaching consisted in evasion of answers and the substance of judgment. He denied to give any definite answer to the problems of metaphysical speculation, and those problems were also put to Buddha, who refused to answer them thinking that they were not conducive to the well-being of mankind. The views advocated by Sañjaya were identical with those of Amarāvikkhepikas (Eel-wrigglers), who did not give any definite views as to the ultimate problems. It is said that Sañjaya who was an eminent religious mendicant and founder of

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[12] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 49.

[13] Ibid., p. 74.

a religious Order was the teacher of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. They subsequently left him and along with two hundred and fifty others joined the Buddhist Saṅgha. At this Sañjaya vomitted blood and died.

(6) Niganṭha Nāṭaputta—was another elder contemporary of Buddha. He was no other than the great sage, better known as Mahāvīra. At first he joined the religious Order founded by Pārśvanātha who is said to have lived two hundred and fifty years before Mahāvīra. His code was almost similar to that of Pārśvanātha. Pārśvanātha and his followers were naked, while Mahāvīra and his disciples wore white garments. Mahāvīra upheld the doctrine of Kriyā. According to him misery is due to one's own deeds. It is not caused by others. Liberation can be obtained by true knowledge and good conduct. A soul transmigrates according to good or bad deeds.

From the Sāmaññaphala Sutta[14] we learn that the Niganṭha (fetterless) is restrained with a four-fold restraint (cātuyāmasaṃvara). He is restrained in regard to all water, as also in regard to all sinful activities. He is free from all sins and lives at ease as he has purified himself from them. The Niganṭhas emphasised the commandment of Ahiṃsā (non-injury to living beings). Jainism is further a philosophy based on the doctrine of Anekāntavāda (many possibilities). Every object is to be looked at from different aspects in order to have a true knowledge of it. "For the sake of practical application, the Anekāntavāda has been condensed into seven members (saptabhaṅgī) thus :—from seven different standpoints a being is (i) permanent ; (ii) impermanent ; (iii) both permanent and impermanent ; (iv) indescribable ; (v) permanent and indescribable; (vi) impermanent and indescribable ; (vii) both permanent and impermanent as also indescribable."[15] Jainism lays more emphasis than Buddhism on rigorous ascetic practices.

Lastly, it is to be noted that "of these six teachers Pūraṇa

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[14] *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. 1, pp. 47-85.

[15] *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol, XXXIII, June & September 1956, Nos. 2 & 3, p. 227.

denies the evil Karma in a bad act and vice versa ; Ajita, in preaching annihilation at death, shuts out the possibility of any effect to be worked by Karma ; and Makkhali rejects both Karma and its effect. The theory of Pakudha seems to exclude responsibility ; the Niganṭha simply begs the question, by asserting that a Niganṭha has attained the end ; and Sañjaya gives no answer at all"[16].

There were in those days besides these six illustrious teachers, a large number of eminent Brahmanical teachers and Parivrājakas. These Brahmanical teachers were still maintaining the Vedic tradition. They recited the Vedic hymns and earned their livelihood by officiating as priests in the sacrifices. They were patronised by the king as well as by a section of people. From the Kūṭadanta,[17] Tevijja[18] and other suttas we learn that the Vedic rituals and sacrifices were in vogue in those days. Brahmins, well-versed in the Vedic rituals, were only requisitioned for the performance of the sacrifices. They also enjoyed grants of land and property under the patronage of the king. They were indeed very wealthy and sometimes performed sacrifices at heavy expenses. The parivrājakas were, on the other hand, a class of wandering teachers who had no permanent residence. For the most part of the year they used to wander from place to place. Their main objective was to enter into discussion with other religious teachers 'on matters of ethics, philosophy, nature lore and mysticism'. There were in those days in important villages and towns, public halls where these Parivrājakas could lodge and hold discussion. The life of a Parivrājaka was open alike to Brahmins and non-Brahmins. Even a woman could embark on the career of such a Parivrājaka. "Out of these *parivrājakas* were formed, from time to time, groups who expressed their allegiance to a certain teacher, or subscribed to some common tenets, marks, or style of dress. Of these we may refer to the Māgaṇḍikas, Vekhanassas, Pārāsāriyas,

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[16] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Trans. by T. W. Rhys Davids, part I, p. 76, f.n. No. 1.

[17] *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. I, pp. 127-139.

[18] Ibid., pp. 235-253.

orders of the six Teachers : Sañjaya, Pakudha, Ajita, Maṅkhali Gosāla, Niganṭha Nāṭaputta and Gautama Buddha (Sākyaputtiya-samaṇas) ; and to the Jaṭilas, Tedaṇḍikas, Aviruddhakas, and Devadhammikas."[19] The Parivrājakas 'formed an important part of the religious and philosophical movement of Ancient India.'

The Brahmajāla Sutta[20] enumerates a list of sixty-two forms of philosophical speculation about the self or soul and the world existing at the time of the appearance of Buddhism. They are traditionally known as the sixty-two heresies (Dvāsaṭṭhiyo diṭṭhiyo) in the Buddhist literature. They may broadly be divided under the following heads :—

(1) Four kinds of Sassatavāda (those who hold that the self or soul and the universe are eternal).

(2) Four kinds of Ekaccasassatavāda (those who hold that the self and universe are eternal in some respects and in some not).

(3) Four kinds of Antānantika (those who hold that the universe is finite as well as infinite).

(4) Four kinds of Amarāvikkhepika (those who equivocate about good and evil).

(5) Two kinds of Adhiccasamuppannika (those who hold that the soul and the world originate without a cause).

(6) Sixteen kinds of Uddhamāghātanikasaññivāda (those who hold that the soul is conscious after death).

(7) Eight kinds of Uddhamāghātanika-āsaññivāda (those who hold that the soul is unconscious after death).

(8) Eight kinds of Uddhamāghātanikanevasaññināsaññivāda (those who hold that the soul is neither conscious nor unconscious after death).

(9) Seven kinds of Ucchedavāda (those who hold that the soul is extinct after death).

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[19] N. Dutta, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, vol. I, Calcutta Oriental Series No. 30, Calcutta, 1941, p. 33.

[20] *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol, I, pp. 1-46.

(10) Five kinds of Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavāda (those who hold that nibbāna can be attained in this life).

Of the sixty-two views mentioned above the first eighteen refer to the speculation about the past (Pubbantakappika), while the remaining forty-four to those about the future (Aparantakappika). Thus it is evident that all these wrong views of philosophical speculations originated owing to the ignorance of time—pubbanta (priority) and aparanta (posteriority).

Here is given a short account of those speculations :—

(1) Sassatavāda : There are some recluses and Brahmins who by means of their meditational practices can recall correctly in all their details their numerous previous births in succession. They may be divided into three categories according to the number of existences remembered by them. From this they come to the conclusion "that the soul is eternal ; and that the world, giving birth to nothing new, is steadfast as a mountain peak, as a pillar firmly fixed ; and that though these living creatures transmigrate and pass away, fall from one state of existence and spring up in another, yet they are forever and ever."[21] There are further some recluses and Brahmins who belong to the fourth category. Through their logical reasoning they arrive at the aforesaid conclusion.

(2) Ekaccasassatavāda : According to the first type of Ekaccasassatavāda, there are some recluses and Brahmins who maintain that the world system passes away after the lapse of a long period and all beings are reborn into the Ābhassaraloka (the world of radiance). When the world system begins to revolve one of the beings of the Ābhassaraloka, either because of his span of life or merits completely exhausted is born into the Brahmavimāna (Brahma world). He dwells there alone and feels the need of a companion. Like him other beings fall from the Ābhassaraloka and are reborn into the Brahma world. At this the first being thinks that he is the Brahmā, the Great Brahmā ; other beings are created by him. He is the creator. The other beings who are

[21] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, transl. by T. W. Rhys Davids, Part I, p. 28.

reborn into this world, think that he must be Brahmā, the Great Brahmā for he is born first and we have come after him. He is eternal, immutable and forever the same, while beings born after him are subject to change and impermanent. The second type maintains that there are certain gods who are known as the Khiḍḍāpadosikas. They are not given to excessive self-enjoyment, and due to which they do not fall away but remain in that state without any change and forever the same. But others who because of indulgence in all sorts of self-enjoyment, pass from that state and are reborn in this mortal world as impermanent and mutable. According to the third type there are certain gods called the Manopadosikas. They constantly quarrel among themselves and bear malice towards one another, and as a consequence they fall from that state and are reborn in this world as being short-lived and subject to change. The fourth class which includes certain recluses and Brahmins, who are addicted to logical reasoning, arrives at the conclusion that "this which is called eye and ear and nose and tongue and body is a self which is impermanent, unstable, not eternal, subject to change. But this which is called heart, or mind, or consciousness is a self which is permanent, steadfast, eternal, and knows no change, and it will remain forever and ever."[22]

(3) Antānantikavāda : According to the first type of Antānantikavāda there are some recluses and Brahmins who by means of their meditational practices maintain that the world is finite, i.e., limited in space. Some recluses and Brahmins who belong to the second type of Antānantikavāda, hold that the world is infinite, i.e., limitless in space. According to the third type, the world is limited in space in upward and downward directions, but unlimited sideways. The fourth type addicted to logical reasoning comes to the conclusion that the world is neither limited nor unlimited.

(4) Amarāvikkhepikas : The Amarāvikkhepikas who belong to the first type maintain that there are some recluses and Brahmins

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[22] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, transl. by T. W. Rhys Davids, Part I, p. 34.

who cannot distinguish between good and evil deeds. When any question regarding those is put to them they do not give any categorical answer thinking that they may be wrong in their answer which may cause remorse and this will indeed be a hindrance to the path of the future progress. The second type of the Amarāvikkhepikas hold practically the same arguments but further hold that if they stick to their own views and do not accept the views of others they will then have Upādāna 'grasping condition of heart' which will become a hindrance to the path of the future progress. According to the third and fourth types of the Amarāvikkhepikas, there are some recluses and Brahmins who do not give categorical answers to the questions put by the opponents because of their inability to meet the arguments of their opponents. They think that they will be defeated in their controversy which will cause remorse and this will indeed be a hindrance to the path of future progress.

(5) Adhiccasamuppannikavāda : It may also be called Yadṛcchā (doctrine of chance). According to the first category of the Adhiccasamuppannikas (fortuitous originist), there are certain gods called Asaññā-sattas (unconscious beings) who pass from that state by regaining consciousness (saññā) and are reborn into this world. From this they arrive at the conclusion that the soul and the world originate fortuitously and not as a result of any cause. The second category refers to those who hold the above viewpoint due to their logical reasoning. It may be mentioned here that "as a parallel to this doctrine, we may refer to the Lokāyatikas or Bārhaspatyas who hold that the happiness and misery of persons are brought about by the laws of nature, and that there is no other cause. It was by an accidental combination of elements that the living beings such as a peacock of variegated colours or a human being is born. The conceptions of heaven and hell, merit and demerit, and so forth, according to them, are creations of designing minds."[23]

(6) Uddhamāghātanikasaññivāda : It has some bearing upon the doctrine of Syātvāda in Jainism. According to this doctrine

[23] *Early Monastic Buddhism*, vol. I, p. 66.

there are some recluses and Brahmins who believe in the conscious existence of the soul after death. The various types of beliefs are as follows :—

(i) The soul has form.
(ii) It is formless.
(iii) It is both, i.e., with form and without form.
(iv) It is neither, i.e., with no form and not without form.
(v) It is finite.
(vi) It is infinite.
(vii) It is both, i.e., finite and infinite.
(viii) It is neither, i.e., not finite and not infinite.
(ix) It is conscious in respect of one object.
(x) It is conscious in respect of many objects.
(xi) It is conscious in respect of limited elements.
(xii) It is conscious in respect of unlimited elements.
(xiii) It is quite happy.
(xiv) It is quite unhappy.
(xv) It is both, i.e., quite happy and unhappy.
(xvi) It is neither, i.e., not happy and not unhappy.

(7) Uddhamāghātanika-asaññivāda : According to this doctrine there are some recluses and Brahmins who believe that the sous remains unconscious after death but not subject to decay. The eight types of beliefs are :—

(i) The soul has form.
(ii) It is formless.
(iii) It is both, i.e., with form and without form.
(iv) It is neither, i e., with no form and not without form.
(v) It is finite.
(vi) It is infinite.
(vii) It is both, i.e., finite and infinite.
(viii) It is neither, i.e., not finite and not infinite.

(8) Uddhamāghātanikanevasaññināsaññivāda : According to this doctrine the soul remains neither conscious nor unconscious after death, but not subject to decay. The eight types of beliefs are mentioned below :—

(i) The soul has form.

(ii) It has no form.
(iii) It is both, i.e., with form and without form.
(iv) It is neither, i.e., with no form and not without form.
(v) It is finite.
(vi) It is infinite.
(vii) It is both, i.e., finite and infinite.
(viii) It is neither, i.e., not finite and not infinite.

(9) Ucchedavāda : According to this doctrine there are some recluses and Brahmins who believe in the extinction of the soul after death. The seven kinds of beliefs are given herein :—

(i) The soul has form and is composed of four elements. It is born of parents.
(ii) The soul is divine and has form. It belongs to the sensuous sphere (Kāmāvacarabhūmi), and is sustained by solid food.
(iii) The soul is divine and has form. It is made of mind and possesses all the limbs of the body.
(iv) The soul is of the same nature with that of the beings of the Ākāsānañcāyatana 'the infinity of space'.
(v) The soul is of the same nature with that of the beings of the viññāṇañcāñyatana 'the infinity of consciousness'.
(vi) The soul is of the same nature with that of the beings of the Ākiñcaññāyatana 'the plane of no obstruction'.
(vii) The soul is of the same nature with that of the beings of the nevasaññānāsaññāyatana 'the plane of neither ideas nor the absence of ideas'.

(10) Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavāda : According to this doctrine there are some recluses and Brahmins who believe in the attainment of Nibbāna in this very existence. The five types of beliefs are :—

(i) The soul can attain Nibbāna by enjoying the pleasures of senses fully.
(ii) It can attain Nibbāna by means of the first Jhāna (meditation).
(iii) It can attain Nibbāna by means of the second Jhāna.
(iv) It can attain Nibbāna by means of the third Jhāna.
(v) It can attain Nibbāna by means of the fourth Jhāna.

CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA

In the sixth century B. C. Śuddhodana was the chief of the Śākyas who were 'too proud of their birth and jealous about their purity of descent'. His capital was Kapilavatthu, situated at the foot of the Himalayas to the north of India. Mahāmāyā who was the daughter of Suprabuddha of the city of Devadaha was his chief queen. One day the queen dreamt an extraordinary dream at the dead of the night. She found that she was put on a valuable coach and taken to the Anotatta Lake in the Himalayas by four Cātummahārājikā gods. Shortly after a white elephant came from the north and encircled her rightwise three times and seemed to enter her womb. Thus the queen conceived. "His entry into his mother's womb was heralded by an earthquake, a flash of light illuminating the whole universe and reaching even those hellish beings who lived ever in darkness and never saw even the sun and the moon."[1] The queen told her dream to the king next day. The king summoned the learned Brahmins to interpret her dream. He honoured them and gave them excellent food and other various kinds of presents. The Brahmins declared that she would give birth to a male and not a female child. The son born to her would become a king, a universal monarch, if he would live in a house, but if he would leave the house and go forth from this world, he would become a Buddha, Enlightened One. The king rejoiced greatly at the prediction of the Brahmins and gave alms to the poor and also made sacrifices to gods for Māyādevī's safe and happy delivery as also for the prosperity of the child to be born.

Māyādevī bore the child for ten months 'like oil in a bowl'. During the ten months of gestation heavenly beings used to guard

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[1] *Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh* by N. Dutt and K. Datta Bajpai, Publication Bureau, Lucknow, p. 44.

her constantly. When the time of her confinement approached, she expressed her strong desire to the king to permit her to visit her parents at Devadaha to have her first born there. The king readily acceeded to her request and caused the entire road from Kapilavatthu to Devadaha to be decorated with flags, banners and the like. He further made the queen sit on a golden palanquin and sent her to her parents' home as desired by her with a great retinue. On the way to Devadaha there was a pleasure grove of Śāla trees called Lumbinī. When she reached there with her retinue, she felt very happy and liked to enter the grove. On entering it she moved hither and thither in the garden enjoying its beauty. She saw a lovely Śāla tree in full blossom and stretched her hands to catch hold of a branch which bent down and came within the reach of her hand. While holding it fast, she gave birth to a son who came out from her mother by her right side [2] Four celestial beings received the boy with great veneration. Two streams of hot and cold water descended from the sky and washed the boy and his mother. Soon after his birth the boy took seven steps towards each of the six directions proclaiming that he was going to be the foremost of the world.[3] Numerous miracles also happened at his birth. The boy was brought back to Kapilavatthu on the same day with great solemnity. On this day were born mother of Rāhula, Channa, Kāludāyī, Kanthaka, Ānanda, the Bodhi tree and four vases of treasures. Seven days after the birth of this boy his mother died, as mothers of all Bodhisattvas do. He was then nursed by his aunt and step-mother Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī.

The boy was called Śākyasiṁha as he was born in a Śākya family. He was also called Siddhārtha because all the desires of the people were fulfilled at the time of his birth. He was further called Gautama because he belonged to the Gotama lineage. He

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[2]It is to be noted that emperor Aśoka built a monument at the birth place of the Buddha about 250 years after the event. It still bears witness to its historical nature.

[3]*Majjhima Nikāya*, P. T. S. vol. III, p. 123.

was also known as Buddha for his attainment of enlightenment (Samyakjñāna).

In the heaven of the thirty-three gods there were great rejoicings at the birth of the child. A distinguished sage named Asita living in the Himalayas happened to witness these rejoicings and enquired of the gods the reason of their delight. The sage flew through the air with his nephew Naradatta (Nālaka) and came to Kapilavatthu to see the boy. Asita was the preceptor of king Śuddhodana and was very much venerated by the king. He congratulated the king on the birth of the prince and expressed his wish to see the boy. The child was brought to him. On noticing the marks of greatness on his body the sage laughed and shed tears of sorrow. The king enquired of the reason for doing the same. The sage then replied that he laughed because of the joy he felt at the birth of a saviour for the salvation of the world. He wept because he would not be able to hear the doctrine preached by him to free beings from the bondage of misery and birth. The sage bowed down and paid homage to the boy. He, however, asked his nephew to become his disciple when the baby would become a Buddha. At this king Śuddhodana himself also made obeisance to his son.

One day king Śuddhodana invited several Brahmins to his place and requested them to examine and interpret the characteristic marks on the body of the prince. Among them there were eight Brahmins who were distinguished astrologers. On the examination of the characteristic marks of the prince seven of them could not definitely prognosticate the future destiny of the boy. One of them, who was called Sudatta Brahmin of Koṇḍañña clan was able to make out that the prince would certainly become a Buddha. At this prophecy king Śuddhodana felt great anxiety and tried his utmost to prevent the boy from forsaking the world. He wished that his son should become a universal monarch and not a Buddha. He made all kinds of efforts to keep apart all knowledge of wordly woes from the prince's eyes. He took all possible precautions that an aged person, a sick person, a corpse and a religious recluse would not be within the three miles of the city of

Kapilavatthu. He thought that these sights would make him ponder over the miseries of the worldly existence and turn him to the renunciation of the world.

The king appointed several nurses to look after the boy. When the boy had grown up a little, one day the king went out to witness the Ploughing Festival. The prince was also brought there by the nurses. They made a couch for him under a Jambu tree. The nurses left him alone to see the king ploughing the land with his golden plough. Finding no one by him the boy rose up and sat down cross-legged cogitating on the miseries of the existence. The shadow of the Jambu tree had not at all changed while that of the other trees had turned. At that time five ascetics were flying through the sky and when they were to pass over the Jambu tree their progress was stopped. They looked down and saw him engrossed in meditation. They came down to the earth and paid respectful homage to him. The nurses also returned in the meantime and saw the miracle, and informed the king accordingly. Finding him absorbed in deep meditation, the king saluted him with folded palms.

When the prince reached the age of sixteen his father constructed three magnificent palaces suitable for three seasons—the summer, the rains and the winter. One of them had nine storeys, the other had seven storeys and another had five storeys. The king wanted to see the boy indulging in luxury and all kinds of enjoyment. So he appointed dancing girls for the purpose.

The prince was thus brought up in great luxury. At this Śākyans began to murmur among themselves. The king appointed the famous teacher Viśvāmitra to train up the prince. Through his guidance the prince became fully acquainted with all sorts of arts, crafts and martial exploits. He showed himself superior to all other Śākyas in all contest of arms. The Śākyans met together and requested the king to get his son married immediately. The king then married the prince to princess Yaśodharā, the beautiful daughter of king Daṇḍapāṇi of the neighbouring Koliyan republic. Time passed on and the prince lived with Yaśodharā for sometimes enjoyinig the worldly delights and pleasures. In

course of time Yaśodharā conceived and this made the king extremely happy that an heir was going to be born shortly. He thought that this might bring a change in the prince's mind to renounce the world as predicted by the astrologers. He would embrace the worldly career and thus become a universal monarch.

The prince lived in the palace in great luxury up to the age of twenty-nine 'in total ignorance of the old age, sickness and death to which all mundane beings are naturally subject'. One day the prince expressed his keen desire to visit the pleasure garden and asked his father's permission for the same. The king asked his officer to adorn the roads through which his son would pass and to see that the prince would not come across any unpleasant sight on his way. But the gods who thought that the time for prince's attainment of enlightenment was at hand showed him the four ominous sights while on his way to the pleasure garden in his chariot driven by the charioteer, Channa. On the first day the prince saw a toothless and grey haired old man. The prince who had never seen such an aged man before asked Channa what kind of person he was. The charioteer answered that he was an old man and that every human being must one day become like him. Being greatly perturbed at this sight the prince returned to the palace without proceeding further on. The king coming to know of the reason of the prince's speedy return increased the guards all around the palace. He further got together dancing girls to give him continuous delectable enjoyment. On his way to the royal garden the next time, he saw a man suffering severely from illness and groaning with pain. The prince who had never seen such a sight in all his life enquired of the charioteer about this man. The charioteer replied that he was a sick man and all beings—the poor and the rich, ignorant and wise, in this world must inevitably suffer from such illness. No one could escape this sort of calamity. The prince was more moved this time and returned to the palace. Shortly after the prince on his visit to the royal garden saw a corpse carried on bier to the cemetery followed by his family and friends crying and lamenting. At this sight the prince asked the charioteer the meaning of what he saw just now. The chario-

teer replied that this was a dead man. His life had already gone. All beings are subject to death. There was no escape from death. The prince was deeply moved by the charioteer's answers. He realised the worthlessness of a worldly life. He returned to his palace quickly. On his way to the royal garden again the next time he saw a religious recluse with shaven head and of quiet demeanour and carrying a begging bowl in his hand. On learning from the charioteer that this strange man was an ascetic who had gone forth into the homeless life in search of deliverance from the cycles of existences. He felt a strong desire to give up this world and become a monk to find out the way to deliverance. He felt very happy and drove straight to the garden, and spent the day there. After bathing he took his seat on the resting stone and was adorned with heavenly attire by Viśvakarmā. While ascending the chariot he received a message from his father that Yaśodharā had given birth to a son. At this news he did not feel very happy but thought that it would cause hindrance to his renunciation and remarked, "Rāhula has been born, a bond has come into being."[4] Having heard this news from the messenger the king ordered that the boy be named Rāhula. On his way back to the palace from the pleasure garden Kisā Gotamī, a young princess and niece of the king who had gone to the roof of the palace saw the prince dressed in rich royal dress. At this she was filled with extreme joy and delight and exclaimed :

"Happy, indeed, is the mother,
Happy, indeed, is the father,
Happy, indeed, is the wife,
Who possesses such a husband."[5]

Having heard these words of Kisā Gotamī the prince was so pleased that he took out from his neck a collar of great value and sent it to her as a present. The prince returned to the palace and

[4]Rāhulo jāto, bandhanaṃ jātaṃ.

[5]Nibbutā nuna sā mātā,
Nibbuto nuna so pitā,
Nibbutā nuna sā nārī,
Yassāyaṃ īdiso pati.

retired to his apartment, where he was entertained by fair damsels, singing, playing and dancing. But he took no pleasure and felt asleep. At this these women too lay down on their bed. Shortly after the prince awoke and saw the female musicians sleeping with dishevelled hair and in disgusting attitude. Some of them were sleeping exposing their ugliness and others with their mouths with saliva trickling down. Worried at this sight, prince Gautama left the apartment and entered his wife's bedroom 'to take a last farewell glance at those whom he dearly loved above all the treasures of the earth'. Yaśodharā with the child in her arms was also fast asleep. He stood there gazing at his beautiful wife and beloved son. The pain of separation of course overcame him strongly. Tears from his eyes rolled down on his cheeks. With a manly heart Gautama tore himself away suppressing all his feelings. He left the palace at the dead of night renouncing everything he had. It was thus on the full-moon day of Āṣāḍha that Gautama left the palace at the age of twenty-nine years only.

Riding on his noble horse Kanthaka, Gautama crossed the three neighbouring kingdoms of Śākyas, Koliyas and Mallas and reached the river Anomā at dawn. The horse crossed it at one leap. Alighting from his horse he gave away all his ornaments to the charioteer, Channa. He asked Channa to go back with the horse, Kanthaka to Kapilavatthu. He began to wander alone. Shortly after he met a hunter dressed in yellow robes on the way. He exchanged his princely robes with those of the hunter and cut off his long black hair with the sword. He then put on the new dress. And Gautama thus became an ascetic to find out a way of escaping from the miseries of existence. Thus embracing the life of a recluse Gautama stayed in the mango-grove of Anupriya of the Mallas for a week. And thence he came over to Rājagṛha (Rajgir), the capital of Magadha in course of his peregrination. At the sight of the quiet demeanour of this recluse people were struck with wonder and curiosity arose as to whether he was a deity, or any other being. The king Bimbisāra also saw him from the roof of his palace and sent his men to ascertain his true nature. They returned and reported to the king that the sage had left

for the Pāṇḍava hill with his begging bowl. The king quickly went to the hill and had a long conversation with him. He offered him his entire kingdom but the sage refused it saying that he had renounced the world to find out the highest enlightenment. But he gave an assurance to the king that he would visit his kingdom when he would attain Buddhahood (supreme enlightenment). He then left the place and began to move on and in course of his journey came to the hermitage of the then renowned teacher, Āḷāra Kālāma who had about three hundred disciples under his guidance at the time. He then placed himself under his guidance and began to practise the religious life along with other disciples. But he was not satisfied with his method of teaching. He thought that the philosophy taught by Āḷāra Kālāma was not the way that would lead to the enlightenment. He then left him and went in search of another teacher. The second teacher he met was Uddaka Rāmaputta who had also a great number of following. He stopped at his hermitage and applied himself to his teachings, which did not satisfy him. As his hunger for truth remained unquenched he left him too and went to Uruvelā. Uruvelā has been identified with modern Bodh-Gaya which is situated about six miles south of present Gaya town. He met the five recluses—Vappa, Bhaddiya, Assaji, Mahānāma and Aññākoṇḍañña —there. They are known as the Pañcavaggiyas in the Buddhist literature. At Uruvelā he decided not to place himself under the guidance of any more teacher but to apply himself to the means of emancipation. With this decision in his mind he resorted to different kinds of rigorous ascetic practices for the attainment of his goal in life. He practised these austerities for long six years strenuously. While continuing his spiritual exercises he did not take any food and nourishment. His body became wasted away and it was reduced to a skeleton. And one day he fainted and fell down owing to lack of any nourishment. At this he thought that these rigorous ascetic practices were not the way to enlightenment. Thereafter he began to take solid food again. He then went round the adjoining villages for his alms-food. Finding Gautama taking food and leading an easy life, the five recluses who lived

close to him became highly disappointed and left him in disgust and departed for the deer park of Ṛṣipatana, near Benares to continue their ascetic practices. Gautama then found out the lovely woods and the beautiful river Nerañjarā with water overflowing the bank. He thought that it was a fit place for meditation and began to dwell there practising austere self discipline.

At that time there lived at Senānigrāma close to Uruvelā Sujātā, a daughter of a wealthy merchant named Senāni. She vowed to make an offering to a god of a banyan tree if she was married to a rich family and should have a son as her first issue. Her two wishes were fulfilled in due time. She prepared the milk-rice and wished to offer it to the god of the banyan tree. She sent her maid Puṇṇā to sweep the place under the holy tree. Finding Gautama sitting beneath the tree Puṇṇā thought that he was the god of the tree and ran back to her mistress and reported everything to her. At this Sujātā came and gave him the food in a golden bowl. Gautama blessed her and divided the food into forty-nine portions and ate them. It was the food that he took after a fast for forty-nine days. After taking the food, he threw the golden bowl into the river. He then proceeded towards the Bodhi tree and on the way he met a grass-cutter named Sotthiya (Svastika) who gave him eight handfuls of grass for his seat. Shortly after he sat down cross-legged under the Bodhi tree with the dogged determination—

> "Let my skin, my nerves and bones waste away,
> Let my life blood dry up,
> I will not leave this seat
> Before attaining perfect Enlightenment."[6]

At that time Māra, the god of evil came to Gautama with his army to frighten him and to abandon his resolute attempt to win enlightenment (bodhi). All the gods attending Gautama fled away

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[6] Ihāsane śuṣyatu me śarīram,
Tvagasthimāṁsam pralayañca yātu,
Aprāpyabodhiṃ bahukalpadurlabhām,
Naivāsanāt kāyamataścaliṣyate.—*Lalitavistara*, ch. v., p. 362.

in fear. But Gautama remained firm in his resolution. He was not at all moved, because of his perfection in the ten Pāramitās[7] (principal virtues) in the previous birth. Māra in rage caused a violent thunder-storm and hurled all missiles at him. But it was in vain. The missiles hurled at him turned into flowers. Having failed Māra was discomfited and his army fled in all directions. Thereupon all the celestial beings, Nāgas etc. came to Gautama and sang songs of victory. In the three watches of the night he attained three knowledges regarding his former existences (purvanivāsa), divine eye (divya cakṣu) and law of dependent origination (pratityasamutpāda). At dawn he attained the knowledge of omniscience. Gautama thus became a Buddha (an Enlightened One). Immediately after his enlightenment he uttered the following :

"Through worldly round of many births,
I ran my course, but did not find,
Seeking the builder of the house ;
Painful is birth again and again.
House-builder, I behold thee now,
Again a house thou shalt not build ;
All thy rafters are broken now,
The ridge-pole also is destroyed ;
My mind, its elements dissolved,
The end of cravings has attained."[8]

Immediately after the attainment of his omniscient knowledge Buddha deliberated whether men would understand the new

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[7]They are dāna (gift), sīla (code of morality), nekkhamma (renunciation), paññā (wisdom), viriya (exertion), khanti (forbearance), sacca (truth), adhiṭṭhāna (resolution), mettā (friendliness) and upekkhā (equanimity).

[8]Anekajātisaṃsāraṃ sandhāvissaṃ anibbisaṃ,
Gahakārakaṃ gavesanto dukkhā jāti punappunaṃ,
Gahakāraka ! diṭṭho' si, puna gehaṃ na kāhasi ;
sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā gahakūṭaṃ visaṅkhitaṃ,
visaṅkhāragataṃ cittaṃ taṇhānaṃ khayam ajjhagā.

Dhammapada, vs. 153, 154.

doctrine. Then at the request of Brahmā Sahampati he decided to impart his knowledge for the good and welfare of the world. Then he thought of going to his old teachers Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta but both of them died recently. Then he thought of the Pañcavaggiyas who were living in the deer park of Benares. He then started for Ṛṣipatana Mṛgadāva near Benares to preach the new doctrine to them.

CHAPTER III

MISSIONARY LIFE OF BUDDHA

As already observed, Buddha went forth into the homeless state at the age of twenty-nine and practised severe asceticism for six years and as a consequence he obtained supreme knowledge (Bodhi) and became known as Buddha. Soon after his enlightenment he decided to "set turning the wheel of the Doctrine". He started his missionary career with this purpose in view at the age of thirty-five and continued it for long forty-five years till his Mahāparinibbāna. His first ministry, commenced at Ṛṣipatana (Sarnath) with the conversion of a group of five monks (Pañcavaggiyas) who were his quondam associates. When they saw him coming from afar they decided not to pay any reverence to him. But they could not keep their resolve. They received him with due respect. He then delivered his first discourse to them. In the Buddhist literature this is known as the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta (Turning of the Wheel of Law). It explains the four Noble Truths (cattāri ariyasaccāni) which are Dukkha (suffering), samudaya (cause), nirodha (suppression) and nirodhagāminipaṭipadā (the path leading to the cessation of suffering) and the noble Eightfold Path (Ariyaṭṭhaṅgikamagga) consisting of sammā-vācā (right speech), sammā-kammanta (right action), sammā-ājīva (right livelihood), sammā-vāyāma (right exertion), sammā-sati (right mindfulness), sammā-samādhi (right concentration), sammā-saṃkappa (right intention) and sammā-diṭṭhi (right views). The noble eightfold path is also known as the Middle Way (Majjhimā paṭipadā) which avoids the two extremes, indulgence in sensual pleasures[1] and self-mortifications[2]. As a consequence thereof the five ascetics (Pañcavaggiyas)

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[1] Kāmasukhallikānuyogo.

[2] Attakilamathānuyogo.

were converted to the new faith. Thus was laid the foundation of the Buddhist Saṅgha.

There was at Benares a young man named Yasa, son of a very wealthy merchant. He had three palaces to live in—one for the cold weather, one for the hot weather and one for the rains. He was always surrounded by female musicians who used to sing songs to please him. There were others besides to look after his comfort. Thus he lived in great luxury. One night he woke up and saw the singing girls in loathsome postures. Being highly disgusted he left home that night and went to Buddha who was staying on the bank of the river Varuṇā with his new recruits. Buddha delivered a discourse to him on the merits of giving alms, observance of moral precepts, means of attaining heavenly lives and evils of earthly lives. The discourse had the desired effect. Yasa accepted Buddha's views and became a monk. Then his parents and former wives having heard Buddha's discourses became his lay-devotees. Shortly after his fifty-four friends who heard that Yasa having cut off his hair and beard and having put on yellow robes had become a monk and a disciple of Buddha likewise embraced the new faith and became monks. There were then sixty monks who were free from all types of worldly bondage and attained complete emancipation. Buddha wanted to propagate his doctrine far and wide with the co-operation of this band of self-less workers. From the *Mahāvagga*[3] we learn that he sent them out in different directions to preach his teaching with the words :—"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 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"[4]. Buddha

[3]P. T S. ed p. 21.

[4]Caratha Bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ. Mā ekena dve agamittha. Desetha Bhikkhave dhammaṃ ādikalyāṇaṃ

did not remain content with this. He himself also left for Uruvelā to propagate his new doctrine. On the way he met a party of thirty young men of respectable families (Bhaddavaggiyas) who were amusing themselves in a group. One of them had no wife and had brought a woman of low standing for him. While enjoying themselves she took their clothes and valuable things and fled away. While searching for this woman they met Buddha and enquired of him whether or not he had seen any woman passing that way. Buddha replied them that it was better to seek their own self and not the woman. This had a salutary effect on them and Buddha gave a discourse on the fruits of gifts moral habits, and the like. He told them further that "what is of the nature to uprise, all that is of the nature to stop"[5]. As a consequence of this discourse all of them became monks.

In course of his travelling Buddha eventually reached Uruvelā where dwelt at that time three ascetics with matted hairs—Uruvela-Kassapa, Nadī-Kassapa and Gayā-Kassapa. Uruvela-Kassapa the eldest brother had five hundred disciples, Nadī-Kassapa the second brother had three hundred and Gayā-Kassapa the youngest one had two hundred. They worshipped fire and believed that the destruction of mental defilements such as greed, hatred, delusion etc. can lead to the attainment of perfect knowledge. They also believed that by performing abolution in the river and roasting before a fire mental impurities could be removed. Through his various magical powers Buddha overcame them. He converted these three fire-worshipping Jaṭila brothers by preaching to them the famous sermon known as the "Fire Sermon" (Ādittapariyāya-sutta) which explains that the real fire consists of rāga (attachment), dosa (hatred) and moha (delusion) which arise from sense-objects, sense-contacts and the like. The Buddha then proceeded thence to Rājagaha along with his large number of followers to redeem the

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majjhekalyāṇaṃ pariyosānakalyāṇaṃ satthaṃ sabyañjanaṃ kevala-paripuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti.

[5]*The Book of the Discipline*, vol. IV, by I. B, Horner, p, 32.

promise he had made to the king Bimbisāra. Having heard of his arrival the king accompanied by his ministry, courtiers and citizens came to visit him. Buddha delivered to them a discourse on the non-existence of the soul and the impermanence of the worldly things and the like. In short, he explained to them the fundamentals of Buddhism. At this Bimbisāra with a large number of people became Buddha's lay disciples. "Thenceforth throughout his long life he became one of the truest friends and patrons of Buddha and his doctrine".[6] Being filled with joy, the king presented his bamboo grove, Veḷuvana, to him for residence of monks. This was the first grove accepted by Buddha for the abode of monks and he allowed the monks henceforth to accept groves for this purpose. Buddha resided for sometime in the grove and concentrated more on the missionary work.

At that time there lived at Rājagaha an ascetic (Paribbājaka) named Sañjaya who had two hundred and fifty disciples, among whom were Sāriputta and Moggallāna. These two young men were sons of a Brahmin family and were close friends. They promised to each other that he who would first obtain the immortal should tell the other. One morning Sāriputta saw the venerable Assaji, a disciple of Buddha, on his begging round at Rājagaha. Being highly impressed with his perfect deportment Sāriputta approached him and asked of his teacher's doctrine. Then the venerable Assaji told him that his teacher was a great recluse of the Śākya family, and uttered the following verse :—

"Those things which proceed from a cause,
Of these the Truthfinder has told the cause.
And that which is their stopping—
The great recluse has such a doctrine."[7]

On hearing the essence of Buddha's teachings from Assaji Sāriputta became immensely glad and went to his friend Moggallāna

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[6] H. Oldenberg, *Buddha : His life, his Doctrine, his Order*, Calcutta, 1927, p. 133.

[7] *Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṃ hetuṃ Tathāgato āha,*
Tesaṃ ca yo nirodho evaṃvādī Mahāsamaṇo.—Mahāvagga, p. 40.

and told him what he heard from Assaji. Both of them then decided to join the Buddhist Saṅgha. They then approached Sañjaya and told him that they would embrace Buddha's doctrine. Sañjaya's other two hundred and fifty disciples also wanted to go with Sāriputta and Moggallāna to join the Buddhist Saṅgha. Along with Sañjaya's two hundred and fifty disciples they approached Buddha who was staying then at Veḷuvana and became his disciples. At this, hot blood came from the mouth of Sañjaya and he died. Sāriputta and Moggallāna became later on the chief disciples of Buddha. "Their earthly remains are still preserved and worshipped in sacred places."[8]

Rājagaha was at that time a great resort of a numerous religious teachers and Paribbājakas (wandering teachers). Buddha utilised the opportunity of meeting them and entering into discussion with them. On several occasions he succeeded in converting them to his own views. He also secured a few householders as his lay devotees (upāsakas). Shortly after the conversion of Sāriputta, Moggallāna and others Buddha while staying at Bahuputtaka cetiya, between Rājagaha and Nālandā, a very wealthy householder called Kassapa of Rājagaha came to him to have his doubts regarding the identity and non-identity of soul and the body removed. Buddha removed his doubts by giving a discourse on the observance of disciplinary rules, control of self-organs and sense perceptions etc. Being highly impressed with his discourse Kassapa became his disciple. He was subsequently known as Mahākassapa who was the foremost in ascetic practices (dhutaṅgas). Buddha loved him so much that one day he exchanged his coarse robe with Mahākassapa's soft robe.

King Śuddhodana having heard that Buddha was staying at Rājagaha sent one of his courtiers along with a large following to bring Buddha to Kapilavatthu. The courtier and his followers reached the bamboo grove at Rājagaha when Buddha was giving his discourse to the disciples. They highly appreciated his discourse and became his disciples. Being thus averse to worldly

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[8] *2500 years of Buddhism*, ed. Prof. P. V. Bapat, p.26.

matters they failed to communicate the wishes of the king to Buddha. Śuddhodana sent other envoys several times but the same thing occurred every time. At last he sent Kāludāyī who was the son of the chief priest and was born on the same day as Gautama to invite Buddha to pay a visit to his parental home, Kapilavatthu. Buddha accepted the invitation. Accompanied by a large number of monks, he came to Kapilavatthu and stopped at the Nigrodha grove, close to the city. In their pride the Śākyas were at first unwilling to receive him with marks of reverence. But Buddha won them over by the exhibition of his miracles. As a consequence the king paid homage to Buddha along with other Śākyas. On the following day Buddha entered the city for alms along with the monks. Yaśodharā, the mother of Rāhula, saw him from the palace and became highly aggrieved. She requested the king to persuade his son from begging his food from door to door. The king accordingly met Buddha and tried to dissuade him from begging which was not befitting the son of a king. Buddha replied them that begging was worthy of the lineage of Buddhas who were in the habit of living on alms. Buddha then gave a discourse which convinced the king of the excellence of his teaching. As a result king Śuddhodana became a lay devotee of Buddha. He then received Buddha's bowl and led him with his disciples to the palace, where they took a savoury meal. Soon after all the members of his family came and paid their homage to him. But Yaśodharā, the mother of Rāhula, who was also leading an austere life since her husband left home, did not come out of her apartment to see Buddha. The king sent for her but she politely refused saying 'if I have any excellence, my master will come himself to my presence, and when he comes, I will reverence him.' Accompanied by two chief disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, Buddha went to her. No sooner had she seen him than she threw herself at his feet and wept bitterly. Buddha spoke kindly to Yaśodharā recounting her good conduct in one of her past existences. Shortly after Yaśodharā asked her son Rāhula to demand his heritage. Rāhula accordingly went up to his father and asked for the same. Buddha wishing to give Rāhula the inheritance of holy life, a treasure that never

perishes, ordered Sāriputta to confer the Sāmaṇera-Pabbajjā (novice-initiation) on the boy which made him a probationer for monkhood. It became now easy for Buddha to carry on his missionary work at Kapilavatthu. The king's homage to his son as also his kinship with the Śākyas made it possible for Buddha to convert people to his new faith. Following the example of Rāhula many other Śākyan youths of distinguished families joined the Saṅgha. Prominent among them were Ānanda, Anuruddha, Upāli, Bhaddiya, Bhagu, Nanda and Devadatta. Upāli, a barber, was admitted first into the Saṅgha in order to humble the Śākyas of their noble descent. Devadatta both cousin and brother-in-law of Buddha brought out a schism in the Saṅgha and founded a rival school. He attempted several times on the life of the teacher but failed in his nefarious designs. He is known more for his constructive opposition to Buddhism than for his support to it. A few Śākyan ladies also joined the Order of the nun, the Bhikkhuṇī Saṅgha founded through the intercession of Ānanda with Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, the step-mother of Buddha, at the head, with the imposition of the eight important rules (garudhammā)[9] on the nuns.

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[9]They are :—

i. "A nun even of a hundred years' standing shall (first) salute a monk and rise up before him, even if he is only just ordained.

ii. "A nun shall not spend Retreat in a place where there is no monk.

iii. "Twice a month a nun shall ask from the Order of monks the time of Uposatha (fortnightly meeting), and the time when a monk will come to give admonition.

iv. "After Retreat the final ceremony (Pavāraṇā) is to be held by the nuns both in the assembly of the monks and of the nuns.

v. "Certain offences are to be dealt with by both assemblies.

vi. "A novice who has been trained in the six rules for two years is to ask for the ordination from both assemblies.

vii. "A nun is not to rebuke or abuse a monk on any pretext.

viii. "From this day forth utterance (i.e. official statement) of nuns to monks is forbidden, of monks to nuns it is not forbidden."

Buddha moved on to Sāvatthī (Sahet Mahet), the capital of Kosala, which is reckoned as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas (Great countries). It was ruled by Pasenadi (Prasenajit). It was at Sāvatthī where the teacher spent a great part of his missionary life. Here were given a large number of discourses as also were framed most of the rules of the *Pātimokkha* which forms the nucleus of the Vinaya Piṭaka and was recited at every Uposatha ceremony later on for the guidance as also for the well-being of the members of the Saṅgha (Order). Here were also worked out the details of the Pabbajjā, Upasampadā, Pavāraṇā and Kaṭhina ceremonies. In the history of the propagation and expansion of the religion Kosala occupies a place next in importance to Magadha. Sudatta, known as Anāthapiṇḍika or Anāthapiṇḍada, 'giver of alms to the unprotected', was a wealthy merchant of Sāvatthī. Once he came to Rājagaha on some business and heard from his friend in whose house he was staying that Buddha was living there with his disciples. He then visited Buddha and requested him to pay a visit to Sāvatthī with his followers. Buddha accepted his invitation and came over to Sāvatthī thus at his request with his followers. Anāthapiṇḍika purchased from prince Jeta a large garden with as many gold as would cover the entire ground. He erected a monastery there and presented it to Buddha for the residence of the monks. It is known as the famous Jetavana vihāra (monastery) which became the favourite place of Buddha who used to stay there with his disciples. It was through the influence and munificence of Anāthapiṇḍika that Buddhism could make a great headway in Kosala. Next to Anāthapiṇḍika in munificence was Viśākhā, who was the wife of Puṇṇavaḍḍhana, son of Migāra, a wealthy merchant who was a follower of the naked ascetics (Jains). It was through Viśākhā, his daughter-in-law, Migāra became a disciple of Buddha. She was henceforth designated as 'Migāra's mother'. Viśākhā built the Pubbārāma vihāra (eastern monastery) for the residence of the monks. It was also called 'Migāramātu pāsāda'. It was of course inferior in splendour to the Jetavana vihāra, built by Anāthapiṇḍika. It was here also Buddha used to

spend his Vassavāsa (rain retreat) with his disciples. King Pasenadi having heard that Buddha was living in the Jetavana monastery with his monks came to the monastery to pay his respectful homage to him. He felt great joy and considered that it was good fortune that such a great teacher had come to this city. Buddha examined the king's mental leanings and gave a discourse on the merits and demerits of good and evil deeds. Although the king had regard for Brahmanic and other teachers he became a lay devotee of Buddha through the influence of his queen Mallikā and his two sisters, Somā and Sakulā, who had already become lay devotees of Buddha. We also know that '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.' In order to convince the people of his superiority over other teachers, Buddha had to resort to his miraculous powers, viz., growing a mango tree in a few minutes, walking in the air etc. The result had been the conversion of new householders to Buddha's new faith. Notable among them were Gaṇaka Moggallāna, Pañcakaṅga, Isidatta, Purāṇa, Rohaṇa and others. There were also some rich and influential Brahmins who took to the new faith. Mention may be made of Jāṇussoṇī, Aggika Bhāradvāja, Dhanañjāni, Pokkharasādi, Lohicca and Caṅki. An important event took place during Buddha's residence at Sāvatthī. Aṅgulimāla was a notorious robber. He was so ferocious that even the king could not subdue him. He was a terror to the country. But Buddha converted him to his religion by his miraculous power. He became a monk and reached Arhathood. From the *Majjhima Nikāya*[10] we learn that this conversion had a great effect upon the minds of the people of Kośala and greatly helped the spread of Buddhism there. It is further interesting to note that a young lady called Kisā Gotamī whose only son died when he was able to walk about came to Buddha with her dead son on her lap and requested him for medicine so that the boy would regain his life. Buddha asked

[10]Vol. II, p. 23.

her to get a mustard seed from a house where none had died. She went out in search of it but returned without finding a single house where none had died. Buddha gave a discourse on the inevitableness of death. As a consequence she became a nun and joined the Saṅgha.

Once there arose a great famine and pestilence in Vesālī (Vaiśālī), the capital of Licchavis. The inhabitants of the place approached all the heretical teachers to remove their sufferings. But they failed. They then approached Buddha for relief. He at once came to Vesālī with his followers to give them relief. As soon as he entered the city the famine and pestilence ceased. All the people of Vesālī became happy and relieved. Mahāli, Mahānāma, Uggagahapati, Nandaka, the minister, Piṅgiyāni, a Brahmin and a few others were converted to Buddha's new faith. Buddha spoke highly of the Licchavis (a part of the Vajjian confederacy) and referred to their seven conditions of national welfare (satta aparihāniya-dhammā)[11], which indeed 'involve the cardinal principles which are essential to the cause of peace and co-existence even in the present day polity of nations.' He told his disciples further that 'whoever, my disciples, among you hath not seen the divine

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[11](i) They held frequent public meetings of their tribe which they all attended.

(ii) They met together to make their decisions and carried out their undertakings in concord.

(iii) They upheld tradition and honoured their pledges.

(iv) They respected and supported their elders.

(v) No women or girls were allowed to be taken by force or abduction.

(vi) They maintained and paid due respect to their places of worship.

(vii) They supported and fully protected the holy men (arhants) among them.—*Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 73 ff ; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, IV, 15 ff.

host of the thirty-three gods, let him gaze on the host of the Licchavis, let him behold the host of the Licchavis, let him view the host of the Licchavis.'

There was at Vesālī a famous courtesan named Ambapālī. She invited Buddha to take his meals along with his disciples in her house. Buddha accordingly came to her house with his disciples. When the meal was over Buddha gave her a discourse. As a result Ambapālī became a lay devotee of Buddha and made a gift of Ambavana (Mango Grove) to the Saṅgha. A few Vinaya rules were also framed here for the welfare of the monks. It is striking to note that an event of outstanding importance occurred at Vesālī in the history of Buddhism. As already observed, Buddha consented to the formation of the Order of nuns (Bhikkhuṇī Saṅgha) which was unique of its kind and marked the beginning of the Order of nuns in India. Women had no right to spiritual perfection through the renunciation of the world until then.

While Buddha was staying in the Kuṭāgārārāma in Vesālī, there arose a dispute over a trifling matter between the two neighbouring tribes—the Śākyas and the Koliyas. The Śākyas lived at Kapilavatthu while the Koliyas at Devadaha at the foot of the Himalayas, close to the settlement of the Śākyas. The territories of the Śākyas and the Koliyas were separated by the river Rohinī which used to irrigate the fields of her both sides. But owing to unusual drought it failed to supply water properly. A quarrel thus arose between the two tribes over the right to take water from the river for irrigation. The quarrel would have turned into a bloody feud, had not Buddha come to the place where the armies of the two clans were ready to fight. Through Buddha's intervention they laid down their arms and the feud was thus averted. On this occasion Buddha gave a discourse pointing out that unity was the root cause of the strength and prosperity of the nation. It had a great effect and many of the members of both the clans became his disciples. Prominent among them were the two Brahmanic ascetics Puṇṇa-govatika and Seniya-Kukkura-

vatika, Kukudha Koliyaputta, Suppavāsā Koliyadhītā and others.[12]

There lived at Campā, the capital of Aṅga, Soṇa Kolivisa, a son of the wealthy merchant, named Kusava Seṭṭhi. Having heard the name of Buddha he came to him to hear his noble teaching. Buddha gave him a discourse dealing with the essentials of his doctrine. He was moved so much by his teaching that he retired from this world and became a monk. Soṇa Kolivisa was the only distinguished monk of Campā known to us. It was because of Soṇa Kolivisa's delicate feet Buddha had permitted the monks to use shoes[13].

While at Kosambi, the capital of king Udena, Buddha heard that a quarrel was going on among the Vinayadharas (Masters of Discipline) and Dhammakathikas (Preachers of Doctrine) on minor matters of discipline. Some of the monks (bhikkhus) defended the guilty monks while others deprecated them, and the quarrel became so violent that even the intervention of Buddha failed to allay the dispute. Buddha in this connection told a nice story of Dīghāvu, the son of Dīghīti, king of Kośala[14], but was unable to reconcile the monks. Thinking that his good advices were in vain, out of disgust he retired to a forest called Pārileyyaka where he was attended by an elephant and a monkey. Subsequently the monks became repentant and approached Buddha to ask pardon. Buddha then delivered a discourse on the evils of discord. King Udena was not at first in favour of this new religion. His queen Sāmāvatī was the daughter of Ghosaka. Both of them were great devotees of Buddha. It was through Sāmāvatī's efforts that the king became a lay devotee of Buddha. Khujjuttarā, the female attendant of queen Sāmāvatī became also a lay devotee

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[12] *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. I, p. 387 ; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, vol. III, p. 122 ; *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. I, p. 26 and vol. II, p. 62.

[13] *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 135.

[14] *Mahāvagga*. X, 2 ; *Jātaka*, III, pp. 212, 489 ; *Dhammapada*, pp. 104 ff.

of Buddha. She is highly praised as one of the female lay devotees of Buddha in the Nikāyas. Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja who was the son of the royal chaplain was also converted to Buddhism. Subsequently he distinguished himself as a prominent monk of the locality. He converted king Udena to Buddhism. The king made generous gifts to the Saṅgha later on.

Avantī, the capital of Ujjenī, was one of the important places in the west where Buddhism attained prominence during the lifetime of Buddha. Mahākaccāyana who was the son of the royal priest of king Caṇḍa Pajjota came to Benares to pay a visit to Buddha with his companion[15]. After listening to Buddha's teaching he became a monk along with his companion. He invited Buddha to visit Avantī. But the teacher refused to go to Avantī saying that Mahākaccāyana would be able to propagate his noble teaching there. Then they all came back to their native place and established monasteries there at Kuraraghara, Papātapabbata and Makkarakaṭa. Soṇakuṭikaṇṇa was the son of a very wealthy householder named Valasena there. Shortly after the death of his parents he gave away all his riches to the poor and expressed his intention to join the Saṅgha (Order). Having renounced the world he approached the venerable Mahākaccāyana and asked for his Pabbajjā (initiation). The venerable Mahākaccāyana conferred the same on him. Although he wished to confer Upasampadā (ordination) on him immediately but had to delay it because it was often difficult to get together the necessary number of monks for the purpose there. This was because there were but few monks in Avantī as also in the border country. So Soṇa had to wait till the number was complete. Shortly after his Upasampadā (ordination) Soṇa expressed his desire to the venerable Mahākaccāyana to visit Buddha. But the venerable Mahākaccāyana

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[15] *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 30 : III, p, 382 ; *Romantic history of Buddha* (translated from the Chinese Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra) by S. Beal, p. 276 ; *Sutta Nipāta* (P. T. S.) Nālaka Sūtta, vs. 696 ff.

agreed to it saying that he should seek permission of Buddha for the following five practices :—

(i) To perform Upasampadā by a chapter of five monks only in frontier districts as there were but few monks.

(ii) To use foot-wears in countries like Avanti and others, the soils of which were full of gravels.

(iii) To bathe constantly as people of Avanti and Southern country attached great importance to bathing.

(iv) To use different kinds of rugs.

(v) To keep an extra robe even after the lapse of ten days[16].

To each of these practices Soṇa obtained Buddha's permission and since then these privileges were enjoyed by the monks of the frontier districts. Certain rigid Vinaya rules were thus changed and a few special privileges granted to the monks of Avanti and other border countries to suit their convenience. A few other notable persons were converted to new faith. Of them, prominent were Puṇṇa, Isidatta of Velugāma, Kaṇḍarāyana and Lohicca Brāhmaṇas[17]. King Caṇḍa Pajjota was also converted to Buddhism by Mahākaccāyana who could clearly explain Buddha's terse and enigmatic sayings. People used to approach him to get their doubts removed in regard to Buddha's utterances. As a consequence many of them became converts to the new religion. They indeed helped much in the propagation of Buddhism. It was largely to Mahākaccāyana's efforts that Ujjenī became an important centre of Buddhism. It attained importance a century after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha and played an important role in the later history of Buddhism. It 'was greatly enlarged by Asoka and his queen, the mother of Mahinda and Saṁghamittā'.

Buddhism also made its headway among the republican tribes of the Mallas. A large number of Mallas were converted to

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[16] *Mahāvagga*, pp. 197-198.

[17] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, p. 68 ; *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, IV, pp. 117, 288.

Buddhism. Malla Roja was not at first very friendly to Buddhism. The assembly of the Mallas of Kusinārā issued an order that any one not paying reverence to Buddha would have to pay a penalty of 500 kahāpaṇas. At this Malla Roja came to Buddha to pay his respectful homage to him. After listening to Buddha's discourse he was very much impressed by his teaching and became a great devotee of Buddha. Among the Mallas two have become immortalised in the Buddhist literature—one of them was Dabba Mallaputta, who used to distribute food and allot accommodation to the monks and the other was Cunda Kammāraputta who served his last meal to Buddha[18]. Buddha even himself selected Kusinārā as his place of Mahāparinibbāna. He told Ānanda that in ancient times Kusinārā was the capital of the sovereign king Mahāsudassana.

Years thus rolled on. Buddha used to move about with his disciples to propagate his teaching and organise the monastic Order. The number of lay devotees and monks (bhikkhus) began to swell more and more. The number of nuns (bhikkhuṇīs) also increased. Kings, ministers, merchants, wealthy householders, paribbājakas (wandering teachers) also joined the Saṅgha in large numbers. In course of time Pukkusāti, the king of Takṣaśīlā (Takkasilā), the capital of Gandhāra, Kūṭadanta, the brahmin priest, Sonadaṇḍa, a brahmin well-versed in Brahmanical lores, Nigrodha, the paribbājaka (the wandering teacher) and many others became also converted to the new faith. Thus thousands of people belonging both to upper and lower classes of the society became disciples of Buddha. It may be noted in passing that Prof. Keith holds that the great success of Buddhism was due to the personality of Buddha and not so much to the excellences of the religion. He writes that "the founder of Buddhism must rank as one of the most commanding personalities ever produced by the eastern world[19]".

After propagating his noble teachings for the long forty-five

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[18] *Mahāvagga*, pp. 247-248.

[19] Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 147.

years, Buddha attained his Mahāparinibbāna between two Sāla trees in a Sāla grove adjoining Kusinārā at the age of eighty. His last sermon to the bhikkhus who were present there to have a last glance of the Great Teacher was: vayadhammā saṃkhārā, appamādena sampādetha—"subject to decay are compound things, strive with earnestness". It epitomises the whole teaching of Buddhism. His bodily remains were cremated with great grandeur and solemnity. His relics were divided into eight portions and distributed among the eight clans, viz., the Śākyas, the Mallas, the Licchavis etc., and eight stūpas were erected over the relics in different parts of India. His Mahāparinibbāna occurred in the full moon day of Vesākha as did his birth and enlightenment.

From the above it appears that Buddhism during Buddha's life-time was not confined to the limits of Majjhimadesa[20]. It travelled outside its boundary. It had thus a rapid progress. Towards the east it had spread to Kajaṅgala[21], to the west to Verañjā close to Madhurā (Mathurā) and to the north to the land of Kurus[22]. Dr. N. Dutt also pointed out that 'during the life-time of the Master, the religion spread all over the central

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[20]The boundaries of Majjhimadesa are:—To the East is the town Kajaṅgala, and beyond it Mahāsāla. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the South-east is the river Salalavatī. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the South is the town Setakaṇṇika. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the West is the Brāhmaṇa district of Thūna. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the North is the mountain range called Usīradhaja. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country.—*S. B. E.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 38, 39.

[21]It has been identified by Cunningham with the modern town of Kankajol, eighteen miles south of Rajmahal,

[22]See infra.

belt of India from Kajaṅgala and Campā on the east to Verañjā and Avantī on the west, and from Rājagaha and Vārāṇasī to Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī and Sāketa on the north, as also to the various tribes inhabiting the Himālayan foothills'[23].

[23] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's History and Culture of the Indian People, vol. II, Bombay, 1960, p. 370.

CHAPTER IV

PATRONAGE TO BUDDHISM

Contemporary kings, nobles and clans.

There is no denying the fact that no religion can flourish without the patronage of the rulers, nobles and clans of the time. Dr. N. Dutt writes that 'Christianity would not have been what it is now without the intervention of emperors like Constantine[1]'. Here is given a brief account of kings whose support Buddha enlisted to achieve success :—

(I) Bimbisāra —He was the king of Magadha. He was anointed king by his father at the age of fifteen only[2]. He was also called Seṇiya Bimbisāra. In the second year after his enlightenment Buddha visited Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha. The king received him with due courtesy and expressed his desire to hear his noble teaching. Buddha gave a discourse to him dealing mainly with efficacies of dāna (charity), sīla (morality) and the like. He also explained to him the four noble truths and the eightfold noble path. At this the king embraced the doctrine of Buddha. He also advised his subjects to listen to Buddha's noble teachings. A mandate was issued by him that no one must do any kind of injury to his followers. It was at the instance of king Bimbisāra that Buddha framed a few rules for the welfare of the Saṅgha. The Uposatha ceremony[3], for instance, in which the 227

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[1] *Early Monastic Buddhism*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1941, p. 109.

[2] *Mahāvaṃsa* (Geiger's trans.),p. 12.

[3] The word 'Uposatha' corresponding to Sanskrit Upavasatha, lit. means 'fasting'. But it is usually taken to mean a ceremony in which the religious discourses are held on certain days of a month for the well-being of the members of the community. Such practice was in vogue among other sects of ascetics even before Buddha. It is usually held twice every month on the new moon and full moon days. On these

Pātimokkha rules were recited was introduced into the Saṅgha at his request. Bimbisāra out of his great regard for Buddha allowed his renowned physician Jīvaka who had his medical training from Atreya, the famous teacher of medical science at Takkasilā to work as medical adviser for Buddha and his Saṅgha. Monks were given immunities in his domain. Not only Buddhist monks but also all recluses were further granted remission in their ferry charges. It was thus for king Bimbisāra that Buddhism made a fair progress in Magadha.

(II) Ajātasattu – He was the son of king Bimbisāra of Magadha and a junior contemporary of Buddha. He murdered his father king Bimbisāra at the instigation of Devadatta who was an opponent of Buddha. After murdering his father he ascended the throne of Magadha in the 72nd year of Buddha's life. He was at first inimical to Buddha and his new religion. This was mainly due to Buddha's cousin and brother-in-law Devadatta who entered the Saṅgha in the beginning of Buddha's missionary work. But he bore enmity and was jealous of Buddha. He started a rival school and won over Ajātasattu who built a monastery for him at Gayāsīsa[4]. Ajātasattu realised his misdeeds and felt remorse. He subsequently changed his mind at the advice of his medical adviser, Jīvaka, who used to speak to him about Buddha's greatness and his noble teachings. In the Sāmaññaphala-sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*[5] are given a graphic account of the meeting of the king with Buddha brought about by Jīvaka and the discourse Buddha had with the king. Buddha gave him a discourse on the merits of asceticism, at the end of which the king became a great devotee of Buddha. This happened just a year before the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha, i e., the 79th year of his life. Ajātasattu obtained a share of Buddha's relics and

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days monks are to assemble at a select place to recite the *Pātimokkhasutta* containing rules of the conduct. They are also to confess their offences committed, if any, during the preceding fortnight and obtain moral purity thereby.

[4] *Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 67, 319.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 49-86.

enshrined them inside a Thūpa erected at Rājagaha[6]. The *Mahāvaṃsa* records that Ajātasattu constructed Dhātucetiyas (shrines over the relics) all round Rājagaha. He also repaired 18 mahāvihāras (great monasteries) deserted by the Buddhists after Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna at Rājagaha. In the history of Buddhism he is well-known for his patronage to the First Buddhist Council which was held immediately after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha in the Sattapaṇṇi cave at Rājagaha.

From the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta[7] we learn that after Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna, a monk named Subhadda, who was the Teacher's last convert felt happy at the demise of the Master. He thought that there would be none to rebuke the monks for non-observance of the Vinaya rules thenceforth. They would be able to do what they would like. In order to avoid the dangerous effect of his disparaging utterances the monks convened a Council immediately after Buddha's demise to settle Subhadda's points of dispute. Rājagaha which was the capital of king Ajātasattu was selected for the purpose. King Ajātasattu who was a great devotee of Buddha erected a pandal outside of the Sattapaṇṇi cave and made ample provisions for accommodation and food. Mahākassapa who presided over the Council selected for hundred Arhats to participate in it. Upāli and Ānanda also played an important role in it. Upāli recited the Vinaya rules and Ānanda the Suttas. Thus the Vinaya and the Sutta texts were arranged and settled in the Council. In other words, Dhamma (Doctrine), the subject-matter of the Suttas and Vinaya (Discipline) were the two main divisions which were collected in this Council. But the Abhidhamma Piṭaka was not the subject of discussion in this Council. This Council which was attended by five hundred monks

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[6] Hiuen Tsang witnessed a stūpa built by Ajātasattu to the east of Veḷuvana. But according to the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, it was within the Veḷuvana. The stūpa has been identified with the remains of a stone stūpa in a mound to the left of the modern road.—Benayendra Nath Chaudhury, *Buddhist Centres in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1969, p. 102.

[7] *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. II, p.

is known as Pañcasatikā Vinaya-Saṃgīti. It is striking to note here that a Council which was held more than two thousand years ago and attended by five hundred Arhats conducted its business on highly democratic principles which were adopted subsequently in all transactions of the Saṅgha. This Council is also important in the Buddhist literature as it first settled the texts of the Buddhist Canon.

(III) Pasenadi—He was the king of Kośala. He was of the same age with Buddha and used to take pride in the fact that he belonged to the same caste with Buddha. From the *Majjhima Nikāya*[8] we also learn that Pasenadi used to give expression to his feelings that Bhagavā pi Kosalako ahaṃ pi Kosalako—'Our Lord also belongs to Kosala so do I also'. After his conversion to Buddhism, he became a great benefactor of the Saṅgha and was sympathetic towards the cause of Buddhism. The Buddhist texts are replete with references to the conversations between Buddha and Pasenadi on secular and religious matters. He had also great admiration for the Śākya clan as Buddha belonged to that clan. He also married a daughter of a Śākya chief. He built a monastery called Rājakārāma which was situated on the south-east of Sāvatthī for residence of Buddha's disciples. But Pasenadi had to allot it specially for the Bhikkhuṇīs (nuns) at the request of Buddha. Pasenadi's own sister Sumanā who became a nun also lived there. The *Majjhima Nikāya*[9] tells us that king Pasenadi declared great regard for Buddha and the Saṅgha towards the latter part of his life. He ranks next to king Bimbisāra in his support to Buddhism.

(IV) Pajjota—He was because of his cruelty also known as Caṇḍa Pajjota in the Buddhist texts[10]. He had his capital at Ujjenī. He was further a contemporary of Buddha. As already observed, he was converted to Buddhism by the eminent monk, Mahākaccāyana, who used to reside at the royal park there. Through his missionary activity Mahākaccāyana succeeded greatly

[8] Vol. II, p. 125.

[9] Vol. II, p. 120.

[10] *Vinaya*, I, p. 276.

in converting many to the new faith. From the Pāli texts it is learnt that several leading monks and nuns were either born or resided there[11]. Prominent among them were—Abhayakumāra, Isidatta, Isidāsī, Dhammapāla and Soṇakuṭikaṇṇa. The *Theragāthā-Aṭṭhakathā* records that the king used to seek Mahākaccāyana's advice on various occasions[12]. He made generous gifts to the Saṅgha. Thus Avantī became a great centre of Buddhism.

(V) Udena—He was the king of Kosambī. We have seen before that king Udena did not look upon Buddha with favour at first. But after his conversion to Buddhism he became a strong follower of Buddha. In the *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā is* given a detailed account of his conversion to Buddhism. He used to feed monks daily in his palace and was very generous to the Saṅgha. Kosambī occupied an important position next to Rājagaha and Sāvatthī in the history of Buddhism. Monasteries were erected by the eminent citizens of Kosambī during the life-time of Buddha. While visiting Kosambī Buddha used to reside in any of them, particularly the Ghositārāma and delivered his discourses to the people there.

In the Buddhist texts are found scanty references to king Pajjota of Avantī and king Udena of Kosambī. Their services to the cause of the new religion were no doubt significant like those of other kings mentioned above. Their adoption to new faith facilitated greatly its propagation

Let us now turn to the nobility of the time whose support Buddha enlisted for the cause of Buddhism. The nobles used to make generous gifts to the Saṅgha for the maintenance of the monks and look after their welfare. Through their efforts many people also became converts to Buddhism. They indeed contributed much to the spread and popularity of Buddhism. Among

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[11] *Theragāthā commentary*, 39 ; *Therīgāthā commentary*, 261-264 ; *Theragāthā*, 120 ; *Udāna*, V. 6 ; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, III, 9 ; IV, 117 ; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, 23 ; V, 46 ; *Majjhima Nikāya*, III, 194, 223 ; *Vinaya Texts*, pt. II, p. 32 ; *Theragāthā*, 369.

[12] Vol. I, p. 483.

them may be mentioned Anāthapiṇḍika, Visākhā, Sīha, Abhayakumāra, Jīvaka, Ambapālī, Nandaka, Sīvalī, Aggidatta, Sakuludāyī, Māgha, Māluṅkyaputta, Puṇṇa, Bhadda, Bhagu, Mahānāma, Saccaka, Santati and the like. We have abundant testimonies to the effective part played by them for the propagation of Buddhism.

Here are a few clans which provided a fertile ground for the growth of Buddhism by their support to it :—

(I) The Śākyas—They were the kinsmen of Buddha. They acquired great importance in Indian history owing to Buddha having been born among them. They were the followers of the Brahmanic religion and were not in favour of the new faith. After his enlightenment when Buddha visited his native place Kapilavatthu first the Śākyas refused to honour him along with his disciples because of their great pride. They also refused to give alms to his disciples when they were on their begging round the following day in the city. Buddha was further refused accommodation along with his disciples at night there and he had to stay with them at last in the hermitage of the recluse Bharaṇḍukālāma who was once his co-disciple. From this it is evident how the Śākyas were hostile to his new religion. He had to take great trouble in converting them to his new faith. Buddha had to perform a miracle and related the story of the Vessantara Jātaka which records Buddha's dāna-pāramitā (perfection in alms-giving) in his previous birth as a Bodhisattva, to subdue their pride and to convert them to his new religion. To express their gratitude many young Śākyas entered the Saṅgha. Among them prominent were Anuruddha, Ānanda, Bhaddiya, Kimbila, Bhagu, Devadatta and Upāli. Some of them became later on chief disciples of Buddha. Many Śākya ladies also joined the Bhikkhuṇī Saṇgha (Order of nuns) which was created at the request of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī. In the *Therīgāthā* we find poems and songs composed by some of them. Among those ladies mention may be made of Tissā, Abhirūpā Nandā, Mettā etc. The *Mahāvagga*[13] records that a desiring entrant is allowed to join the Saṅgha after he has

[13] *Vin.* I, pp. 69-71.

passed through the Parivāsa (probationary period) for four months. During this period he is kept under the supervision of a competent monk. But the Śākyas were allowed to join the Saṅgha directly without any such Parivāsa (probationary period) because of their close kinship with Buddha.[14]

(II) The Licchavis—They were of Brahmanic persuation. Vesālī, the capital of the Licchavis was associated with the life of Buddha in various ways. Buddha visited this city several times and used to stay in the Kuṭāgārasālā (a big hall in the Mahāvana). It is said that during Buddha's stay in the Kuṭāgārasālā he related several Jātakas, viz., the Sigāla[15], the Telovāda[16], the Bāhiya[17], and the Ekapaṇṇa[18]. Vesālī was a great centre of Jainism at that time. Niganṭha Nāṭaputta, the reformer of Jainism had a wide influence over the Licchavis. Buddha had to face extreme difficulties in propagating his religion in the land of the Licchavis. From the *Majjhima Nikāya*[19] and the *Papañcasūdanī* (*Majjhima-Aṭṭhakathā*)[20] we learn that accompanied by five hundred Licchavis Saccaka, an adherent of Niganṭha Nāṭaputta, paid a visit to Buddha at Mahāvana. But all the Licchavis did not salute Buddha. They paid only such respect as was proper to a respected guest. In spite of such opposition Buddha could win over the Licchavis by his noble teachings. Siha who professed Jainism and was the military official of the Licchavis gave up his faith in Jainism and became a follower of Buddha who gave him a discourse on the efficacy of dāna (gift). This created a stir in the minds of Nāṭaputta's followers and many young Licchavis were converted to Buddhism. Then Oṭṭhaddha, the noble Licchavi, having heard Buddha's discourses along with a large number of followers became highly impressed with Buddha's teachings and embraced the new religion.

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[14] *Vin.* I, p. 71.

[15] *Jātaka*, II, pp. 5-9.

[16] Ibid, pp. 262-263.

[17] *Jātaka*, I, pp. 420-422.

[18] Ibid. pp. 504-508.

[19] Vol. I, p. 229.

[20] Vol. I, p. 454.

As a mark of their profound veneration the Licchavis presented to Buddha a few cetiyas (shrines) such as Cāpāla, Sattambaka, Bahuputta, Gotama, Sārandada, Udena and the like. According to Buddhaghosa's *Udāna-Aṭṭhakathā*[21] these cetiyas (shrines) were formerly Yakkha cetiyas and Yakkhas were worshipped therein. But they were subsequently converted into monasteries for the residence of monks. Gosiṅgasālavana was Buddha's favourite monastery. He used to stay there and give discourses to his disciples while at Vesālī. Several monks, among whom were Cāla, Upacāla, Kalimbha, Nikaṭa and Kaṭissaha used to retire there in order to seek peace and solitude. Sāriputta and Moggallāna also spent many days in meditation there. The Pāli Nikāyas do not provide us with much information regarding the conversion of the Licchavis to Buddhism. But mention has however been made of some eminent Licchavis who embraced Buddhism. They are Bhaddiya, Mahānāma, Saḷha, Abhaya, Paṇḍitakumāra, Nandaka, Mahāli and Ugga. As already observed, the famous courtesan Ambapālī was converted to Buddhism. She gave away her Ambavana to the Saṅgha for the residence of monks. Other notable Licchavi ladies such as Jentī (Jentā), Sīhā and Vāseṭṭhī also embraced Buddha's new religion. Many Licchavis used to approach Buddha to seek his advice for the solution of the various problems of religion and doctrine. Here were also explained the doctrine of Kusala and Akusala dhammā (wholesome and unwholesome deeds or actions) and the merits of Sīla (moral conduct) and Tapa (self-mortification) to the Licchavis.

(III) The Mallas—They were not in favour of Buddhism at-first. They were much attached to Jainism. The Buddhist literature furnishes us with information regarding the schism that took place in the Jaina Saṅgha after the death of Mahāvīra. Buddha utilised fully this opportunity for the propagation of his new faith. On this occasion he gave a long discourse and attracted many Mallas to his religion. Among them prominent were Dabba, Pukkasa, Khaṇḍasumana, Bhadraka, Rasiya, Roja, Sīha and Cunda. Their conversion to Buddhism facilitated Buddha's missionary

[21] pp. 322 ff.

work there. The Mallas of Pāvā constructed the famous Ubbhaṭaka monastery and invited Buddha to consecrate it. Buddha accepted their invitation and spent a night there along with his disciples. Sāriputta recited the Saṅgīti Sutta[22] which outlines the essentials of the Buddhist doctrine. It was at Pāvā that Buddha took his last meal at the house of Cunda, and fell ill. From there he went to Kusinārā where he entered into Mahāparinibbāna after his last exhortation to his disciples. The Mallas erected thūpas (shrines) over the relics of the Great Teacher. The Mallas have been immortalised in the history of Buddhism because of Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna at Kusinārā.

(IV) The Bhaggas—The influence of Buddhism over the Bhaggas does not appear to have been extensive. However, Buddha was not unsuccessful in his missionary works there. He visited the Bhagga country several times in course of his wanderings to propagate his new faith there. He gave several discourses dealing with the fundamental teachings of Buddhism to the Bhaggas. As a consequence some distinguished householders were converted to Buddhism. Among them were Nakulapitā, Nakulamātā, Sirimaṇḍa, and Sigālapitā. We are told[23] that Buddha once came to the Bhagga country at the invitation of Bodhirājakumāra, son of Udena of Kosambī, who built a famous palace called Kokanada in Suṃsumāragiri, the capital of the Bhaggas. He gave an edifying discourse called the Bodhirājakumāra Sutta dealing with the necessary qualities of head and heart of a monk to him. At this he became a lay devotee of Buddha. Among the Bhaggas there were others who also became lay devotees of Buddha. But there are scanty references to them in the Nikāya works. While visiting the Bhagga country Buddha lived mostly in the Suṃsumāra Bhesakalāvanamigadāva monastery. The *Saṁyutta* and the *Aṅguttara Nikāyas* record that he gave a discourse touching mainly on the duties of the householders at the request of Nakulapitā and Nakulamātā to the Bhaggas. Moggallāna who was one of

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[22] *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. III, pp. 207 ff.

[23] *Majjhima Nikāya*, vol. II, pp. 91 ff.

the chief disciples of Buddha preached the Anumānasutta[24] dealing with admonition of monks and self-examination. The Dhonasakha Jātaka[25] was also recited there. Some minor rules of the *Pātimokkhasutta* which guides the daily life of the monks were also framed here.

(V) The Koliyas—Buddha was more successful in his missionary work among the Koliyas than the Bhaggas mentioned above. The Koliyas were related to Buddha through his mother and wife, and also lived close to the Śākyan territory. It was not, therefore, difficult for him to secure their sympathy and support. Buddha visited several townships of the Koliyans, viz., Uttara, Sajjanela, Sāpūga, Kakkarapatta, Haliddavasana etc. where he delivered important discourses dealing with the excellences of his doctrine. As a result many were converted to Buddhism. After Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna the Koliyas of Rāmagāma obtained a share of his relics and raised a thūpa (a memorial mound) over the same.

In addition to those mentioned above there is reference in the Buddhist texts specially in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta[26] to the clans—the Bulis of Allakappa and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana—which demanded their shares of Buddha's relics. The Bulis of Allakappa obtained a portion of the relics and erected thūpa (a memorial mound) over the same. No portion of the relics being left the Moriyas of Pipphalivana took away embers from the pyre and erected a thūpa in their country. There is further reference to the Kālāmas of Kesaputta who were worshippers of Buddha. It is said that Buddha visited the Kālāmas and gave a discourse to them on the excellences of the religion.[27] Very little is known of the patronage extended by these clans to the cause of Buddhism. But this of course shows their great regard for Buddha. They 'are mere passing shadows in the early Buddhist

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[24] Ibid., vol. I, p. 95.

[25] Vol. III, pp. 157 ff.

[26] *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. II.

[27] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, vol. I, pp. 188 ff.

records, there being scarcely any data for an historical account of them'.[28]

Here is given a short account of a few kings who espoused the cause of Buddhism and contributed much to its success after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha :—

Śiśunāga Period

Kālāśoka—He was the son and successor of Śiśunāga. He ruled over Magadha for about twenty-eight years. He is immortalised in the history of Buddhism for his close association with the Second Buddhist Council held at the Vālukārāma at Vesālī just a hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha. This Council brought in a revolution in the Buddhist Saṅgha. It marked the evolution of new schools of thought in Buddhism which reached the figure of more than eighteen later on. From Watter's *On Yuan Chwang*[29], we learn that these schools came into existence on slight differences of opinion regarding doctrines, disciplinary rules and even cutting, sewing and dyeing of robes, and the like.

Maurya Period

Very little of importance is known about the history of Buddhism till we come to the reign of Aśoka, 'the greatest of kings'. A new epoch opened in the history of Buddhism right from the time of Aśoka. The cardinal teachings of Buddhism were widely promulgated through his strenuous efforts. It is said that after his father's death Aśoka occupied the throne by killing his brothers. In the ninth year of his reign he conquered Kaliṅga after a bloody war in which there was a tremendous loss of human lives.[30] Tradition records that "one hundred and fifty thousand were therefrom (i.e. from Kaliṅga) captured, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times as many died". The horror of war brought a tremendous reaction in his mind. It marked a turning point in his life. He made a vow not to fight in future. He was converted to Buddhism by the distinguished Buddhist monk Niggodha (Nyagrodha) who

[28] B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Poona, 1943, p. 287.

[29] Vol. I, p. 151.

[30] Vide Asoka's Rock Edict, XIII.

preached to him the Appamādavagga. It deals with the necessity of developing in life the quality of appamāda (carefulness) which in Buddhism is undoubtedly amatapadaṃ (the path of immortality). Coming in close contact with the Saṅgha he became a great devotee of Buddhism. He then exerted himself with great deal for the propagation of Buddhism. He also directed his whole attention to Dhammavijaya (religious conquest) as opposed to conquest by arms. He laid stress upon ideal life and performance of good deeds which bring about happiness in this world and the next. He appointed special officers known as Dhammamahāmātras (Ministers for religious works) for the spread of dhamma among the people. Dhammavijaya (conquest of Dhamma) was the guiding principle of his life. He even insisted it on all.

Aśoka worked hard for the moral uplift of his people. He wanted to make the teachings of Buddha known to them. His edicts were incised on stone-pillars as also on rocks and caves. They are of great importance from the historical and religious points of view. Unfortunately thirty-four have only hitherto been discovered[31]. He insisted on the purity of life and character. He wanted people to be virtuous and charitable to all. He condemned the slaughter of animals and laid great emphasis on ahiṃsā (non-violence) to all beings. He enjoined gentleness, respect, reverence to elders and teachers as also considerate treatment to friends, acquaintances, companions, servants and the poor. He advocated tolerance for all religious sects as well as reverence for them. His dedication of the caves built at an enormous cost on the Barabar hills, close to the Ājivakas testifies to the catholicity of his religious toleration. "It is really a matter of glory that this spirit of religious toleration has been upheld through all the periods of Indian history"[32]. He wanted that all might "enjoy the blessings of 'non-

[31]The principal inscriptions of Aśoka may be divided into three classes :—(i) the Fourteen Rock Edicts, (ii) the Minor Rock Edicts, (iii) the Seven Pillar Edicts and the remaining inscriptions are but records of a miscellaneous character and they do not come under any distinct group.

[32]Radha Govinda Basak, *Buddha and Buddhism*, 1961, p. 124.

injury, self-control, equable conduct and gentleness". In the Aśokāvadāna of the *Divyāvadāna* we find a story of Aśoka's great liberality which is indeed highly edifying. Dr. Radha Govinda Basak observes[33] that "Emperor Asoka seems to have been good in conduct, wise and virtuous according to the teaching of the *Dhammapada* which says (VI. 9) :

Na attahetu, na parassa hetu,
Na puttam-icche, na dhanaṃ, na raṭṭhaṃ,
Na-y-icche adhammena samiddhim attano ;
Sa paññavā dhammiko sīlavā siyā.

—If, for his own sake or for the sake of others, a man wishes neither for a son, nor for wealth, nor for sovereignty, also if he does not wish for his own prosperity by unfair means, then that man is sure to be good in conduct, wise and virtuous". Tradition also records Aśoka with the construction of 84,000 thūpas (stūpas) on the relics of Buddha all over India. These thūpas have been highly spoken off by the two Chinese pilgrims Hiuen Tsang and Sung-Yun. He also built the Aśokārāma in Pāṭaliputra. He made a great offering to Buddha's life-size figure created with the help of Nāga king, Mahākāla. An inscription records that "Aśoka enlarged to twice its size the stūpa of one of the previous Buddhas, Konākamana, (Kanakamuni) by name. Aśoka may also be taken to be the builder of the nucleus round which was built up, at a later age, the great stūpa of Sāñchī."[34] His main objective was to popularise the teachings of Buddha to the people in general.

Aśoka became a staunch follower of Buddhism within a few years of his accession to the throne. He also convoked at Pāṭaliputra a Council to settle the differences on matters of doctrine and discipline among the monks[35], and to establish there-

[33] Ibid., p. 94.

[34] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's History and Culture of the Indian people, vol. II, Bombay, 1960, p. 86,

[35] Asoka's Schism Pillar-Edicts at Sarnath, Kosambi and at Sanchi.

by the purity of the teachings. About a thousand noted monks participated in it over which Moggaliputta Tissa presided. The famous Abhidhamma text, the *Kathāvatthu* 'which stands out as a great book of Buddhist controversies of the time' was composed in this Council. This Council is known as the third Buddhist Council in the history of Buddhism. At the close of the Council he despatched a mission to the different countries for the propagation of the new faith. The *Mahāvaṁsa*[36] records that king Aśoka sent Majjhantika to Kāśmīra and Gandhāra, Mahādeva to Mahisamaṇḍala, Rakkhita to Vanavāsa, Yona Dhammarakkhita to Aparāntaka, Mahārakkhita to Yona, Majjhima to the Himalaya country and Soṇa and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Mahinda with Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla to Laṅkā (Ceylon). At the request of Devānaṃpiya-Tisśa, the king of Ceylon, he sent his daughter Saṅghamittā with a branch of the Bodhi-tree to propagate Buddha's teaching there. Later on he also sent the relics of Buddha and his alms-bowl there through his grandson Sumana to be deposited in the thūpas therein. His missions were not thus confined to the different parts of India. They were sent to far off countries in Asia, Africa and in Europe. It was through his efforts that Buddhism was introduced not only in his domain but also in distant lands. Buddhism thus occupied the prominent position indeed in India and abroad. He may be regarded 'as the first great royal patron of Buddhism' for his manifold services to the cause of Buddhism.

Śuṅga Period

In the *Divyāvadāna*[37] Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, is described as the cruel persecutor of Buddhism. It is said that he destroyed thūpas and vihāras and offered one hundred gold coins on the head of each of the Buddhist monks. A Buddhist tradition records that king Puṣyamitra destroyed many monasteries from Madhyadeśa to Jālandhar and killed many learned monks. It is also said that he destroyed the Kukkuṭārāma at Pāṭaliputra. Although the Śuṅgas

[36] Ch. XII.

[37] pp. 429-434.

were pro-brahmanic, there is nothing on record which proves beyond doubt that they were inimical to the Buddhists. From monuments and inscriptions it may be proved that Buddhism flourished during this period. The famous Buddhist thūpas at Bharut and Sanchi belonged to the Śuṅga period, and bear testimony to the prosperity of Buddhism there. The inscription of Bharut records that both the royal householders as also the common people made gifts to the thūpas. Sanchi, Bodh-Gaya, Sarnath and Lauriya Nandangarh were further important centres of Buddhism during the Śuṅga period.

Indo-Greek Period

Of the Indo-Greek kings that ruled over North-Western India and Afganishtan, king Menander was the most prominent. He was a great patron of Buddhism and rendered valuable services to the cause of Buddhism. He is identified with king Milinda in the *Milindapañha*, a well-known Pāli work. It is throughout a dialogue between king Milinda and the celebrated Buddhist monk Nāgasena on a number of knotty problems of Buddhism. The doctrine of impermanent ego, one of the most difficult problems in Buddhism, was expounded in a masterly way in course of the debate. At this the king became a convert to the new faith The text further reveals king's keen interest for Buddhism. He built a monastery and made it over to Nāgasena for the residence of monks.

Plutarch, the Greek- historian, tells us that Menander died in a camp and a dispute arose-as to the possession of ashes among the different citizens. This reminds us of the story of the distribution of relics of the Buddha. The Dharmacakra(the Wheel of the Law) is found engraved on the coins of Menander. Many Greeks in India also embraced Buddhism since the days of Menander. They also took part in the propagation of the doctrine. Dhammarakkhita, a Greek monk, was entrusted with task of preaching the Saddhamma in the country of Aparāntaka. He preached there the Aggikkhandhopamasutta which deals with the dire consequences of evil conduct of a monk. As a result many people were converted to Buddhism. Even ladies from respected families became adherents of Buddhism. Many images and specimens of culture have been

discovered in North-Western India. These are but works of Greek artists. These styles of Buddhist art introduced by the Greeks in India are known as Indo-Greek art.

Kuṣāṇa Period

As already observed, Buddhism attained prominence as a distinct religion in the Maurya period. But with the advent of the Śuṅgas its progress and prosperity began to diminish gradually. However, with the patronage of the Kuṣāṇas it enabled to revive its lost glory. King Kaṇiṣka was the greatest of the Kuṣāṇa rulers. He was probably the most outstanding figure after Aśoka in ancient India. He was as great a patron of Buddhism as king Aśoka, and his name is as familiar to the Buddhists as that of Aśoka. In other words, he played the part of a second Aśoka.

Kaṇiṣka used to read Buddhist scriptures in his leisure time with a monk who used to come to the royal palace and give him instructions on the teachings of the different sects. He wanted to reconcile the varying opinions of the different sects and "to restore Buddhism to eminence and to have the Tipiṭaka explained according to the tenets of the various schools".[38] At the advice of Pārśva he convoked a Council for this purpose at Jālandhara. Vasumitra was the President of the Council which was attended by five hundred monks of different sects—the Sarvāstivādins formed the majority. This Council is known as the Fourth Buddhist Council which is of immense value from the point of history of religion and literature. The monks assembled there, devoted to the settlement of the texts of the canonical literature and composed extensive commentaries on the Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma texts. These are known as the *Upadeśaśāstra, Vinayavibhāṣāśāstra* and *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* respectively—each containing 1,00,000 stanzas explanatory of the Sūtras. From Watters we learn that "king Kaṇiṣka had the treatises, when finished, written out on copper plates, and enclosed these in stone boxes, which he deposited in a tope made for the purpose. He then ordered the Yakshas to keep and guard the texts, and not allow any to be

[38] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, p. 270.

taken out of the country by heretics ; those who wished to study them could do so in the country. When leaving to return to his own country Kaṇiṣka renewed Aśoka's gift of all Kashmir to the Buddhist Church".[39] It also witnessed the appearance of a new form of Buddhism, known as the Mahāyāna which contributed much to the development and spread of Buddhism in India and abroad later on. It thus 'marks a turning point in the history of Buddhism and Buddhist literature'.

From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we learn that Kaṇiṣka founded many stūpas and caityas. He also built at Peshwar a large monastery, called the Kaṇiṣka Mahāvihāra which 'was not only famous throughout the Buddhist world, but is actually known to have been a centre of Buddhist culture from an epigraph of the ninth century A. D.'[40] "The fame of the Kanishka Mahāvihāra," writes Dr. Raychaudhuri, "remained undiminished till the days of the Pāla kings of Bengal as is apparent from the Ghoshrawa Inscription of the time of Devapāla."[41] He was a great patron of learning. He extended his patronage not only to the Buddhist philosophers like Pārśva, Vasumitra, Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna but also to other worthies in the different branches of learning. The Indo-Greek school of Buddhist art attained its fullest development in this period. Kaṇiṣka further sent missions to Central Asia and China to propagate the teachings of Buddha. His coins further amply prove his catholicity of his religious toleration.

Gupta Period

With the revival of Brahmanism under the Gupta dynasty, the progress of Buddhism was not arrested. The Gupta emperors were no doubt adherents of Brahmanic faith, but they were very liberal in their religious outlook. It is because of their tolerant policy that Buddhism flourished side by side with Hinduism which 'occupied the position of religion of the Royalty.' Epigraphs and travellers' accounts furnish us with such

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[39] *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, p. 271.

[40] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, vol. II. p. 147.

[41] *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 475, f.n. 2.

evidence. Notable among the rulers who were sympathetic towards the cause of Buddism were :—

Samudragupta – He was a devout follower of Brahmanical religion. But his adherence to this faith did not mean any lack of favour to other religions. He was of tolerant spirit. He granted permission to king Meghavaṇṇa of Ceylon to build a monastery and a rest house at Bodh-Gayā for Buddhist monks and pilgrims of Ceylon. This shows no doubt his solicitude for religion other than his own. It is said that "Samudragupta, no less than Dharmāśoka, made firm the rampart of the true law (Dharma-prāchira-bandhaḥ)"[42]. He was further a great patron of learning. He appointed the distinguished Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu who was 'among those creative thinkers who brought about what may be called the classical age of Buddhist philosophy' as his minister.

Chandragupta II—He was a worthy son of Samudragupta. He was also known as Devagupta, Deva-śrī or Deva-rāja[43]. He was a devout Vaiṣṇava (Parama-Bhāgavata). He had no religious bias. He gave freedom and protection to the followers of other faiths also. He also made no distinction in the appointment of high officers. Men of other sects were given important positions in his administration. An epigraph discovered at Sāñcī records the gifts of the village Īśvarvāsaka as also some amount of money by his general Āmrakārdava to the Ārya Saṅgha, *i.e.*, the community of monks of Kākanādaboṭa (Sāñcī) for feeding the monks and burning lamps. An inscription of Vīrasena, his minister of peace and war, at Udayagiri hill near Bhilsa, records also the excavation of a cave to be used as a temple for Śambhu (God Śiva). From Fa-Hien's account[44] we learn further that Buddhism was flourishing during the time of Chandragupta II in Punjab and Bengal and was also becoming popular in Mathurā. He saw here about twenty Buddhist establishments with a considerable number of devotees. He also saw at Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Chandragupta II, two

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[42] H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 550.

[43] Ibid., p. 554.

[44] Beal, *The Travels of Fa-Hien*, pp. IV ff.

large monasteries—one of Hīnayāna and the other of Mahāyāna faith. In both the monasteries resided numerous monks whose learning attracted people from different parts of India. His treatment with subjects belonging to different creeds were thus very liberal.

Kumāragupta I—He was the son of Chandragupta II. He continued the liberal attitude of his father. Dr. Raychaudhuri observes : "like his father, Kumāra was a tolerant king. During his rule the worship of Svāmī Mahāsena (Kārttikeya), of Buddha, of Śiva in the liṅga form and of the sun, as well as that of Vishṇu, flourished peacefully side by side."[45] The Mankuwar stone image inscription (449 A. D.) ascribed to the reign of Kumāragupta I records the installation of the image of Buddha by the monk Buddhamitra to ward off all evils. The Sāñcī stone inscription (A.D. 450-451) also informs us that a female lay devotee (upāsikā) Harisvāminī, wife of the devotee Manasiddha, gave a certain amount of money to the Buddhist community of Kākanādaboṭa monastery for feeding one new monk daily. A Jain inscription (A.D. 432-433) further records the installation of a Jain statue at Mathurā by a lady named Sāmāḍhyā. It seems that king Kumāragupta I did not try to impose his religious faith on his subjects.

The Gupta age was an era of art. It 'ushered in the golden age of Indian art.' Many Buddhist monasteries comprising thūpas, cetiyas, vihāras, pillars and so forth were erected in this period. Their remnants at Mathurā, Sārnāth, Nālandā, Ajantā, Bāgh etc. still receive unstinted admiration of visitors. Thus though Buddhism was not the state religion in this period, the tolerance of all faiths was the guiding principle of the Guptas. It contributed largely to the progress of Buddhism.

Vardhana Period

Nearly six hundred years after Kaṇiṣka appeared the celebrated Harṣavardhana whose zeal for the cause of Buddhism was also remarkable. He was a devout Śaiva (worshipper of God Śiva). But he was tolerant of other forms of religious faith. He was a great patron of learning.

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[45] *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 568.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Mayūrabhaṭṭa, the most well-known poets adorned his court. He himself was an author of great renown. He also composed three Sanskrit dramas, *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda*. The last one treats of the legend of Jīmūtavāhana Bodhisattva who gave up his life for a nāga.

Harṣa's father, Mahārājādhirāja Prabhākaravardhana was a worshipper of the sun. His elder brother and sister were Buddhists. But he showed equal reverence to all these forms of faith. From Yuan Chwang we learn that "at the royal lodges viands were provided for 1,000 Buddhist monks and 500 Brahmans everyday"[46]. He built temples for Śaivas as well as monasteries for monks. Later in life he was greatly attached to Buddhism. The famous teacher Guṇaprabha was the preceptor of king Harṣa. The *Harṣa-carita*[47] records that he had also deep respect for the Buddhist teacher Divākaramitra Maitrāyanīya. His sister Rājyaśrī, widow of Gṛhavarmā became a Buddhist nun. 'The humanistic work for which Harṣa was responsible reminds one of Aśoka'[48]. Like Aśoka, he built hospitals, dug wells and tanks, planted trees and constructed high-ways for the happiness of all beings. He forbade the slaying of animals. Many Buddhist thūpas were erected during his reign. He summoned annually a convocation of Buddhist monks for discussion on matters of religion.

During Harṣa's reign the famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang came to visit India. He met the pilgrim at Kajaṅgala close to Rājmahal and took him to Kanauj where a special assembly was held in his honour. It was attended by several tributary kings, many learned monks, Jains and Brahmins. A golden image of Buddha of the size of the king was kept in a tower, hundred feet high. The worship of the image was done with great pomp. The ceremony continued for twenty-one days successively and ended with a discourse explaining the subtle points of Buddhism. After the ceremony the king accompanied

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[46] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. I, p. 344.

[47] Pp. 484 ff.

[48] P. V. Bapat, *2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 204.

by the pilgrim came to Prayāga (Allahabad) to hold the quinquennial ceremony at the confluence of the river Gaṅgā and Yamunā. It was a vast assembly attended by all vassal kings and distinguished scholars of all the religious sects. The image of the Buddha was first worshipped and Buddhist monks were then entertained. The images of Sun and Śiva were subsequently worshipped. The king here made a gift of all he possessed. It is said that he asked his sister, Rājyaśrī, to give him an old garment which he put on to worship 'the Buddhas of the ten regions.'

Harṣa was a great patron of the University of Nālandā. He gave enormous amount of money to this University which was the most pre-eminent educational institution in the then India. It attracted scholars not only from this land but also from the different countries of Asia. The most eminent teacher Śīlabhadra was the head of this institution. Hiuen-Tsang[49] tells us that he built a vihāra and a bronze temple there. We are further told that Harṣa was a devotee of Hīnayāna sect of Buddhism. But later on he became a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It was through his efforts that Buddhism rose again into ascendency during his rule.

Lastly, we come to the Pālas. "The century that followed Harṣa's rule saw a state of anarchy unfavourable to the growth of a monastic religion like Buddhism, which depended so much on the patronage of rulers"[50]. Thus the condition of Buddhism was far from prosperous. It was anyhow carrying its precarious existence in Kashmir and Northern India only. But with the advent of the Pālas, it received a new impetus and made steady progress under their patronage. It marked a revival of the past glory and influence of of Buddhism which had fallen into decay since the passing away of Harṣa. The most prominent of the Pāla rulers through whose efforts Buddhism reared its head and recovered its importance were :—

Pāla Period

Gopāla—From the Khalimpur copper-plate inscription of

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[49] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. II, p. 171.

[50] P. V. Bapat, *2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 64.

Dharmapāladeva we learn that Gopāla was the son of Vapyata and the grandson of Dayitavishnu. He was elected king to put an end to disorder and lawlessness prevailing in Bengal by the general body of the people. Tāranātha, the great Tibetan historian, gives us a curious story about the life and reign of Gopāla.[51] He was thus the founder of the Pāla dynasty which reigned for about three hundred years. Gopāla ruled for about forty-five years. He was a great patron of Buddhism. Many distinguished Buddhist teachers flourished during his time. Prominent among them were Śākyaprabha, Dānaśīla, Viśeṣamitra, Prajñāvarman and Śūra.[52] He founded a monastery at Nālandā. Many Buddhist teachers also received his patronage.

Dharmapāla—He was the son of Gopāla. He continued the religious policy of his father and gifts were freely made to the Buddhist establishments during his reign. It is said that the famous Vikramaśīlā vihāra which "had one hundred and fourteen teachers in different subjects and included a central temple surrounded by one hundred and seven others, all enclosed by a boundary wall", was also founded on the bank of the Ganges on the top of the hillock in Magadha during his reign. According to Bu-ston[53] Dharmapāla was responsible for the foundation of Odantapurī vihāra. We are told that the famous Sam-ye monastery which was a great centre of literary activity in Tibet was built on the model of this great vihāra. The famous Somapurī vihāra in Vārendra, the ruins of which have been discovered at Pāhārpur in the district of Rajshahi (now Bangladesh) was also founded by him. He was also responsible for the foundation of many institutions for teaching Buddhist philosophy, specially for the study of Prajñāpāramitā. He had great veneration for the great Buddhist writer, Haribhadra. During his reign also flourished other Buddhist teachers Kalyāṇa-

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[51] *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, translated by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Simla, 1970, pp. 257 ff.

[52] Ibid., p. 259.

[53] *History of Buddhism* (Trans. Obermiller), vol. I, p. 157.

gupta, Sundaravyūha, Sāgaramegha, Prabhākara, Pūrṇavardhana, Buddhajñapada and the like.[54] Though a devout Buddhist himself, Dharmapāla had a liberal attitude towards all other faiths. He made a gift of land for the worship of Brahmanical gods. He appointed the brahmin Gārga as his minister. It proves that the king had no consideration for the religion in the affairs of the state.

Devapāla—He was the son of Dharmapāla. He ruled for about thirty-five years. He was also a patron of Buddhism like his predecessors. The Pāla empire reached the acme of its glory under him, and his name and fame spread over to far off countries too. The Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla records that Bālaputradeva of the Śailendra dynasty of Jāvā, Sumātrā and Malaya Peninsula built a vihāra at Nālandā which 'was in those days the seat of International Buddhist culture'. The king sent an embassy to Devapāla to request him to make an endowment of five villages for the upkeep of this monastery which he had built at Nālandā. King Devapāla readily granted his request. The Vikramaśilā and Somapurī monasteries reached their completion during his reign. The Ghoshrawa inscription tells us of his keen interest for the Nālandā monastery as also of his deep devotion to Buddhism. It also mentions that king Devapāla appointed Indragupta, a brahmin of Nagarahāra (Jellalavad) and a learned Buddhist priest as the head of the Nālandā monastery.

Mahīpāla—Here comes Mahīpāla who 'ranks as the greatest Pala emperor after Devapāla'. There were of course other rulers preceding him. But unfortunately we possess very meagre information about their services to the cause of Buddhism, and that is why they are not dealt with herein. From the Sarnath inscription (No. 29) we learn that king Mahīpāla issued orders for the repair of Buddhist monuments of old. Two other Sarnath inscriptions (Nos. 32 and 33) further mention the repair of religious buildings of Nālandā and the construction of two new sacred structures at Bodh-Gayā. During his reign lived the distinguished Buddhist

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[54] *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, p. 276.

teachers like Ānandagarbha, Parahita, Candrapadma, Jñānadatta and Jñānakīrti. He had great veneration for them. It proves undoubtedly his deep faith in Buddhism.

The patronage of the Pālas gave a new lease of life to Buddhism in eastern India and thus saved it from the destiny which overtook it in other parts of India. Most of the kings of this dynasty were adherents of Buddhism and did much for its survival. We also know that the official records of the Pāla rulers generally commence with an invocation to the Buddha. The Pālas were further responsible for the foundation of many other new monasteries like Traikūṭaka, Devīkoṭa, Paṇḍita, Phullahari, Paṭṭikeraka, Vikramapurī and Jagaddala.[55] The form of Buddhism that prevailed during this period was Mahāyāna with elements of Tantrism 'which steadily played a great part and established the Yogacarins and developed schools that came later on to be known as Kalacakrayana, Mantrayana, Sahajayana and Vajrayana'. It also influenced Tibet to a great extent[56], the religion of which is almost akin to it. The Pālas were thus indeed the last supporters of Buddhism, and with their disappearance ended the royal patronage of the rulers without which no religion could flourish.

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[55] *History of Bengal*, vol. I, Dacca University, p. 417.

[56] It is to be noted that Buddhism of Tibet called Lamaism after its Lamas (monks) is an admixture of old Bon practices and elements of Tantrism.

CHAPTER V

BUDDHIST SECTS IN INDIA

In the sixth century B.C. when Buddhism originated writing was hardly used. Recitation and memorization were the means for the preservation of records. Such practice had been in vogue in India from the earliest Vedic period. Gautama Buddha's speeches, sayings, discourses and conversations were accordingly handed down orally through succession of teachers (ācariyaparamparā). Proper attention was not, therefore, paid for preserving Buddha's actual words. From the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta[1] we learn that Buddha anticipated that his sayings might be misrepresented and so he advised his disciples to verify his words in four ways (cattāro mahā-padesā).[2] His prophecy came true after his Mahāparinibbāna. About a hundred years after his Mahāparinibbāna dissension arose among the monks in regard to the actual words of the Master and their interpretations which ultimately led

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[1]*Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. II, Nālandā, Devanāgarī edition, pp. 96-98.

[2]They are :—

(i) "In the first place, brethren, a brother may say thus :—From the mouth of the Exalted One himself have I heard, from his own mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the Law, this the teaching of the Master. The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood and then put beside the Suttas and compared with the Vinaya. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas, and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :—verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother. Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then

to the origin of different sects in Buddhism, all claiming to have preserved their original teachings. And within a few hundred years after the demise of the Great Teacher eighteen or more sects came into existence. They took up the cause of Buddhism with great zeal and tried to popularise it in the various territories in and outside India. The tenets of the different schools are recorded

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you may come to the conclusion :—verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well-grasped by that brother."

(ii) "Again, brethren, a brother may say thus :—In such and such a dwelling-place there is a company of the brethren with their elders and leaders. From the mouth of that company have I heard, face to face have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master. The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the Suttas and compared with the rules of the Order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas, and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :—Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by that company of the brethren. Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :—verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well-grasped by that company of the brethren."

(iii) "Again, brethren, a brother may say thus :—In such and such a dwelling-place there are dwelling many elders of the Order, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the Order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of those elders have I heard, from their mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master. The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the Suttas and compared with the rules of the Order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas and do not fit in with

in the texts such as the *Samayabhedavyūhacakra, Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna, Samayabhedoparacanacakrenikāyabhedopadeśanasaṃgrahanāma, Kathāvatthu, Milindapañha* and the like—of them the *Samayabhedavyūhacakra* is unique of its kind and as such is considered to be the most authoritative. The exact date of the origin of these schools has not definitely been ascertained as yet, but in the prefatory notes of the *Points of Controversy* by Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, had been suggested a probable date, of which, however, there is no satisfactory corroboration.[3]

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the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion: verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by those elders. Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion—verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well-grasped by those elders".

(iv) "Again, brethren, a brother may say :—In such and such a dwelling-place there is living a brother, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the Order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of that elder have I heard, from his mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master. The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the Suttas and compared with the rules of the Order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas, and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :—verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother. Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :—verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well-grasped by that brother".—*Dialogue of the Buddha*, part II, S. B. E., T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, London, 1951, pp. 133-136.

[3] A. C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 1-2.

The first dissension was created by the monks of Vesāli through the breach of the rules of discipline as laid down in the Vinaya Piṭaka. The *Cullavagga* and the Ceylon Chronicles record that the Second Council was held at Vesāli just a century after the passing away of Buddha to examine the validity of the ten practices (dasa vatthūni)[4] indulged in by the Vajjian monks.

The works of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations give us a quite different account.

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[4]They are :—

(i) Siṅgiloṇakappa—the practice of carrying salt in a horn, *i.e.*, storing articles of food. It is contrary to Pācittiya No. 38 which prohibits the storage of food.

(ii) Dvaṅgulakappa—the practice of taking meals when the shadow is two fingers broad, *i.e.*, taking meals after midday. It is against Pācittiya No. 37 which forbids taking food after midday.

(iii) Gāmantarakappa—the practice of going to an adjacent village and taking meals there the same day for the second time. It is opposed to Pācittiya No. 35 which refuses over-eating.

(iv) Āvāsakappa—the observance of the Uposatha ceremonies in various places in the same parish (sīmā). According to the *Mahāvagga* it contravenes the rules against parish (sīmā).

(v) Anumatikappa—doing a deed and obtaining its sanction afterwards.

(vi) Āciṇṇakappa—the customary practices as precedent.

(vii) Amathitakappa—drinking of butter-milk after meals. It is also against Pācittiya No. 35 which prohibits over-eating.

(viii) Jalogiṃ pātuṃ—drinking of toddy. It is opposed to Pācittiya No. 51 which forbids drinking liquors.

(ix) Adasakaṃ nisīdanaṃ—use of a rug without a fringe. It is contrary to Pācittiya No. 89 which prohibits the use of borderless sheets.

(x) Jātarūparajataṃ—acceptance of gold and silver. It contravenes the rule against Nissaggiya-pācittiya No. 18 which forbids their acceptance.

According to them the Council is said to have been convened, because of the differences of opinions among the monks in regard to the five dogmas[5] propounded by Mahādeva who was 'a man of great learning and wisdom'.

Traditions differ in regard to the cause of session of the Second Council. But all the accounts record unanimously that a schism occured about a hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha due to the efforts of some monks for the relaxation of the rigid rules current at the time, which the orthodox monks were not ready to allow. The orthodox views prevailed and the monks opposed to them were expelled from the Saṅgha. They were not, however, disappointed. They gained strength gradually and convened another Council shortly in which ten thousand monks participated. It was indeed a Great council! In the history of Buddhism it is known as Mahāsaṅgiti (Great Council). The monks who joined the Council were later on called the Mahāsaṅghikas, while the orthodox monks were distinguished as Theravādins (Sthaviravādins) in the Saṅgha. Thus occurred the first schism which divided the early Buddhist Saṅgha into two primitive schools—the Theravāda and the Mahāsaṅghika. It was rather 'a division between the conservative and the liberal, the hierarchic and the democratic'. Several sects and sub-sects sprang up out of these two schools. Undoubtedly this Council marked the evolution of new schools of thought.

There is no room for doubt that the Mahāsaṅghikas were the

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[5] They are :—

(i) An Arhat may commit a sin under unconscious temptation.

(ii) One may be an Arhat and not know it.

(iii) An Arhat may have doubts on matters of doctrine.

(iv) One cannot attain Arhatship without the aid of a teacher.

(v) 'The noble ways' may begin by a shout, that is, one meditating seriously on religion may make such an exclamation as 'How sad'! 'How sad'! and by so doing attain progress towards perfection—the path is attained by an exclamation of astonishment.

earliest seceders. With zeal and enthusiasm they took up the cause of the new faith and in a few decades grew remarkably in power and popularity. They brought about a revolution in the Saṅgha and became a very powerful sect. This sect laid the foundation of Mahāyānism. It is said that the first schism was followed by a series of schisms leading to the formation of different sub-sects, and in course of time seven sub-sects arose out of the Mahāsaṅghikas while eleven sub-sects issued from the Theravāda. Thus the Mahāsaṅghikas were split up into Ekavyavahārika, Caityika (Caityaka), Kaukuṭṭika (Gokulika), Bahuśrutīya, Prajñaptivāda, Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila. Among them the Caityakas and the Śaila sects became very powerful and extended their influence in South India. From the Theravādins branched off Mahīśāsaka, Vātsīputrīya, Saṃmitīya, Ṣaṇṇagārika, Bhadrayānīya, Dharmottarīya, Sarvāstivāda, Dharmaguptika, Kāśyapīya, Haimavata and Saṃkrāntika. Of these the Mahīśāsaka, Saṃmitīya, Dharmottarīya, Sarvāstivāda and Kāśyapīya flourished widely and became more popular. But the Sarvāstivāda sect 'occupied the most prominent place in popularity and expansion as also in the depth of its philosophical outlook.' There appeared also other sub-sects later on. All these branches came into existence one after another in close succession within three or four hundred years after Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna. But these different sects could not maintain their individual existence for long. Most of them either disappeared or merged with other sects shortly after their origin. Accounts of the different authorities are not, however, unanimous as to the origin of these different sects. But M. André Bareau, a distinguished French scholar, has discussed chronologically the origin of these sects[6].

Here is given an account of some important sects (schools) :—

(i) Theravāda (Sthaviravāda)—It is the most primitive school of Buddhism. It is also the most conservative school preserving its doctrine in Pali. Professors Kern, Rhys Davids

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[6] *Les Sects du Petit Véhicule* (BEFEO, 1956), pp. 16 f.

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and others also maintain that the Pali literature represents the doctrines of the Theravāda school. The Ceylonese tradition gives the alternative name of Vibhajjavāda to Theravāda[7]. The *Kathāvatthu* employs the term Sakavāda in place of Sthaviravāda or Vibhajjavāda[8]. The Theravādins had a Tipiṭaka consisting of Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma of their own in Pali. They observed scrupulously the rules of conduct laid down by Buddha. According to them Buddha was a human being who could attain enlightenment through the rigid practice of austerity. Although he had also human frailties he possessed many super-human qualities. In several passages of the Nikāya texts he had been described as god of gods (devātideva).

The Theravādins maintain that Buddha's teaching is very simple and can easily be grasped. The fundamental doctrine of this sect is to refrain from all kinds of evil, to accumulate all that is good and to purify the mind[9]. These things can be achieved only through the practice of Sīla (good conduct), Samādhi (meditation) and Paññā (wisdom). Sīla (good conduct) forms the foundation of a religious life. By Sīla we generally mean ten precepts (sikkhāpadas). They are :—refraining from killing being, theft, unchastity, falsehood. intoxicating drinks, eating at the wrong hour, worldly amusements, using neither unguents nor ornaments, sleeping on a high, big bed and

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[7]It may be noted that the term 'Vibhajjavāda' is applied to Sarvāstivāda or other sects as well. It is very likely that the term 'Vibhajjavāda' implied that the adherents belonged to the main sect with some special views, for which they distinguished themselves as 'Theravāda-Vibhajjavāda' or 'Sarvāstivāda-Vibhajjavāda'.—A C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 3-4.

[8]*Points of Controversy*, p. xli.

[9]C/o. *Dhammapada*, Buddhavagga, vs. 5.—
Sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṃ, kusalassa upasampadā,
Sacittapariyodapanaṃ, etaṃ Buddhāna-sāsanaṃ.

accepting any gold or silver[10]. Among them the laity must observe the first five rules. A good householder is enjoined to observe the first eight rules. But the ten precepts must be observed by a good monk. Sīla (good conduct) also sometimes means abstaining from committing ten evil deeds which are taking life, stealing, unchastity, falsehood, harsh words, malicious speech, frivolous talk, covetousness, ill-will and wrong views[11]. Samādhi (meditation) which is concentration of mind on an object of thought is of two kinds—Samatha and Vipassanā. The objects suitable for Samatha meditation are usually forty in number[12]. Vipassanā 'is the wisdom which in its own being is the comprehension of reality as it truly is'. In order to practise Vipassanā meditation a meditating monk must go through a few

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[10]Pāṇātipātā veramaṇī, adinnādānā veramaṇī, abrahmacariyā veramaṇī, musāvādā veramaṇī, surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇī, vikālabhojanā veramaṇī, naccagītavāditavisūkadassanā veramaṇī, mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍanavibhūsanaṭṭhānā veramaṇī, uccāsayanamahāsayanā veramaṇī and jātarūparajatapaṭiggahanā veramaṇī.

[11]Pāṇātipāta, adinnādāna, abrahmacariya, musāvāda, pisunavāca, pharusavāca, samphappalāpa, abhijjhā, vyāpāda and micchādiṭṭhi.

[12]They are :—

(i) Paṭhavīkasiṇa, Āpokasiṇa, Tejokasiṇa, Vāyokasiṇa, Nīlakasiṇa, Pītakasiṇa, Lohitakasiṇa, Odātakasiṇa, Ālokakasiṇa and Paricchinnākāsakasiṇa.

(ii) Uddhumātaka, Vinīlaka, Vipubbaka, Vicchiddaka, Vikkhāyitaka, Vikkhittaka, Hatavikkhittaka, Lohitaka, Puḷuvaka and Aṭṭhika.

(iii) Buddha, Dhamma, Saṅgha, Sīla, Cāga, Devatā, Maraṇa, Kāya, Ānāpāna and Upasama.

(iv) Mettā, Karuṇā, Muditā and Upekkhā.

(v) Ākāsānañcāyatana, Viññāṇānañcāyatana, Ākiñcaññāyatana and Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana.

(vi) Āhāre paṭikūlasaññā.

(vii) Catudhātuvavatthāna Viññānānañcāyatana paṭhavī, āpa, teja and vāyu.

methods[13]. Paññā (wisdom) removes avijjā which is the non-comprehension of the ariyasaccas (fourfold noble truth), pubbanta (past), aparanta (future), sassata (eternity), uccheda (annihilation) and paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination)[14]. Through the cultivation of Paññā (wisdom) one understands thus ariyasaccas (four noble truths) and paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination).

The philosophical views of this sect are very simple and not at all intricate. According to it all worldly things are anicca (impermanent), dukkha (full of suffering), and anattā (without any substance). Every thing is momentary and subject to decay. All constituted things originate from nāmarūpa (non-material and material), otherwise known as pañca khandhas which are rūpa (the material quality), vedanā (sensation), saññā (perception), saṅkhāra (mental formatives) and viññāṇa (consciousness). The pañca khandhas are saṁskṛta (constituted). They are subject to origin and decay. Birth, old age and death are the three characteristics of the constituted things. The Theravādins maintain that majjhimapaṭipadā (middle path) is the real path which avoids indulgence in the pleasures of the senses and self-mortification[15]. A meditating monk avoids these two courses. This majjhimapatipadā (middle path) is also known as the

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[13] They are seven visuddhis (purifications) :—

(i) Sīlavisuddhi (purity of moral); (ii) cittavisuddhi (purification of consciousness); (iii) diṭṭhivisuddhi (purification of views); (iv) kaṅkhāvitaraṇavisuddhi (purification through destroying doubts); (v) maggāmaggañāṇadassanavisuddhi (purification of knowledge and vision of the right and wrong path); (vi) paṭipadāñāṇadassanavisuddhi (purification of knowledge and vision of the way); (vii) ñāṇadassanavisuddhi (purification by knowledge and vision).

[14] Paṭiccasamuppāda contains eight links. They are :—Avijjā (lack o true knowledge), saṅkhāra (thought-constructions), viññāṇa (perception), nāma-rūpa (mind and matter), ṣaḷāyatana (six sense organs), phassa (contact), vedanā (feeling) and taṇhā (thirst).

[15] Kāmesukāmasukhallikānuyogo attakilamathānuyogo—*Mahāvagga* vol. I, p. 10.

ariyaṭṭhaṅgikamagga (noble eightfold path) which consists in the practice of eight noble virtues[16]. It also lays much emphasis on the ariyasaccas (four noble truths), ariyaṭṭhaṅgikamagga (Noble eightfold path), anattavāda (non-existence of soul), kammavāda (doctrine of kamma) and paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination). Its ideal is the attainment of Arhatship which is the highest stage of the path leading to Nibbāna. The Theravādins want their own Nibbāna first – they do not care for others.

In his *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* the great ācariya Anuruddha (12th cent. A.D.) has discussed the psycho-ethical philosophy of this sect. According to him citta (consciousness), cetasika (mental property), rūpa (material quality) and nibbāna are the four ultimate categories. Citta (consciousness) is of 89 types (according to another classification 121), cetasika (mental property) 52, rūpa (material quality) 28 and nibbāna. Nibbāna is a happy state which is free from worldly sufferings and delusion. It is rather a state which can not be described in words.

(ii) Mahīśāsaka :—According to the Pali tradition, this sect along with the Vātsīputrīya (Vajjiputtaka) issued out of the Theravāda. It also gave rise to the Sarvāstivāda. But the distinguished teacher Vasumitra differs in this regard. He, however, maintains that the Mahīśāsaka arose out of the Sarvāstivāda. It is said that this sect extended up to Ceylon and exerted its influence there. Like the Theravādins the Mahīśāsakas believed that Arhats had no chance of retrogression from their religious life while the sotāpannas[17] had such chance. The

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[16]They are :—Sammā-diṭṭhi (right view), sammā-saṅkappa (right resolve), sammā-vācā (right speech), sammā-kammanta (right action), sammā-ājīva (right livelihood), sammā-vāyāma (right effort), sammā-sati (right mindfulness) and sammā-samādhi (right concentration).

[17]There are four stages in the spiritual progress of a meditating monk. They are :—sotāpatti, *i.e.*, one who has entered the first stage ; sakadāgāmi, *i.e.*, one who will be reborn once in this world ; anāgāmi, *i.e*, one who will not be reborn in this earth ; and the fourth, the arhat, *i.e.*, a perfect being who is no more subject to rebirth.

Ājīvikas[18] could not attain supernatural powers. Buddha was an ordinary human being. The Arhats could not perform meritorious deeds which would produce earthly enjoyments. Average human beings could destroy rāga (passion) and paṭigha (anger) in the world of desire. All saṅkhāras (mental co-efficients) perished at every moment. The constituents of the sense-organ, citta (mind) and cetasika (mental properties) were liable to change. A gift made to Buddha was considered as more meritorious than to the Saṅgha. Sammā-vācā (right speech), sammā-kammanta (right action), and sammā-ājīva (right livelihood)—the three factors of the ariyaṭṭhaṅgikamagga (Noble eightfold path) were not considered as its real factors—since these three were related to sīla (rules of morality). They were, therefore, excluded from the constituents of the eightfold noble truth.

There were two divisions of the Mahīśāsaka sect—one earlier called the Pūrva-Mahīśāsaka and the other the later called the Uttara-Mahīśāsaka. The views of the former were identical with those of the Theravāda while the latter with those of the Sarvāstivāda. The former maintained that the present and nine asaṁskṛta (unconstituted) dhammas[19] only existed, while the latter Mahīśāsakas held that the past, future and antarābhava (intermediary state) existed. They also further believed that khandha (constituent element), dhātu (element) and āyatana (sphere) always existed in the form of seeds.

Lastly, it should be pointed out that 'the *Kathāvatthu* has not a word to say about the doctrines of this school. This silence, though a negative evidence, confirms our supposition that the

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[18]For a detailed account of the Ājīvikas see Hoernle's article in *ERE*, I, p. 261 and Barua's paper in the Calcutta University *Journal of the Department of Letters*, vol. II ; A. L. Basham, *History And Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, London, 1951.

[19]Pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha, apratisaṁkhyā-nirodha, ākāśa, anātman, kuśala-dharma-tathatā, akuśala-dharma-tathatā, avyākṛta-dharma-tathatā, mārgāṅga-tathatā, pratītyasamutpāda-tathatā.

Theravādins had little or no difference with the Mahīśāsakas as far as their doctrines were concerned'.[20]

(iii) Vātsīputrīya :—Of the sects this sect occupied a prominent place in the history of Buddhism for the particular views it advocated. The Vātsīputrīyas were also known as Avantikas, the residents of Avantī. They were also known as Vātsīputrīya-Sammitīyas.[21]

The Vātsīputrīyas believed in the existence of a Pudgala (an individuality), the permanent substance of an individual, apart from the elements composing a being. There could not be any birth without the existence of such a Pudgala which is beyond description and is not subject to any change. The distinguished Buddhist philosophers Nāgārjuna[22] and Vasubandhu[23] had tried to refute this view in their respective works. Pudgala was neither identical with nor different from the skandhas. The conglomeration of skandhas, āyatanas and dhātus are known as Pudgala for the time being A few of the saṃkhāras existed for the time being while some others perished at every moment. Dhammas could not change without Pudgala. The five vijñānas could not bring either rāga (desire) or virāga (removal of desire). The *Sammitīyaśāstra* or the *Sammitīyanikāyaśāstra* which contained the doctrines of this sect was its fundamental work. Like the Sarvāstivādins they also believed that an Arhaṭ had retrogression from spiritual life and the Ājīvikas could not attain miraculous powers. They also believed in antarābhava (intermediary state). Like the Mahīśāsakas, they also maintained that there were five factors of the ariyaṭṭhaṅgikamagga (Noble eightfold path). From the Gupta inscription discovered at Sarnath (Benares) we learn that Sarnath was a great centre of this sect. We are also told that Rājyaśrī, sister of king Harṣavardhana used to patronise this sect. Lastly, the *Kathāvatthu*, the works of

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[20] N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, Calcutta, 1970, p, 131.

[21] *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā*, IX 3 (Jap. ed.), p. 699.

[22] *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, p. 275 quoting *Ratnāvalī*, p. 267, 283 ; *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, IX, 60.

[23] *Abhidharmakośa*, ch, ix.

Bhavya, Vasumitra and Vinītadeva furnish us with ample references to the doctrines of this sect.

(iv) Sarvāstivāda :—It branched off from the Theravāda, the most orthodox school of Buddhism. The *Samayabhedoparacanacakrenikāyabhedopadeśanasaṃgrahanāma*[24] of Vasumitra records that the Sarvāstivāda arose out of the Theravāda in the 3rd century after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha. Bhavya, Vinītadeva and I-tsing also corroborate this date. It was also called the Hetuvāda and Muruntaka. But the *Dīpavaṃsa* records that the Sarvāstivāda issued out of the Mahīśāsaka, a branch of the orthodox group, the Theravāda. It was further known as the Vaibhāṣika on account of its reliance on the *Vibhāṣās* (commentaries)– the fundamental works of the Sarvāstivāda school and specially the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, an encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy. Yamakami Sôgen writes that in later times, the so-called Vaibhāṣikas came to be identified with the Sarvāstivādins ; and the two names became mutually interchangeable, although, properly speaking, the Sarvāstivādins originally formed a section of the Vaibhāṣikas'.[25] There is, however, a tradition that the Sarvāstivāda school was divided into seven sects : Mūlasarvāstivāda, Kāśyapīya, Mahīśāsaka, Dharmagupta, Bahuśrutīya, Tāmraśāṭīya and Vibhajjavāda.

The Sanskrit tradition speaks of king Aśoka's support to the Sarvāstivāda school towards the latter part of his life. Aśoka, apprehending that the Theravāda school might be supplanted by the new sects which had seceded from it, convened a council under the guidance of Moggaliputta Tissa, the leader of the orthodox school (Theravāda). The monks, who subscribed to the views of the Theravāda, were recognised as orthodox and the rest as unorthodox. The unorthodox monks left Magadha and went to Kāśmīra-Gandhāra. They occupied a conspicuous position there and subsequently came to be known as the Sarvāstivādins. The *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*[26] and Hiuen-Tsang's *Records*

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[24] Preserved in Tibetan translation.

[25] *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, p. 102.

[26] It is now extant in Chinese.

of the Western Land furnish us with an account of the flight of the Theravādins from Magadha to Kāśmīra. From them we also learn that the monks who fled to Kāśmīra from Magadha were no other than the Sarvāstivādins and, through their activities, Kāśmīra became the centre of Buddhist philosophical studies in northern India.

The Sarvāstivādins also claimed king Kaṇiṣka as their great patron. He was as great a patron of Buddhism as king Aśoka and his name is familiar to the Buddhists as that of Aśoka. He used to read Buddhist scriptures with a monk but was much puzzled at the conflicting interpretations of the different sects. He convened a council to reconcile the varying opinions of the different sects and 'to restore Buddhism to eminence and to have the Tripiṭaka explained according to the tenets of the various schools'. Monks of different sects participated in the council—the Sarvāstivādins of course forming the majority. Monks assembled there settled the texts of the canonical literature and also composed extensive commentaries on the Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma texts. They are known as the *Upadeśaśāstra*, *Vinayavibhāṣāśāstra* and *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra* respectively.[27] It is said that the texts were engraved on copper-plates and deposited inside a tope. These plates have, however, not yet been traced. Thus the main object of the council was to prepare commentaries on the canons with a view to reconciling the varying interpretations of the different sects. It also bears witness to the literary and religious activities of the Sarvāstivāda school and is of great value from the point of view of the history of religion and literature.

The Sarvāstivāda school was the most widely extended group of schools in India. It was the school that continued to flourish widely long after the Theravāda school had been cut off from its Indian home. It had also to bear the brunt of the battle against the Mahāyāna school. Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika system, made the main target of attack of the Sarvāstivāda views

[27] These *Śāstras* are preserved in Chinese translations—originals are lost.

in propounding his subtle philosophy of Śūnyatā. It flourished in northern India stretching from Kāśmīra to Mathurā. It was the school which was mainly responsible for the propagation of Hīnayāna doctrines in Central Asia whence they were subsequently preached in China. A few inscriptions (2nd-4th centuries A. D.) as also the travel-accounts of Chinese pilgrims, such as Fa-hien, Hiuen-Tsang and I-Tsing also testify to the wide popularity of this school all over northern India and outside India. Thus it is seen that it held the most important position in popularity, expansion and philosophical views among the schools of Buddhist thought.

From the Chinese and Tibetan translations as also from the manuscript fragments discovered in Central Asia, Nepal and Gilgit (now in Pakistan), and from the quotations found in the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Abhidharmakośa*, *Mādhyamikavṛtti* and such other works, it appears that the Sarvāstivādins had a canon of their own in Sanskrit[28] like the Theravādins in Pali in three divisions—Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. But a complete copy of this canon[29] is still a desideratum—some of them existing in manuscript fragments and others beyond recall.

The Sūtrapiṭaka of the Sarvāstivādins had four divisions :— *Dīrghāgama*, *Madhyamāgama*, *Saṃyuktāgama* and *Ekottarāgama*[30] corresponding to the four Pali Nikāyas, *viz.*, *Dīghanikāya*, *Majjhimanikāya*, *Saṃyuttanikāya* and *Aṅguttaranikāya*. The Sarvāstivādins had no fifth Āgama answering to the Pali *Khuddakanikāya*. But the texts such as the *Sūtranipāta*, *Udāna*, *Dharmapada*, *Sthaviragāthā*, *Vimānavastu* and *Buddhavaṁśa* corresponding to the Pali *Suttanipāta*, *Udāna*, *Dhammapada*, *Theragāthā*, *Vimānavatthu* and *Buddhavaṃsa* were subsequently collected and

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[28]It does not always conform to the rules of the Sanskrit grammar. This is called 'Buddhist Sanskrit' or 'Mixed Sanskrit', *i.e.*, partly Sanskrit and partly Prakrit (or Middle Indian dialect) assimilated to Sanskrit.

[29]The Chinese translation of the *Tripiṭaka*, extant now, is based on this version.

[30]Āgama is a term standing for Nikāya in Pali.

designated as the *Kṣudrakāgama.* The Chinese *Dīrghāgama* contains thirty sūtras as against thirty-four of the Pali *Dīghanikāya.* But the order of arrangement of the sūtras differs in the two versions. The manuscript fragments of the Saṁgītisūtra and Āṭānāṭiyasūtra of the *Dīrghāgama* have been discovered in Eastern Turkestan. The *Madhyamāgama* contains two sūtras as against hundred and fifty-two of the Pali text and nineteen of them are wanting in the Chinese version. The fragments of the Upāli sūtra and Śuka sūtra of the *Madhyamāgama* have also been discovered in Eastern Turkestan. The *Saṃyuktāgama* is divided into fifty chapters as against five saṁyuttas or vaggas of the Pali text. The fragments of the Pravāraṇasūtra, Candropamasūtra and Śaktisūtra of the *Saṃyuktāgama* have further been discovered in Eastern Turkestan. The *Ekottarāgama* contains fifty-two chapters while the *Aṅguttaranikāya* contains eleven nipātas containing hundred and sixty-nine chapters. There is noticeable disagreement between the sūtras of *Ekottarāgama* and *Aṅguttaranikāya.* This is probable because many sūtras of the *Ekottarāgama* have been included in the *Madhyamāgama* and *Saṃyuktāgama.* The *Ekottarāgama* is thus much shorter than the Pali *Aṅguttaranikāya.* Prof. Anesaki, who has compared the four Āgamas of the Sarvāstivādins with the corresponding Pali Nikāyas, observes that 'materials of both are much the same but the arrangement is different'[31].

The Vinayapiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school contains the following four divisions :—

(i) *Vinayavibhaṅga,*
(ii) *Vinayavastu,*
(iii) *Vinayakṣudrakavastu,* and
(iv) *Vinaya-uttaragrantha.*

The original Sanskrit text of the Sarvāstivādins is lost and we have to depend on the Chinese translation for our information. In Chinese, there are four divisions as indicated above. We find that this order of arrangement of the Sarvāstivāda school is

[31]The Relation of the Chinese Āgamas to the Pāli Nikāyas (correspondence, *JRAS*, 1901).

almost identical with that of the Theravāda or Pali school. This shows that the Sarvāstivādins adopted the same general arrangement as the Theravādins. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* corresponds to the *Suttavibhaṅga*, the *Vinayavastu* to the Khandhakas, *i.e.*, the *Mahāvagga* and portions of *Cullavagga*, the *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* and *Vinaya-uttaragrantha* to the *Cullavagga* and the *Parivārapāṭha* respectively.

The Abhidharmapiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school comprises seven texts like the Theravāda school. They are all available in Chinese translations only. Manuscript fragments of the Sūtra and the Vinaya literature of this school are now available in original Sanskrit, but unfortunately, no fragment of any of the Abhidharma texts in Sanskrit, excepting a small fragment of the *Saṅgītiparyāya*[32], has as yet been discovered. Until the discovery of the original Sanskrit works, the Chinese translations are the only source of our information. Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā* and the French translation with introduction and notes of the *Abhidharmakośa* by Louis de La Vallée Poussin also supplement greatly our knowledge of the Abhidharma of this school.

The seven Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivādins are :—

(i) *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* of Ārya Kātyāyanīputra,
(ii) *Saṅgītiparyāya* of Mahākauṣṭhila.
(iii) *Prakaraṇapāda* of Sthavira Vasumitra,
(iv) *Vijñānakāya* of Sthavira Devaśarmā,
(v) *Dhātukāya* of Pūrṇa,
(vi) *Dharmaskandha* of Ārya Śāriputra, and
(vii) *Prajñaptiśāstra* of Ārya Maudgalyāyana.

Of them, the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* occupies the most prominent place. In his *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Yaśomitra has compared the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* to the body of a being and the other six to its legs. It is thus the principal text of the Sarvāstivāda school and others are supplements to it. But the seven Abhidharma texts of the Theravāda school are all

[32] It has been discovered from the caves of Bamiyan in Afghanistan.

independent works, there being no interdependence between them.

As already observed, the Nikāya and Vinaya texts of the Sarvāstivāda school have a close affinity with those of the Theravāda school. One would, therefore, naturally expect that there should be a fair amount of agreement between the Abhidharma texts of both the schools. But this is not so, there being more disagreement than agreement. There is no real connection between the two versions. They agree only in the total number of the texts.

In addition to the seven well-known Abhidharma texts, this school had a few other important philosophical works. But they are not available in original Sanskrit with the solitary exception of Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā.* They are preserved either in Chinese or Tibetan or in both. The largest number of texts are, however, available in Chinese translations.

The term Sarvāstivāda means 'all exists' (sarvaṃ asti). It is this belief which has given this school the appellation Sarvāstivāda. It advocates the doctrine that all things exist at all times—present, past and future. By it, it means the existence of the elements of the past and the future in the present (Trikālasat). In other words, it upholds that the present has its root in the past and the consequence in the future. The *Kathāvatthu* gives us the plain meaning of the term Sarvāstivāda. According to it, the Sarvāstivāda maintains that everything exists everywhere at all times and in every way. It is obviously connected with the implications of Trikālavāda on which there was a fierce controversy in ancient India not only in the Buddhist schools of thought but also among the Naiyāyikas, Vaiyākaraṇas, Sāṅkhya-Yogins and others. The Satkārya view of the Sāṅkhya system is also basically allied to the Sarvāstivāda in certain respects. There were differences of opinion among the Sarvāstivādin teachers on the interpretation of the existence of the objects in regard to the past, present and future. Prominent among those exponents were Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, Vasumitra and Buddhadeva. The

Sarvāstivāda, as already stated, originated from the Theravāda, the most orthodox school of Buddhism. It had, therefore, a fair agreement with the Theravāda in regard to the doctrinal matters. Like the Theravāda, it believed in the plurality of elements in the universe. According to it, there were seventy-five elements. Seventy-two of them were saṃskṛta and the rest were asaṃskṛta. The saṃskṛta dharmas were divided into rūpa[33], citta[34], cittasaṃprayukta dharmas[35], and cittaviprayukta

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[33]Rūpa (11) : (a) *viṣaya* (b) *indriya* (c) *avijñapti* (1)

(i) rūpa	(i) cakṣurindriya
(ii) śabda	(ii) śrotrendriya
(iii) gandha	(iii) ghrāṇendriya
(iv) rasa	(iv) jihvendriya
(v) sparśa	(v) kāyendriya

[34]Citta : (1)

[35]Cittasaṃprayuktadharmas (46) :

(a) *Mahābhūmika*

(i) vedanā	(vi) mati or prajñā
(ii) saṃjñā	(vii) smṛti
(iii) cetanā	(viii) manaskāra
(iv) sparśa	(ix) adhimokṣa
(v) chanda	(x) samādhi.

(b) *Kuśalamahābhūmika*

(i) śraddhā	(vi) alobha
(ii) vīrya	(vii) adveṣa
(iii) upekṣā	(viii) ahiṃsā
(iv) hrī	(ix) praśrabdhi
(v) apatrāpya	(x) apramāda.

(c) *Kleśamahābhūmika*

(i) moha
(ii) pramāda
(iii) kauśīdya
(iv) āśrāddhya
(v) styāna
(vi) auddhatya

(d) *Akuśalamahābhūmika*

(i) ahrīkatā
(ii) anapatrāpya

dharmas[36], while asaṃskṛta dharmas were ākāśa, pratisaṅkhyā-nirodha and apratisaṅkhyānirodha. Lastly, like the Theravāda, it believed in the doctrine of karma and nirvāṇa, a state to be attained by transcendental knowledge through the giving up of lusts (kleśa).

(v) Dharmaguptika :—It was a sub-sect of the Mahīśāsaka. But it differed from the Mahīśāsaka on certain doctrinal points. It is said that the Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra of this sect containing the biography of Buddha and most probably written in mixed Sanskrit was translated into Chinese about 280-312 A.D.[37]. Prof. Przyluski[38] opines that this sect had an important centre in the north-west. It had also gained popularity in Central Asia and

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(e) *Upakleśabhūmika*	(f) *Aniyatabhūmika*
(i) krodha	(i) kaukṛtya
(ii) mrakṣa	(ii) middha
(iii) mātsarya	(iii) vitarka
(iv) īrṣyā	(iv) vicāra
(v) pradāśa	(v) rāga
(vi) vihiṃsā	(vi) pratigha
(vii) upanāha	(vii) māna
(viii) māyā	(viii) vicikitsā
(ix) śāṭhya	
(x) mada	

[36] *Cittaviprayuktadharmas* (14) :

(i) prāpti	(viii) jāti
(ii) aprāpti	(ix) sthiti
(iii) sabhāgatā	(x) jarā
(iv) asaṁjñika	(xi) anityatā
(v) asaṃjñisamāpatti	(xii) nāmakāya
(vi) nirodhasamāpatti	(xiii) padakāya
(vii) jīvita	(xiv) vyañjanakāya.

[37] Beal has translated into English under the title '*The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*'.

[38] *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pp. 325-6.

China. It had a Tripiṭaka of its own consisting of the Sūtra[39], Vinaya[40] and Abhidharma[41]. From De Groot[42] we learn that the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of this sect containing two hundred and fifty rules of conduct as against two hundred and twenty-seven of the Pali *Pātimokkha* were widely read and followed in most of the monasteries of China.

The Dharmaguptikas believed that gifts made to the Saṅgha were meritorious. They also likewise believed that reverence paid to the thūpas were also meritorious. The arhats were pure and free from passion and the Ājivikas could not attain supernatural powers. A meditating monk could realize the truth (abhisamaya) all at once. Emancipation (vimukti) was the goal of both the Śrāvakayāna and Buddhayāna, though the paths were different. Lastly, this sect agreed fairly with the Mahāsaṅghikas in regard to their doctrinal view-points.

(vi) Kāśyapīya :—It branched off from the Sarvāstivāda but its views agreed fairly with those of Theravāda. It was also known as the Sthāvirīya. In the works of the Tāranātha and Ch'en lun, it was known as Suvarṣaka while in Bhavya's works it was called Saddharmavarṣaka. Prof. Przyluski has identified the

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[39] It contained the following divisions —

Dīrgha-āgama
Madhyama-āgama
Ekottara-āgama
Saṃyukta-āgama
Kṣudraka-āgama

[40] It consisted of :—

Bhikṣuprātimokṣa,
Bhikṣuṇīprātimoksa,
Khandhaka,
Ekottara.

[41] It included—Difficult (texts),
not difficult (texts),
Saṃgraha,
Saṃyukta.

[42] *Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, p. 3.

Kāśyapīyas with the Haimavatas But Dr. N. Dutt writes that 'the conclusion drawn by Prof. Przyluski from the inscriptional evidences does not appear to be logical. In the inscriptions it is stated that some monks of the Kassapagotta propagated Buddhism in Himavanta but there is nothing to show that the Kassapagotta monks necessarily belonged to the Kāśyapīya school. Hence the identification of Kāśyapīyas with the Haimavatas is not tenable.'[43] Like the Dharmaguptikas the Kāśyapīyas had a Tripiṭaka of their own – Sūtra[44], Vinaya[45] and Abhidharma[46].

The Kāśyapīyas believed that Arhats had both kṣayajñāna and anutpādajñāna. They were not subject to passions. Saṃskāras perished every moment. They would arise due to the consequences of the past and not to the future. They thus believed in the consequences of the actions. In the *Kathāvatthu* are discussed the view-points of the Kāśyapīyas. It is said that they made a compromise between the Sarvāstivādins and the Vibhajjavādins.

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[43] *Early Monastic Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 170.

[44] Sūtrapiṭaka—

Dīrgha-āgama,
Madhyama-āgama,
Ekottara-āgama,
Saṃyukta-āgama,
Kṣudraka-āgama.

[45] Vinayapiṭaka—

Bhikṣuprātimokṣa,
Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa,
Kaṭhina,
Mātṛkā,
Ekottara.

[46] Abhidharmapiṭaka—

Sapraśnakavibhaṅga,
Apraśnakavibhaṅga,
Saṃgraha,
Comparative tables.

(vii) Haimavata :—Its name suggests that this sect came into existence in the Himalayan region. The *Aṣṭadaśanikāyasaṃgraha* of the distinguished Buddhist teacher Vasumitra records that the Haimavata issued out from the Sthaviravāda. But the two other great teachers Bhavya and Vinītadeva maintained that it was a branch of the Mahāsaṇghikas. The Ceylonese chronicles record that the Haimavata sect originated sometimes after the appearance of the eighteen sects.

Like the Sarvāstivādins the Haimavatas believed that the Bodhisattvas had no special excellence. They were also average beings. While entering into mother's womb they had neither rāga nor kāma. According to them they also believed that even the gods could not live the holy life. The Arhats were not free from ignorance and doubts. They were also subject to greed. The heretics could not have miraculous powers. The Arhats could attain spiritual knowledge through the help of others. Truth could be realized by an exclamation while absorbing in meditation. Thus this sect was in close agreement with the views of the Sarvāstivāda.

(viii) Saṃkrāntika (Sautrāntika) :—The Pali tradition records that the Saṃkrāntika was a branch of the Kāśyapīya, while the Sautrāntika was an off-shoot of the Saṃkrāntika. But according to the renowned teacher Vasumitra the two sects were one and identical. The very name Saṃkrāntika suggests that this sect believed in Saṃkrānti, *i.e.*, it admitted the transmigration of a substance from one existence to another. Of the five khandhas constituting an individual there is only one khandha which could transmigrate. According to the Kāśyapīya it was the real pudgala. The Mahāsaṅghikas maintained that it was the subtle consciousness which permeated the whole body. It was identical with the Ālayavijñāna of the Yogācāra sect.

The Saṃkrāntikas believed that the body of an Arhat was pure because it was produced by knowledge. Khandhas could not be destroyed without the help of the Noble eightfold path. Every man had in him the potentiality of becoming a Buddha. There might be many Buddhas simultaneously.

Asaṃskṛta dharmas[47] had no real existence. Like all other schools they also rejected the existence of the past and future advocated by the Sarvāstivāda. We are told that this sect was considered to be a bridge between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. There are ample references to the doctrine of this sect in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*[48].

(ix) The Mahāsaṅghikas :—As already observed, the Mahāsaṅghikas were the earliest seceders and the forerunners of Mahāyānism. The *Dīpavaṃsa*[49] records that they introduced not only the ten new Vinaya rules but also incorporated some new doctrines according to their own liking. They made alterations in the arrangement of the Sūtra and Vinaya texts too. A good number of the Sūtras, which they gave out as the sayings of Buddha, were also canonized by them. They rejected certain portions of the canon accepted in the First Council held at Pāṭaliputra and did not recognise as Buddhavacana (Buddha's sayings) the *Parivāra* or *Parivārapāṭha*, *Abhidhamma*, *Paṭisaṁbhidā*, *Niddesa* and parts of the *Jātaka*. They made a compilation of the Dhamma and Vinaya in their own way with the inclusion of those rejected in Mahākassapa's Council. In short, the Mahāsaṅghikas 'changed their names, their appearance, requisites, and gestures, forsaking what was original.' Thus arose a twofold division of the canon. The compilation of the Mahāsaṅghikas was known as the Ācariyavāda (Sectarian Teachings) as distinguished from that of the First Council called the Theravāda (Orthodox Doctrines). The Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā inscriptions also refer to the existence of the canon of the Mahāsaṅghikas. It is said that the Mahāsaṅghikas composed their canon in Prakrit. According to Bu-ston, the canon of the Mahā-

[47]They are :—Ākāśa, pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha and apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha.

[48]In his introduction to the French translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* Prof. La Valle'e Poussin has summed up the references which are of immense value to the students of the Buddhist philosophy.

[49]Ch. IV.

saṅghikas was written in Prakrit.[50] Vinītadeva (8th century A.D.) holds that the Mahāsaṅghikas used Prakrit for their literary medium. Wassiljew also tells us that the literature of this sect was in Prakrit.[51]

According to Yuan Chwang[52], the canon of the Mahāsaṅghikas was divided into five parts :—Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma, Dhāraṇī and Saṃyukta (Miscellaneous). We also know that Yuan Chwang took away 657 Sanskrit works to China and rendered them into Chinese. Of them were fifteen Mahāsaṅghika treatises on the Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. Fa-hien (A.D. 414) who visited India before Yuan Chwang took away a complete transcript of the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya from Pāṭaliputra to China and translated it into Chinese.[53] In Nanjio's *Catalogue*[54] we find names of the two Vinaya texts of this sect—*Mahāsaṅghikavinaya* and *Mahāsaṅghikabhikṣuṇīvinaya* which are extant in Chinese only. The only original work available to us of this sect is the *Mahāvastu* or the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* which is the book of the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Lokottaravādins, a branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas[55]. The biography of Buddha is the chief content of the *Mahāvastu.* It also furnishes us with the history of the formation of the Saṅgha and the first conversion of disciples. It is written in Mixed Sanskrit or Buddhist Sanskrit, *i.e.* partly Sanskrit and partly Prakrit. It was probably composed between the second century B.C. and the fourth century A.D.[56] The Mahāsaṅghikas could not make much progress in their early career on account of the

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[50] *History of Buddhism* (Tr. Obermiller), Vol. II, p. 100.

[51] *Der Buddhismus*, pp. 294, 295.

[52] Watters, *On the Travels of Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 160 ; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 4.

[53] Takakusu, *Records of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing*, p. XX.

[54] Cols. 247, 253, Manuscript No. 543.

[55] *Mahāvastu* (ed. Senart), I, p. 2 :—Āryamahāsāṃghikānāṁ Lokottaravādināṃ Madhyadeśikānāṃ pāṭhena Vinayapiṭakasya Mahāvastuye ādi.

[56] Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, p. 239 ; B. C. Law, *A study of the Mahāvastu*, 1930.

stiff resistance they received from the Theravādins, the orthodox monks. But they gradually acquired strength and became a powerful sect. They did not confine themselves to Magadha but established centres at Pāṭaliputra and Vesāli, and spread to the north and the south. They became more powerful and gained popularity in the south, particularly in the Guntur and Krishna districts. I-tsing (A.D. 671-695)[57] states that he found the Mahāsaṅghikas in Magadha, a few in Lāṭa and Sindhu and a few in northern, southern and eastern India. It is to be noted that the Mathura Lion Capital (120 B.C.) refers to the existence of the Mahāsaṅghika sect and it is the earliest epigraphic evidence available to us.

Like the Theravādins, the Mahāsaṅghikas accepted caturāryasatyas (the Four noble truths), āryāṣṭāṅgikamārga (noble eightfold path), pratītyasamutpāda dependent origination), non-existence of skandhas, impermanence of the soul, the thirty-seven bodhipakṣiyadharmas, seven bodhyaṅgas and the gradual stages of spiritual progress. According to them Buddhas were lokottara (supramundane) and were free from impurities. They had unlimited bodies and powers, as a consequence of their previous merits. They were always absorbed in meditation. They could understand everything in a moment. They had knowledge of decay (kṣayajñāna) and knowledge of non-origination (anutpādajñāna) till the time of their Mahāparinibbāna. They had neither dream nor sleep. Everything regarding them was transcendental (lokottara). This conception of Buddhas was largely responsible for the origin and growth of the Trikāya doctrine in Mahāyāna. The Mahāsaṅghikas further maintained that Buddhas were not born like ordinary beings. They would enter the mothers' wombs in the shape of white elephants and issue out of the wombs from the right sides of their mothers. They further held that a sotāpanna had a chance of retrogression from religious life but an Arhat had no such chance. Through his citta and cetasika dhammas a sotāpanna could understand his own nature. Citta

[57] Takakusu, *Records of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing*, p. xxxiii.

(mind) was generally pure. But it was contaminated by adventitious defilements. This conception gave rise to the origin of Ālayavijñāna of the Yogācāra sect. We are also told that according to the Mahāsaṅghikas there was no existence of being after death and before rebirth. Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* and Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*[58] state that Buddhas could appear at the same time in more than one place and they could understand all dharmas at the same time. The doctrinal views of this sect have been elaborately discussed in the *Mahāvastu*, *Kathāvatthu* and the treatises of Vasumitra, Bhavya and Vinītadeva.

(x) The Caityikas (Caityakas) :—The distinguished Buddhist teacher Mahādeva was responsible for the origin of the Caityavāda sect about two hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha. He was not the same Mahādeva through whose five dogmas the Mahāsaṅghika sect came into existence. This Mahādeva used to dwell in a Caitya on the top of a mountain, and that is why this sect was called Caityavāda. According to some others since this sect worshipped the Caityas, the name Caityakas was thus given to its adherents. It was also known as the Lokottaravāda sect. The Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā inscriptions refer to this sect. From this sect originated the Śaila sub-sect which 'established themselves along the banks of the Kṛṣṇā with several monasteries located on the different hills all round.' The *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* and the Ceylonese chronicles mention that they were also known as Andhakas, as they had important centres in the Andhra country.

The doctrines of the Caityakas were almost identical with those of the Mahāsaṅghikas. They of course differed on some minor matters. According to them the construction of caityas, worship of caityas and a circumambulation of caityas could produce merits. Offering of flowers, garlands and scents to caityas were likewise meritorious. By making gifts one could acquire merits and these merits could be transferred to one's relatives and acquaintances engendering happiness in this world and the next. This readily

[58] *Kośa*, ed. Poussin, III, 200 ; ix, 254.

recalls to our mind the XIIth inscription of Aśoka[59]. Such a kind of worship and the like were inconsistent with the early principles of Buddhism. They of course gave rise to the devotional aspects in the religion which made Buddhism popular among the laity. They also further contributed to the development of Mahāyānism. The Caityakas believed that Buddhas were free from attachment, delusion and ill-will. They were further superior to the Arhats for their acquisition of ten powers (balas)[60]. A bhikkhu having a right view could not be freed from hatred. He might also commit murder. According to them Nirvāṇa is a positive faultless state.

(xi) Bahuśrutīya :—The Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā inscriptions record that the Bahuśrutīya was a later offshoot of the Mahāsaṅghika sect. It is said that the founder of this sect was a very learned Buddhist teacher and that is why the school was called Bahuśrutīya. Harivarman's *Satyasiddhiśāstra* was the authoritative work of this sect. The distinguished teacher Vasubandhu tells us that although this sect was a sub-sect of the Mahāsaṅghika, it closely agreed with the many doctrinal points of the Sarvāstivāda sect. It had also some views similar to those of the Śaila sect.

The Bahuśrutīya held that Buddha's teachings concerning anityatā (transitoriness), duḥkha (suffering), śūnya (non-existence of objects), anātman (absence of soul) and nirvāṇa (the final bliss) were lokottara (supramundane). Its other teachings were laukika (mundane). It should be noted that 'in Pali texts the teachings and exercises connected with maggas and phalas are usually regarded as lokottara and the rest laukika.'[61] It further believed that there was no mode which could lead to the salvation. The

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[59] *Epi. Ind.* xx, pp. 16, 19, 20, 21.

[60] Sthānāsthāna-jñāna, karmavipāka-jñāna, nānādhimukti-jñāna, nānādhātu-jñāna, indriyavarāvara-jñāna, sarvatragāminīpratipaj-jñāna, sarvadhyānavimokṣasamādhisamāpattisaṃkleśavyavadānavyutthāna-jñāna, pūrvanivāsānusmṛti-jñāna, cyutyutpatti-jñāna and āśravakṣaya-jñāna—Mahāvyutpatti (Sakaki), pp. 9, 10.

[61] N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, p. 126.

Saṅgha was above the worldly rules. It also accepted Mahādeva's five dogmas. Like the Mahāyānists it admitted that there were two kinds of truth—saṃvṛti (conventional) and paramārtha (absolute). It also held the theory of Buddhakāya and of Dharmakāya. According to it Buddha had ten balas (powers), four vaiśāradyas (confidences)[62] and special powers. It maintained that the present was real, the past and the future had no existence. The distinguished teacher Paramārtha maintains that this sect had tried to reconcile the two principal systems of Buddhist thought—Śrāvakayānism and Mahāyānism. It is generally stated that this sect was 'a bridge between the orthodox and the Mahāyāna school' as it was a syncretism of the teachings of the two sects. It also maintained that Buddha's teachings contained two meanings—nītārtha (direct meaning)[63] and neyārtha (indirect meaning).[64]

(xii) Prajñaptivāda :—From Vinītadeva and the *Bhikṣu-varṣāgraparipṛcchā* we learn that this sect came into being from the Mahāsaṅghika sect. But our ācārya Paramārtha thinks that it originated sometime after the Bahuśrutīya sect. It called itself Bahuśrutīyavibhajyavāda to distinguish it from the Bahuśrutīya. According to it skandhas and duḥkhas were not concomitant. The twelve āyatanas[65] were not real. It believed that the

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[62]Sarvadharmābhisaṃbodhi-vaiśāradya (confidence of being perfectly enlightened as to all dharmas); sarvāśravakṣayajñāna-vaiśāradya (of knowledge that all impurities are destroyed for him); antarāyikadharmānayathātva-niścita-vyākaraṇavaiśāradya (of having described precisely and correctly the obstructive conditions to religious life); and sarvasaṃpadādhigamāya nairyāṇika-pratipattathātva-vaiśāradya (of the correctness of his way of salvation for realization of all religious success).

[63]*Samādhirājasūtra*, p. 78.

[64]*Mādhyamikavṛtti*, ed. by Prof. Louis de La Vallée Poussin, p. 43.

[65]Cakkhu (eye), sota (ear), ghāna (nose), jivhā (tongue), kāya (body), mano (mind), rūpāyatana (visible object), saddāyatana (sound), gandhāyatana (odour), rasāyatana (taste), phoṭṭhabbāyatana (tangible object) and dhammāyatana (cognizable object).

acquisition of āryamārga or death was due to karma. There could be no retrogression after the attainment of āryamārga. Karma was the hetu (cause) of vipāka (fruition or consequence). Vipākahetu was the cause of vipākaphala. Demiéville[66] pointed out that the views of this sect agreed more closely with the views of the Mahāsaṅghikas than with those of the Sarvāstivādins.

As already observed, the aforesaid sects and their branches disappeared or merged with other sects. Four sects only survived. The four that could outlive and expand their own field of influence were Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra. In Hindu and Jain philosophical works only these four schools are mentioned. In Buddhist traditions, the Vaibhāṣikas were so called on account of their dependence on *Vibhāṣā* (commentary), the Sautrāntikas for recognising the sūtra (original texts), the Mādhyamikas for laying emphasis on madhyamā pratipad (the middle course) only as authoritative. The Yogācāras were otherwise known as the Vijñānavādins on account of their holding vijñānamātra as the ultimate reality. We hear only of these four schools for a considerable period of time. Let us here consider these four schools :—

(i) The Vaibhāṣika :—It came into prominence in the third century after Buddha's Mahāparinirvāṇa. It rejected the authority of the Sūtras and admitted only the Abhidharma. The seven Abhidharma treatises which formed the general foundation of its philosophy were *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* of Ārya Kātyāyanīputra, *Saṅgītiparyāya* of Mahākauṣṭhila, *Prakaraṇapāda* of Sthavira Vasumitra, *Vijñānakāya* of Sthavira Devaśarmā, *Dhātukāya* of Pūrṇa, *Dharmaskandha* of Ārya Śāriputra and *Prajñaptiśāstra* of Ārya Maudgalyāyana[67]. Of them *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* is the principal treatise, others are pādas or supplements. A huge commentary on the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* called the *Abhidharma-*

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[66] Paul Demiéville, *L'origine des sectes bouddhiques in Mélanges Chinois et bouddhiques*, vol. I, 1931-32, pp. 49-50.

[67] The seven Theravāda Abhidhamma texts are :—*Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Kathāvatthu*, *Puggalapaññatti*, *Dhātukathā*, *Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna*.

mahāvibhāṣā or simply *Vibhāṣā* containing eight divisions (khandhas) and forty-three chapters (vaggas) was compiled by five hundred Arhats (beginning with the venerable Vasumitra), four hundred years after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha. It is not available to us in original Sanskrit. But it is preserved in Chinese translation. The Vaibhāṣika philosophy was based exclusively on this commentary (*vibhāṣā*) and hence was the name Vaibhāṣika. The *Nyāyānusāraśāstra* of Saṅghabhadra was another learned work of this system of thought. Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka and Buddhadeva were other prominent exponents of this philosophy. The Vaibhāṣikas were realists. They admitted the reality of both mind and external objects. They also held that external objects were directly known and not inferred. Thus they held the theory of direct realism (bāhyapratyakṣavāda). It further held that Nirvāṇa is a perfect state of bliss. Like the Sarvāstivādins it also believed in the existence of seventy-five dharmas which are broadly divided into impure (sāsrava) and pure (anāsrava). The impure dharmas are called saṃskṛta (constituted) dharmas while pure dharmas are called asaṃskṛta (unconstituted) dharmas. Constituted dharmas could originate from hetus (causes)[68] while unconstituted dharmas are ahetus (causeless). It also denied the existence of soul (ātmā) and pudgala (personality). Skandhas (constituted elements) and mahābhūtas (great elements) could produce a being.

(ii) The Sautrāntika :—It flourished in the fourth century after the demise of Buddha. It attached great importance to the authority of the Sūtras. The Sautrāntika philosophy was based on the original texts containing the discourses of Buddha rather than on the commentaries thereon and that is why the name Sautrāntika was given to this school. Ācārya Kumāralāta was the founder of this school. He also wrote many valuable texts on this school. Harivarman's *Satyasiddhiśāstra* was an authoritative work of this school. Śrīlābha who was also a well-known

[68]This reminds us of the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism—
Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṃ hetuṃ Tathāgato āha
Tesañ ca yo nirodho evaṃvādī Mahāsamaṇo.

teacher of this school composed a famous commentary on a work of this school. Dharmottara and Yaśomitra were followers of this school. Like the Vaibhāṣikas the Sautrāntikas admitted that the mental and external objects were both real. According to them objects outside could be inferred from their mental pictures or ideas (bāhyānumeya). Unlike the Vaibhāṣikas the Sautrāntikas denied the existence of the past and future elements but admitted the existence of the present only. It also held that impermanence was the characteristic of all dharmas which were void and unreal. Nirvāṇa was not a real object. The Sautrāntikas were also known as Sarvavaināśikas.

(iii) The Mādhyamika :—As already observed, it was so called on account of its laying emphasis on madhyamā pratipad (the middle view) only as authoritative. In his first sermon at Benares Buddha preached the middle path. It advocates neither self-mortification nor a life addicted to the pleasures of the senses. But it is different from the middle path as advocated by the adherents of the Mādhyamika system. The latter is the non-acceptance of the two views concerning existence and non-existence, eternity and non-eternity, self and non-self and the like[69]. In short, it advocates neither the theory of absolute reality nor that of total unreality of the world but merely realitivity. 'By śūnyatā, therefore', observes Prof. Radhakrishnan[70], 'the Mādhyamika does not mean absolute non-being but relative being.' Since this sect maintained that śūnyatā was the absolute, it was, therefore, designated as Śūnyavāda. It also believed that there were two kinds of truths—samvṛti (conventional truth) and paramārtha (transcendental truth). It is, however, to be noted that the middle path propounded at Benares has an ethical meaning while that of the Mādhyamikas is to be taken in the metaphysical sense.

The Mādhyamika school is said to have been originated with the teacher Nāgārjuna or Ārya Nāgārjuna. He came of a Brahmin family in South India. His native place was in Vidarbha

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[69] Astīti śāśvatagrāho nāstītyucchedadarśaṇam
Śāśvatocchedanirmuktaṃ tattvaṁ Saugatasammataṃ.

[70] *Indian Philosophy*, vol. I, p. 661.

(Berar). Probably he lived towards the end of the second century A D. He was a versatile genius and wrote a number of works on various subjects. Of the works the *Mādhyamikakārikā* can certainly be called his masterpiece. It presents in a systematic manner the philosophy of the Mādhyamika school. It teaches śūnyatā (the indescribable absolute) to be the sole reality. His other works, the *Śūnyatāsaptati*, *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, *Prajñāpāramitāśāstra* and *Mahāyānaviṃśaka* also expound his philosophical views.

The next writer on the Mādhyamika system was Deva or Āryadeva. He was also called Kāṇadeva (one-eyed Deva) and Nīlanetra (blue-eyed). He was born in South India and was a prominent disciple of Nāgārjuna. He flourished in the early part of the third century A.D. He was the author of several valuable works, mostly preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. Next in importance to Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamikakārikā* is his *Catuḥśataka* which is available in Sanskrit at present. Like the *Mādhyamikakārikā* it contains four hundred Kārikās and is one of the principal works of the Mādhyamika philosophy.

From the early third century A.D. to the fifth century, until the time of Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka, it seems that there had been no significant contribution made by the teachers to the stock of Mādhyamika thought. After a lapse of about two centuries the Mādhyamika thinkers again appeared in the field. But this time it witnessed the division of the Mādhyamika into two schools of thought—the Prāsaṅgika school and Svātantra school. The former was founded by Buddhapālita while the latter by Bhāvaviveka. Both of them were contemporaries and were great exponents of Mādhyamika system. They lived in the fifth century A.D.

Candrakīrti who flourished in the sixth century A.D. was a disciple of Dharmapāla who was the head of the University of Nālandā. He was born in a Brahmin family at Samanta in South India. He was the author of several works on Mādhyamika philosophy. Of these, his *Madhyamakāvatāra* and *Prasannapadī* are his principal works. The *Madhyamakāvatāra*, extant in

Tibetan, is a work of high philosophical merit. The *Prasannapadā* is a commentary on the *Mūlamādhyamikakārikās.* It supports and explains Nāgārjuna. Candrakīrti has also commented on Āryadeva's works. His commentary on the *Catuḥśataka* is indeed a valuable work on the Mādhyamika system. He was thus a famous commentator on the works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva.

Śāntideva was a distinguished teacher in the world of Buddhist scholarship of the seventh century A.D. Probably he was the last great philosopher of Śūnyavāda. He was born in Saurāṣṭra (Gujarat) as a prince during the reign of king Śrīharṣa. Three works, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya, Bodhicaryāvatāra* and *Sūtrasamuccaya* are ascribed to him. The last one is preserved in Tibetan. The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* is a philosophical work. It dilates on the doctrine of śūnyatā according to the Mādhyamika system.

Lastly, it is interesting to note here that the T'ien-T'ai and the San-lun—the two philosophic sects of Chinese Buddhism were the offshoots of the Mādhyamika sect of Indian Buddhism.

(iv) The Yogācāra :—It was so called because it emphasised on the practice of Yoga (meditation) as the most effective method for the attainment of the highest truth (bodhi) by going through all the ten stages of spiritual progress (daśa bhūmi)[71] of Bodhisattvahood. It was otherwise known as the Vijñānavāda on account of its holding Vijñānamātra (pure consciousness) as the ultimate reality. In short, it taught subjective idealism—only thought real. All other external objects were unreal like dreams, mirages and sky-flowers.[72]

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[71]They are :—Pramuditā, Vimalā or Adhiśīla, Prabhākarī or Adhicittavihāra, Arciṣmatī or Bodhipakṣapratisaṃyuktādhiprajñāvihāra, Sudurjayā or Satyapratisaṃyuktādhiprajñāvihāra, Abhimukhī or Pratītyasamutpādapratisaṃyuktādhiprajñāvihāra, Dūraṃgamā or Sābhisaṃskārasabhoganirṇimittavihāra, Acalā or Anābhoganirṇimittavihāra, Sādhumatī or Pratisaṃvidvihāra, Dharmameghā or Paramavihāra.

[72]cf. Vijñaptimātram evedam asadarthāvabhāsanāt,
Yadvat taimirikasyāsatkeśoṇḍrakādidarśanaṃ.
Na deśakālaniyamaḥ santānāniyamo na ca,
Na ca kṛtyakriyā yuktā vijñaptir yadi nārthataḥ.
Also : Cittamātraṃ bho Jinaputrā yaduta traidhātukam.

The *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* of Ācārya Vasubandhu which is the basic work of this system maintains that citta (cittamātra) or vijñāna (vijñānamātra) is the only reality. The "Yogācāra brings out the practical side of the philosophy, while Vijñānavāda brings out its speculative features." The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and Ācārya Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* are the basic works of the Yogācāra system. According to the Yogācāra ālayavijñāna was the repository of the consciousness underlying the subject-object duality. It further maintained that the ālayavijñāna was the womb of Tathāgata (Tathāgatagarbha). It was a changing stream of consciousness like flowing water. When one would realise Buddhahood its course would stop immediately. The Yogācārins further recognised two kinds of Nairātma (non-substantiality), Pudgalanairātma (non-existence of self) and Dharmanairātma (non-existence of the things of the world). The former could be realised through the removal of passions (kleśāvaraṇa) and the latter by the removal of the veil covering true knowledge (jñeyāvaraṇa). According to them there were three varieties of knowledge—parikalpita (illusory), paratantra (empirical) and pariniṣpaṇṇa (absolute) as against two of the Mādhyamikas noted above. The Yogācārins held that reality was pure consciousness (vijñānamātra) while the Mādhyamikas believed that it was śūnyatā.

It is now believed that Maitreya or rather Maitreyanātha was the founder of the Yogācāra school. He was the teacher of Asaṅga and probably lived between 150-265 A.D. Among the distinguished thinkers of this school may be mentioned Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dignāga, Dharmapāla and Dharmakīrti.

Asaṅga was born in a Brahmin family in Puruṣapura (Peshwar). He lived in the fourth century A.D. He was the eldest of the three brothers—the middle one was the famous Vasubandhu. At first he was an adherent of the Sarvāstivāda school, but later in his life he became a disciple of Maitreyanātha and accepted the doctrine of the Yogācāra school. As a teacher of the Yogācāra system Asaṅga is more famous than his teacher Maitreyanātha in the history of Buddhist literature. He brought the school into prominence by his writings and placed it on a high level. Thus he is often regarded as the founder of the Yogācāra school.

Vasubandhu was the brother of Asaṅga. He was more renowned than his brother Asaṅga as an exponent of the Yogācāra philosophy. He started his life as a Vaibhāṣika philosopher of the Sarvāstivāda school, but in later life he was converted to the Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna system. Tradition has it that he wanted to chop off his tongue as a penance for his disparaging Mahāyāna. But his eldest brother Asaṅga told him not to do so but to employ it in expounding Mahāyāna and this would indeed be a better penance for him. He did this and devoted the rest of his life for the propagation of Mahāyāna. Several commentaries on the Mahāyāna texts are also ascribed to him. But they are extant in Chinese.

Dignāga was born in a Brahmin family at Siṃhavaktra near Kāñcī in the province of Tamil. He was initiated by Nāgadatta, a teacher of the Vātsīputrīya sect and acquired proficiency in the canonical literature of Hīnayāna under his tutelage. But owing to his difference in the interpretation of pudgala with his teacher he left him and became a disciple of Ācārya Vasubandhu and studied with him all the canonical works of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Later on he came to Nālandā and defeated the brahmin Sudurajaya and others in the debate and won them to Buddhism. He was an eloquent controversialist and was well-known as an eminent logician. He is rather regarded as the father of Indian logic. He wrote a number of works. His famous work, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* is marked as one of the monumental works of Dignāga.

Dharmapāla was a disciple of Dignāga. He belonged to Kāñcī-deśa and flourished in the seventh century A.D. He was highly respected by the then scholars owing to his erudition. He was invited to the Nālandā University where he subsequently became the head of the University. He was the author of several works—originals of which are lost.

Dharmakīrti was born in a Brahmin family of the Coḷa country (Deccan). He was a pupil of Dharmapāla in the University of Nālandā. He was deeply versed in the different branches of Buddhist philosophy and various other systems of Brahmanic

thoughts. He won over a large number of Brahmanic teachers to Buddhism. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the great Brahmin logician, was defeated at his hand. Towards the close of his life he built a vihāra (monastery) in Kaliṅga where he died. It is said that he was a great luminary 'in the firmament of Buddhist philosophy shedding lustre throughout the sub-continent of India, as well as the whole eastern half of Asia'. He was the author of several works. His *Nyāyabindu* is regarded as one of his master works.

In course of time the four sects mentioned above gradually coalesced together and their philosophical views were formulated into two different systems of thought—Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.

Buddhism that is current today has two main divisions, well-known now as Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. The former prevails in Ceylon, Burma, Thailand (Siam), Cambodia and other countries while the latter in Tibet, Nepal, China, Japan and others. Hīnayāna is designated as the Southern and Mahāyāna as the Northern Buddhism by the western scholars. But this is untenable from the point of view of their geographical expansion. The epithet Hīnayāna has been given to Theravāda Buddhism by the Mahāyānists. The Theravādins never called themselves Hīnayānists. From Asaṅga's *Sūtrālaṃkāra* we learn that the difference between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna lies in the following :—

(i) aspiration, *i.e.* aspiration for instruction
(ii) instruction
(iii) exertion, *i.e.* exertion for instruction
(iv) basis, *i.e.* merits earned in previous lives and
(v) time, *i.e.* time required to reach the goal in life.[73]

We have seen before that the Mahāsaṅghika was the pioneer in the field of Mahāyāna movement and its branches also contributed much to its growth. This school has much in common with Mahāyāna. There is further some agreement with the doctrines of these two schools. Like the Mahāyānists, the Mahāsaṅghikas cherish for Buddhahood and also believe that Buddhas are supra-

[73] Āśayasyopadeśasya prayogasya virodhataḥ,
Upasthambhasya kālasya yat hīnaṃ hīnam eva tat.

mundane (lokottara) and are connected with the worldly life externally. They also believe in the ten stages (daśa bhūmi) of the spiritual progress of a Bodhisattva for the attainment of highest truth in life.

The Pali canon (Tipiṭaka) forms the basis of Hīnayāna while Mahāyāna has no such threefold division of the canon. Of the numerous Mahāyāna works, nine books "so-called nine Dharmas", which are held in great reverence are the most important works of the Mahāyāna school, as they trace the origin and development of Mahāyāna as also point out its fundamental teachings. They are : *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, Lalitavistara, Laṅkāvatāra, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, Gaṇḍavyūha, Tathāgataguhyaka, Samādhirāja* and *Daśabhūmīśvara.* They are also known as the Vaipulyasūtras. The *Prajñāpāramitās* belong to the earliest Mahāyāna sūtra and are considered to be the most holy and the most valuable of all Mahāyāna works. They are further of great importance from the point of view of religion. Of the different recensions of the *Prajñāpāramitās*, the *Aṣṭasāharikāprajñāpāramitā* is probably the earliest. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* is the most important Mahāyāna sūtra and as a work of literature it stands foremost. It deals with the peculiarities of Mahāyāna and is more devotional. It is the main scripture of a few sects in China and Japan. The *Lalitavistara* is a biography of Buddha more superman than man. It exhibits all the remarkable features of Mahāyāna. From the point of view of history of religion and literature it is of immense value to us. The *Laṅkāvatāra* which is one of the latest books of this group presents us with valuable materials for the study of early Yogācāra system. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* is one of the later Mahāyāna works. Tantric rituals are referred to herein. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* corresponds to the Chinese *Avataṃśaka.* It depicts the wanderings of the youth Sudhana who attained the highest knowledge through the advice of Bodhisattvasamantabhadra. The *Tathāgataguhyaka* which probably belonged to the seventh century A.D. contains Mahāyāna teachings mingled with elements of Tantricism. The *Samādhirājasūtra* which is also one of the works of the later Mahāyāna

sūtras lays the greatest emphasis on meditation for the attainment of the perfect knowledge. The *Daśabhūmīśvara* contains an exposition of the ten stages of spiritual progress essential for the attainment of Buddhahood (enlightenment).

The ideal of Mahāyāna is Buddhahood while that of Hīnayāna is Arhatship. The Hīnayānists want their own nirvāṇa first—they do not care for others, while the Mahāyānists do not care for their own nirvāṇa—they strive for the emancipation of all beings. Their main objective is to make beings attain nirvāṇa in life.

Mahāyāna has inculcated the conception of Bodhisattva which is its another ethical ideal. Bodhisattva literally means one whose essence is highest knowledge. In other words, one in whom there is essence of perfect wisdom. But it is employed in a technical sense in Buddhism. It means a being who is on the way to Buddhahood (enlightenment) but has not yet obtained it. In the Pali canon a Bodhisattva is regarded as the preliminary form of a Buddha. In Hīnayāna there is only one Bodhisattva while in Mahāyāna there are myriads of Bodhisattvas. A bodhisattva is thus a being who has taken a vow that he will become a Buddha for the salvation of the world while an Arhat in Hīnayāna has no higher aim than his own salvation. According to Mahāyāna every one can attain Buddhahood if he becomes a bodhisattva first. In order to become a bodhisattva one must take Bodhicitta (thought of enlightenment). Bodhicittas are of two kinds—bodhipraṇidhicitta (will to win enlightenment) and bodhiprasthānacitta (going through the practices for obtaining enlightenment). The former is compared to gantukāmaḥ (one who is desirous of going) while the latter to gantuḥ (one who is actually going). In order to remove the sufferings of the world a bodhisattva desires that he should stay as long as the sky and the world exist. He further declares that let him alone experience all the worldly miseries and let all the beings of the world enjoy happiness owing to the meritorious deeds done by him as a bodhisattva[74].

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[74] Ākāśasya sthitir yāvad yāvac ca jagataḥ sthitiḥ,
Tāvan mama sthitir bhūyāt jagadduḥkhāni nighnataḥ.
Yat kiñcit jagato duḥkhaṃ tat sarvaṃ mayi pacyatāṃ,
Bodhisattvaśubhaiḥ sarvaṃ jagat sukhitam astu.

With the development of Bodhicitta (thought of enlightenment) the practice of the six pāramitās, the fulfilment of which is compulsory for the Bodhisattva, is enjoined upon. Though in Mahāyāna, as in Hīnayāna, there are sometimes ten pāramitās enumerated, yet more frequently there are only six, *viz.*, dāna (alms-giving), śīla (morality), kṣānti (forbearance), vīrya (energy), dhyāna (meditation) and prajñā (wisdom). As the bodhisattva practises the pāramitā, his mind rises higher and higher in the path of spiritual progress, and there are ten such stages (daśa bhūmis) already referred to for the attainment of true knowledge. On the attainment of the tenth stage (bhūmi) a bodhisattva becomes a Buddha. Hīnayāna also recognises four stages, *viz.* sotāpatti, sakadāgāmi, anāgāmi and arhatta for the attainment of true knowledge. But the two schools differ in their conception of the highest truth. According to Hīnayāna it is pudgalaśūnyatā (non-existence of self) while according to Mahāyāna it is both pudgala and dharmaśūnyatā (non-existence of self as also of all things of the world). Mahāyāna maintains that dharmaśūnyatā (non-existence of all things of the world) is the only means for attaining the highest truth, and that knowledge of pudgalaśūnyatā (non-existence of self) is also necessary for an aspirant to rise higher and higher in spiritual life and realizing dharmaśūnyatā (non-existence of all things of the world).

Another distinguishing feature of Mahāyāna is its conception of Trikāya. Each Buddha has three bodies: nirmāṇakāya, sambhogakāya and dharmakāya. Nirmāṇakāya is the human body of Buddha. This is the body which Buddha assumes to render service to the beings of the world. It is meant for śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas, pṛthagjanas and bodhisattvas who have not yet attained any of the bhūmis (spiritual stages). Saṃbhogakāya is the subtle body of Buddha. It is the body 'in which the Buddhas enjoy their full majesty, virtue, knowledge and blessedness.' In this body Buddha preaches the higher and metaphysical truths to the bodhisattvas. Dharmakāya is the body made pure by the practice of the bodhipakṣiya and other dharmas that make a Buddha. It is the real identical nature of every

Buddha, and of every being, but this is not a body at all; it is simply the 'void', 'śūnyatā'. It can be equated with Tathatā, Tathāgata-garbha and Dharmadhātu. There is one and only one dharmakāya while there may be several nirmāṇakāyas and saṃbhogakāyas.

According to Hīnayāna the world is in a state of flux but is not unreal. But Mahāyāna maintains that flux and reality are two contradictory terms and therefore the world is the creation of the mind.

Mahāyāna further lays emphasis on the practice of the four Brahmavihāras, *viz.*, maitrī (friendliness), karuṇā (compassion), muditā (kindliness) and upekṣā (indifference). Through their practice one attains purity of heart, and it is these Brahmavihāras which made Buddhism also very popular.

Lastly, Mahāyāna is metaphysical and speculative while in Hīnayāna there is no such ground for speculation. Both the sects, however, agree in the fundamentals of Buddhism, *viz.*, the Four Noble Truths, the Noble Eight-fold Path, the non-existence of the soul and the doctrine of karma. The two are closely related to each other; hence the study of one entails the study of the other.

We are told that from the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. Mahāyāna began to undergo changes. Mantras, Dhāraṇīs, Mudrās and Maṇḍalas and other Tantric rites were introduced into Mahāyānism. The Tantric rituals became predominant and assumed increasing importance therein. And as a consequence a new type of Mahāyāna Buddhism came into being. This type of Mahāyānism may generally be called the Tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism. It may be recalled that worship and rituals were unknown in early Buddhism. Gods and goddesses had no place therein. Buddha was opposed to such idea. But alas, what a great change his religion underwent later on!

From this transformed Mahāyāna arose the Mantrayāna. Three other branches—Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna also issued out of this Mantrayāna. They are indeed different later phases of Mantrayāna. Let us now discuss the tenets of these systems of thought :—

(i) Mantrayāna :—It was the system in which mantras were the principal means for attainment of salvation. It could be achieved through arduous religious practices. Since this system laid much stress on the mantras it was thus called Mantrayāna.

(ii) Vajrayāna :—It was the system in which vajra was the principal means for attainment of salvation. The term vajra has got different meanings. It means diamond, thunderbolt, a weapon of the religious person, void (śūnya of the Mādhyamika) as also vijñāna (consciousness of the Yogācāra). It further means 'the male organ, just as Padma, "the lotus", serves as a term to describe the female sexual organ'. From the *Jñānasiddhi* we learn that bodhicitta (thought of enlightenment) is really the vajras (invincible). When it would attain the nature of vajra (diamond), a meditating monk would then attain enlightenment (bodhi). Bodhicitta meant that citta or thought when it would take a firm determination to attain complete enlightenment. Those who had attained the nature of vajra (diamond), were known as Vajrasattvas or Vajradharas. A guru (preceptor) used to play a vital rôle in the Vajrayāna. He himself is known as the Vajradhārī (the holder of the thunder). Dr. Winternitz writes that 'the Vajrayāna is a queer mixture of monistic philosophy, magic and erotics, with a small admixture of Buddhist ideas'[75].

(iii) Sahajayāna :—It represented the subtler stage of the Vajrayāna. According to it Śūnyatā was Prakṛti and Karuṇā was Puruṣa. With the union of both Prakṛti and Karuṇā there would arise Bodhicitta. When Prakṛti and Puruṣa would unite together an indescribable happiness would arise. This happiness was the highest bliss (mahāsukha) attained by the Yogis in which every kind of distinction would obliterate. Delusion would be removed and knowledge of Śūnyatā would be attained—this would be the sahajasukha. With the attainment of this stage a meditating monk would attain emancipation or nirvāṇa, the highest goal of life. Worship, mantras, mudrās and maṇḍalas had no place in this

[75] M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, p. 388.

system. Most of the works of the Sahajayāna are extant in Tibetan translations. Lastly, it is to be mentioned that a fair idea about the meditational practices of this system could be had from the *Dohākoṣa* and the *Caryāgīti*.

(iv) Kālacakrayāna :—It was another aspect of the meditational practice of Vajrayāna. According to it Kālacakra represented śūnyatā and karuṇā. It had neither origin nor destruction. Jñāna (knowledge) and jñeya (to be known) would easily merge together. Kālacakra was responsible for the origin of everything. Trikāla (past, present and future) and Trikāya (saṃbhogakāya, nirmāṇakāya and dharmakāya) were embedded in it. This Kālacakra was all-knowing, mahāśūnya and ādi-Buddha. Every Buddha would be born herein. The main object of the Kālacakrayānists was to obstruct the everchanging Kālacakra and to keep themselves above the Kālacakra. They further maintained that if the nāḍīs (tubular organs) and the five kinds of vital air within the body could be controlled through the practice of meditation, the function of the body could be obstructed and Kāla (time) could be won over. It attached great importance to the tithi, constellation, nakṣatra, muhūrta and the like in regard to the meditational practices. Thus astronomy and astrology played an important rôle in this system. Abhayākaragupta, a contemporary of Rāmapāla, was one of the great teachers of this system and wrote a number of works on this system. Sucandra's *Laghukālacakratantrarājaṭīkā* or *Vimalaprabhāṭīkā* provides us with the doctrinal views of this system. The Tibetan tradition records that Lamaism (or Buddhism of Tibet) originated from this Kālacakra system.

From the above it is evident that all these systems of thought centred round the Gurus (preceptors). The precepts of the preceptors were the fundamentals of these systems. Through the grace of the preceptor one could attain salvation in life. It was very difficult to know the processes of the meditation and subtle truths without the instruction of the preceptors. The preceptors would never impart teachings to others who were not duly initiated by them. These teachings were thus orally handed down from the preceptors to the disciples, and that is why their doctrinal views

were not preached widely but were limited. The language used in their books was technically known as the Sandhyā-bhāṣā having two meanings—esoteric and exoteric. All these systems issued out of the same thought and we find hardly any difference between them. They had, however, their sphere of influence generally in the eastern India – Bengal and adjoining regions.

CHAPTER VI

BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Gautama Buddha's sayings and discourses, as already observed, were handed down orally through succession of teachers (ācariya-paraṃparā). Serious attention was not given for the proper preservation of his actual words, not to speak of their interpretations. Immediately after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha, a Council was held for the recital of the texts of the Buddhist scriptures. This Council was known as the First Buddhist Council in the history of Buddhism. It was at this Council that the Dhamma (Doctrine) and Vinaya (Discipline) were settled, and the Abhidhamma had no separate existence. It formed part of the Dhamma. In other words, Dhamma and Vinaya were the two principal divisions under which the traditional teachings of Buddha were collected. A hundred years later another Council called the Second Buddhist Council was held in which the rules of morality were discussed. The violation of the Vinaya rules enjoined on the monks was the subject of discussion at this Council. We, however, find no mention of the Abhidhamma as having been discussed in this Council. There was another Buddhist Council known as the Third Buddhist Council held about more than two hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha. The texts of the Sutta and Vinaya were rehearsed and settled and the Abhidhamma was recognised as a part of the Canon. The distinguished Buddhist monk Moggaliputta Tissa who was the president of this Council compiled the *Kathāvatthu* 'which stands out as a great book of Buddhist controversies of the time.' Dhamma and Vinaya which were the then two divisions of the Buddhist scriptures were divided into three parts in the Council—the Sutta Piṭaka, Vinaya Piṭaka and the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Dhamma was thus divided into two parts—the Sutta Piṭaka and the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. In other words, Sutta and Abhidhamma occupied the place of

Dhamma. This Council thus witnessed the appearance of the whole of the Buddhist canonical literature into three divisions

The huge mass of this canonical literature consists of collections of speeches or conversations or sayings, narratives and rules of the Order. This is technically called the Tipiṭaka in the Buddhist literature. It consists of three Piṭakas, *viz.*, Vinaya Piṭaka, Sutta Piṭaka and Abhidhamma Piṭaka—this is the usual order of the Tipiṭaka. We also sometimes come across alteration of this arrangement—Vinaya taking the place of Sutta. The Vinaya Piṭaka has been placed at the head of the canon by the Buddhists themselves. This is, however, the usual order that we find in the Buddhist texts. Like the Theravādins, a few of the sects had Tipiṭaka of their own but their language was different. Pāli was the language of the canonical literature of Theravāda Buddhism while the Sarvāstivāda had Mixed Sanskrit or Buddhist Sanskrit, the Sammitīyas Apabhraṃśa and the Mahāsaṅghikas Prakrit. We have seen before that the canonical literature of the Mahāsaṅghikas was divided into five parts—Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma, Prakirṇaka and Dhāraṇī. A complete copy of the Tipiṭaka belongning to the different schools excepting that of the Thervādins in Pali is still a desideratum—originals of which are mostly lost. Fortunately, a few of the texts of one or two sects are preserved in Tibetan or Chinese translation. Some manuscript fragments of the Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivāda school have been discovered in Central Asia. Further, a few Vinaya fragments of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school have also been discovered at Gilgit (now Pakistan . They are now being preserved in the National Archives, New Delhi. Some of the manuscripts discovered in Central Asia have been published. Dr. N. Dutt has already published some of the Vinaya fragments discovered at Gilgit under the caption *Gilgit Manuscripts* in several volumes. A comparative study on the Vinaya of both the schools—Mūlasarvāstivāda and Theravāda—has been given therein.

As already noticed, the Theravādins had a Tipiṭaka of their own in Pāli. Some scholars maintain that Pāli was Māgadhī Prakrit or Māgadhī-bhāsā which was held out to be the mūlabhāsā,

'the primary speech of all men'.[1] Buddha spent most of his time in Magadha and preached his doctrine there in the dialect of that region. One could, therefore, naturally expect that the early Buddhist scripture was composed in Māgadhī in which Buddha himself spoke. According to others Pāli had a close relationship with Paiśācī Prakrit spoken at that time in the Vindhya region. Some scholars further hold that Pāli was the language of Kaliṅga (South Orissa and East Telegu country) whence Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon. There are again others who think that Pāli was an old form of Śauraseni Prakrit as the phonetics and morphology of Pāli are mostly identical with it. Opinions still differ as to the geographical basis of Pāli among Indologists, both oriental and occidental.

It is said that emperor Aśoka sent his son Mahinda to preach the Saddhamma (Buddhism) in Ceylon. Some scholars maintain that he brought with him the text of the Tipiṭaka, while according to others, he went to Ceylon after memorising the whole of the Tipiṭaka. Through the patronage of the king Buddhism was, however, well-established there. The Tipiṭaka was committed to writing during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmani Abhaya in the first century B. C. According to Ceylonese monks this Tipiṭaka and the Tipiṭaka which was compiled in the Third Buddhist Council during the reign of Aśoka was the one and the same. Some scholars, however, do not subscribe to this view. They hold that this Tipiṭaka was not the same as that compiled in the Third Council—it is but a revised edition. The Tipiṭaka composed in Pāli and Sanskrit was derived from the old Tipiṭaka which was written in Māgadhī. This view is also corroborated by the manuscript fragments of the Tripiṭaka composed in Buddhist Sanskrit discovered so far. Apart from the Pāli Tipiṭaka many Pāli texts were also written in Pāli in Ceylon —they are mostly exegetical texts (Ṭīkā, Anuṭīkā and the like). They are of immense value from the points of view of history, philosophy as also religion.

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[1]Cf. Sā Māgadhī mūlabhāsā, narā yāyādikappikā,
Brahmāno ca'ssutālapā saṃbuddhā cāpi bhāsare.

During the earliest period of the literature, the Tipiṭaka comprises the nine aṅgas or parts collectively called Navaṅga-satthusāsana which includes Sutta 'the teachings of Buddha mostly compiled in prose', Geyya 'instruction in mixed prose and verse', Veyyākaraṇa 'expositions, commentaries', Gāthā 'verses', Udāna 'ecstatic utterances', Itivuttaka 'brief sayings', Jātaka 'legends of Bodhisattva in his previous births', Abbhuta-dhamma 'description of supernatural power' and Vedalla 'message in the form of questions and answers.' This ninefold division is not the ninefold classification of the literature. It points out but specimens of nine types of composition in the literature. For instance, they are extant in the *Aṅguttaranikāya.* It is said that these diverse forms existed in the Buddhist literature even at the time of the compilation of the Buddhist scriptures.

Let us now turn to the Tipiṭaka and give a brief survey of the texts comprising it. We have seen before that the Vinayapiṭaka comes first, then come the Suttapiṭaka and the Abhidhammapiṭaka. Let us now follow this order of the division and deal with the texts accordingly.

(1) The Vinayapiṭaka, 'Basket of the discipline of the Order' contains rules of discipline. It deals with the rules and regulations for the guidance of the Buddhist Saṅgha (Order) and precepts for the daily life of the Bhikkhus (monks) and Bhikkhuṇis (nuns). These rules and regulations were promulgated by Buddha himself during the early period as the occasion arose. The Vinayapiṭaka thus contains mainly moral instructions. It relates all that belongs to moral practices. Sīla (code of morality) is the principal subject-matter. The Buddhist tradition records that Vinaya (discipline) is the life of Buddha's teachings. And as long as Vinaya (discipline) lasts so long his teachings also last.[2] It is the main gateway to Nibbāna[3].

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[2]Vinayo nāma Buddhasāsanassa āyu, Vinaye ṭhite sāsanaṃ ṭhitaṃ hoti.

[3]Vinayo anuppādaparinibbānatthāya.

The Vinayapiṭaka comprises the following texts :—

(i *The Suttavibhaṅga*,

(ii) *The khandhakas*

and (iii) the *Parivāra* or *Parivārapāṭha.*

(i) The *Suttavibhaṅga, i.e.*, the explanation of the Suttas, tells in a sort of historical introduction how, when and why the particular rule in question came to be laid down. The words of the rule are given in full, followed by a very ancient word for word commentary, which in its turn is succeeded by further explanation and discussion on doubtful points. It comprises (a) *Mahāvibhaṅga* which has eight chapters dealing with eight classes of transgressions against discipline, and (b) *Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga*, a shorter work, a commentary on the code for the nuns. The *Mahāvibhaṅga* and the *Bhikkhuṇīvibhaṅga* are also known as the *Pārājika* and *Pācittiya* respectively. They are also called *Ubhatovibhaṅga.*

It should be noted that the *Pātimokkha* which is included in the *Suttavibhaṅga* forms its main part. It is the oldest text and forms the nucleus of the Vinayapiṭaka. It deals with ecclesiastical offences requiring confession and expiation. In other words, it contains a set of rules to be observed by the members of the Saṅgha (order) in their daily life. In the Buddhist texts the life of a good monk is described as 'restrained by the restraints of the *Pātimokkha*'[4]. This shows the importance of the *Pātimokkhasutta* in the Saṅgha. It is recited twice every month on the new moon and full moon days. There are two codes—one for the Bhikkhu (monk) called the *Bhikkhupātimokkhasutta* and the other for the Bhikkhuṇis (nuns) known as the *Bhikkhuṇīpātimokkhasutta.* The former consists of eight sections containing two hundred and twenty-seven rules, *viz.*, Pārājika, Saṅghādisesa, Aniyata, Nissaggiyapācittiya, Pācittiya, Pāṭidesanīya, Sekhiya and Adhikaraṇasamatha, and the offences have been grouped in a descending order, *i.e.*, from the graver to the lighter. The treatise thus opens with the Pārājika, the most serious offence and closes with the Pāṭidesanīya—the lightest one,

[4] Pātimokkhasaṃvarasaṃvuto.

the breach of which entails formal confession only. The latter, however, contains seven sections comprising three hundred and eleven rules—there being no section corresponding to the Aniyata section of the *Bhikkhupātimokkhasutta.* The number of the rules of the *Bhikkhupātimokkhasutta* varies in the different versions of the text.[5] The Pali tradition records, however, that it contains only one hundred and fifty-two rules which, however, extended to two hundred and twenty-seven later on.

The *Pātimokkha*, as already noticed, has no separate existence in the Vinaya Piṭaka. It is included in the Suttavibhaṅga which was composed to explain the rules of the *Pātimokkha.* It 'is nothing but an ancient commentary on the *Pātimokkha* consisting of two hundred and twenty-seven rules—a commentary which attained to the honour of being included in the canon'[6].

(ii) The *Khandhakas* contain various rules and regulations for the guidance of the Saṅgha and the entire code of conduct for the daily life of the Bhikkhus (monks) and Bhikkhuṇis (nuns). They give us a coherent picture of the life of the Saṅgha. They form a sort of continuation and supplement to the *Suttavibhaṅga.* They are divided into two parts—the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga.*

(a) The *Mahāvagga*—It contains ten chapters (khandhakas). They are Mahākkhandhaka, Uposathakkhandhaka, Vassūpanāyikakkhandhaka, Pavāraṇākkhandhaka, Cammakkhandhaka, Bhesajjakkhandhaka, Kaṭhinakkhandhaka, Cīvarakkhandhaka, Campeyyakkhandhaka and Kosambakakkhandhaka. Each chapter (khandhaka) is somewhat greater and that is why it is called the *Mahāvagga.* It gives us an account of the life of Buddha but it is rather incomplete. It does not provide us with an account of Buddha's life before his enlightenment. It starts with an account of Buddha's life from the day of his enlightenment under the Bodhi tree and his first sermon to his five quondam friends (Pañcavaggiyas) at Benares as also the conversion of Yasa and his fifty-four companions

[5]In the Sarvāstivāda version the total number is two hundred and sixty-three and in the Mūlasarvāstivāda version it is two hundred and fifty-eight.

[6]M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 24.

leading up to the foundation of the Saṅgha. It also gives us an account of the origin and development of the Saṅgha and the rules of the Vinaya formulated for the guidance of the Saṅgha along with the circumstances leading to the formulation of each rule. The ordination of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, the two chief disciples of Buddha, as also his son Rāhula is related herein. It also lays down rules for determining the validity and invalidity of the different ecclesiastical acts. It also furnishes us with many moral tales as also the every day life of India. It further contains ample information on the social and urban life of the then India. In short, the *Mahāvagga* is replete with various kinds of invaluable materials for reconstructing the ancient history of India.

(b) The *Cullavagga*—It contains twelve chapters (khandhakas). They are—Kammakkhandhaka, Pārivāsikakkhandhaka, Samuccayakkhandhaka, Samathakkhandhaka, Khuddakavatthukkhandhaka, Senāsanakkhandhaka, Saṅghabhedakkhandhaka, Vattakkhandhaka, Pātimokkhaṭṭhapanakkandhaka, Bhikkhuṇikkhandhaka, Pañcasatikakkhandhaka and Sattasatikakkhandhaka. Some scholars hold that it is called the *Cullavagga* on account of its chapters (khandhakas) being lesser in size. While others hold that it is known as the *Cullavagga* because it contains different spurious parts. It deals with the rules of conduct of the Bhikkhus (monks) and Bhikkhuṇīs (nuns) and with atonement and penances. It also deals with the dwellings, furniture, and lodgings as also the duties of monks and the exclusion from the Pātimokkha ceremony. The gift of the Jetavana by the rich merchant Anāthapiṇḍika to the Saṅgha and the first schism in the Saṅgha by Devadatta, the enemy and rival of Buddha, have been recorded herein. It furnishes us with an account of the formation of the Bhikkhuṇī Saṅgha (Order of the nuns) at the request of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, the stepmother of Buddha, and the mediation of Ānanda. It further gives us an account of the first two Councils, held at Sattapaṇṇiguhā of Rājagaha and Vālukārāma of Vesāli. Some scholars maintain that the last two sections which provide us with the story of Councils are later additions and are rather a kind of appendix to the *Cullavagga*.

The *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga* give us numerous information regarding the life of Buddha and the Saṅgha. They are of immense value from historical and religious points of view. These two works furnish us with an introduction to the Vinaya. The ten chapters of the *Mahāvagga* and the twelve chapters of the *Cullavagga*—the twenty-two chapters give us a chronological account of the life of Buddha just from his Enlightenment (Bodhi) at Bodh-Gaya to the Second Buddhist Council held at Vesāli. These two texts display wonderful feats and religious life of Buddha and "the setting of materials in both the works is characterised by conciseness and precision, and above, it is thoroughly methodical." It may be noted here that the *Kammavācā*[7] underlines the *Khandhakas* just as the *Pātimokkha* underlines the *Suttavibhaṅga.*

(iii) The *Parivāra* or *Parivārapāṭha*—It is the concluding text of the Vinayapiṭaka and was composed much later than the *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas.* It was probably composed in Ceylon and not in India by a monk named Dīpa. It is an appendix to the Vinaya, and contains nineteen chapters. It tells us nothing new. It is only an abridgment of the Vinaya texts, but even then it is a work of great value as it helps us much in the study of the Vinaya literature. It is thus a short manual comprising a sort of catechism on the whole Vinaya arranged for the purpose of instruction. It is the only key which unlocks the subjects of the *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Khandhakas.* Its first chapter gives us a list of Vinayadharas (masters of discipline). The list is indeed invaluable in the history of the Buddhist Saṅghas of India and Ceylon. It is "very similar to the Anukramaṇis and Pariśiṣṭas of the Veda and Vedāṅga texts."[8]

(2) The Suttapiṭaka is a collection of the doctrinal expositions, large and small. The suttas are usually in prose, occasionally interspersed with verses. They are the most important

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[7] It is a compilation of rules and rituals concerning admission into the Saṇgha.

[8] M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, p. 33.

literary products of the Buddhist literature. The Sutta Piṭaka is thus the primary source for the doctrine of Buddha and his earliest disciples. Popular discourses, however, predominate therein. "Just as the Vinayapiṭaka is our best source for the Saṅgha, *i.e.*, the regulations of the ancient Buddhist Order and the life of the monks," writes Prof. Winternitz,[9] "so the Suttapiṭaka is our most reliable source for the Dhamma *i.e.*, the religion of Buddha and his earliest disciples." It consists of five Nikāyas or Collections, *viz.*, *Dīghanikāya*, *Majjhimanikāya*, *Saṃyuttanikāya*, *Aṅguttaranikāya* and *Khuddakanikāya* which, however, comprises sixteen independent treatises. The first four Nikāyas comprise suttas or discourses which are either speeches of Buddha or dialogues in prose occasionally diversified by the verses and are more or less homogeneous and cognate in character.

According to Buddhaghoṣa, the eminent Pali commentator, the term 'Nikāya' denotes both collection and abode. The *Dīghanikāya* denotes the collection of longer suttas while the *Majjhimanikāya* the suttas of medium length. Similarly, the *Khuddakanikāya* is the collection of the suttas of smaller size. In the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, however, the term āgama is used for the nikāya, *e.g.*, *Dīrghāgama* for *Dīghanikāya*, *Madhyamāgama* for *Majjhimanikāya etc.* By the *Dīghanikāya*, *Majjhimanikāya*, *Saṃyuttanikāya* and *Aṅguttaranikāya* we are to understand separate texts but the *Khuddakanikāya* denotes a collection of miscellaneous works which are not classified in any of the four Nikāyas. It is to be noted that properly speaking there is no rational basis for the grouping of the suttas into Nikāyas. Here is given a brief survey of the Nikāyas :—

(i) The *Dīghanikāya* is the collection of longer discourses on various points of Buddhism. It contains thirty-four suttas. They are :—Brahmajāla Sutta, Sāmaññaphala Sutta, Ambaṭṭha Sutta, Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta, Kūṭadanta Sutta, Mahāli Sutta, Jāliya Sutta, Kassapasīhanāda Sutta, Poṭṭhapāda Sutta, Subha Sutta, Kevaṭṭa Sutta, Lohicca Sutta, Tevijja Sutta, Mahāpadāna Sutta, Mahāni-

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

dāna Sutta, Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Mahāsudassana Sutta, Janavasabha Sutta, Mahā-Govinda Sutta, Mahāsamaya Sutta, Sakkapañha Sutta, Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta, Pāyāsi Sutta, Pāṭika Sutta, Udumbarikasīhanāda Sutta, Cakkavattisīhanāda Sutta, Aggañña Sutta, Sampasādanīya Sutta, Pāsādika Sutta, Lakkhaṇa Sutta, Siṅgālovāda Sutta, Āṭānāṭiya Sutta, Saṅgīti Sutta and Dasuttara Sutta. These Suttas are mostly longer in extent than the general Suttas. There is no connection between the Suttas. Each is complete in itself and capable of being regarded as an independent one. The *Dīghanikāya* is divided into three parts—the Sīlakkhandha, Mahāvagga and the Pāṭikavagga. They are diverse in contents and character and contain earlier and later strata of tradition. The first part contains the earliest stratum while the third the later one. The second which comprises the largest suttas has grown in bulk due to interpolations.

Suttas (Nos. 1-13) are concerned with Sīlas (moral precepts) in three successive sections—cūḷa (concise), majjhima (medium) and mahā (elaborate). Sīla and Sadācāra (right conduct) are their principal subject-matters. From the first two suttas—the Brahmajāla and the Sāmaññaphala we get many valuable information regarding modes of life and thoughts of ancient India besides the Sīlas. The Brahmajāla Sutta provides us with sixty-two doctrinal and philosophical speculations current in the then India. It "really deals with the most fundamental conceptions that lay at the root of Buddha's doctrine, his Dharma, his ethical and philosophical view of life."[10] The Sāmaññaphala Sutta acquaints us with the views of six heretical teachers and the benefits of the life of a recluse. The caste system, the Vedic sacrifices, the various ascetic practices and the like have been discussed in the remaining Suttas.

Suttas (Nos. 14-23) are included in the Mahāvagga. Of the ten Suttas of the Mahāvagga the seven Suttas have an adjective 'mahā' prefixed to the title. It probably indicates the importance and length of the Suttas. In order to realise the importance of

[10] B. C. Law, *A History of Pali Literature*, vol. I, p. 84.

the Mahāvagga it is necessary to discuss the subject-matter of a few of its Suttas The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta which is by far the best Sutta of the *Dīghanikāya* contains a realistic account of Buddha's last days, peregrination and his last speeches and sayings. It is to be noted that there is no biography of Buddha in the Pali canon and materials of this sutta may be profitably utilised by the historians in writing a complete life-history of Buddha. The Mahāpadāna Sutta is also valuable in this respect. As it is the only Sutta which mentions the name of the father of Buddha as Suddhodhana. The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta while giving an account of the distribution of Buddha's relics mentions the places like Rājagaha, Vesāli, Kapilavatthu, Allakappa, Rāmagāma, Veṭhadīpa, Pāvā, Kusīnārā and Pipphalivana. It throws much light on the extent of the spread of Buddhism as also of our geographical knowledge of ancient India. It also furnishes us with certain information about the republican states like Vajji, Malla, Sakka, Buḷi and Koliya. The Mahā-Govinda Sutta is particularly important from the points of view of the ancient Indian history and geography. This Sutta gives us a conception of the shape of India. It records[11] that India is broad on the north, and on the south it has the shape of the front part of a cart. It is further divided into seven equal parts—Kaliṅga, Potana, Avantī, Sovīra, Videha, Aṅga and Kāsī. The Janavasabha, Mahāsamaya, Sakkapañha and other Suttas mention different types of deities which are of special importance from the points of view of the history of religion. A comparative study of these deities with those mentioned in the Vedic literature and Purāṇas is a necessity for a proper understanding of these mythological deities. In some of the Suttas are given the fundamentals of Buddhism which are of immense value to us.

Suttas (Nos. 24-34) are contained in the Pāṭikavagga which

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[11]Cf.

Imaṃ mahāpaṭhaviṃ uttarena āyataṃ dakkhiṇena sakaṭamukhaṃ sattadhā samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhaji, sabbāni sakaṭamukhāni paṭṭhapesi—*Dīghanikāya*, II, ed. by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap, Nalanda-Devanāgarī Pāli series, 1958, p. 175 ; P. T. S. II, p. 235.

is the third and the last vagga (section) of the *Dīghanikāya.* This vagga is called the Pāṭikavagga as it begins with the Pāṭikasuttanta. Of the eleven suttas contained in this vagga, the Siṅgālovāda and Āṭānāṭiya suttantas are highly noteworthy. They may be regarded as the rare jewels in the Tipiṭaka. The Siṅgālovādasuttanta "is an exposition of the whole domestic and social duty of a layman, according to the Buddhist point of view, and, as such, it is famous under the name of Gihivinaya."[12] Some scholars believe that it is the basis of Aśoka's dhamma. In the Āṭānāṭiya suttanta are mentioned mantras, dhāraṇīs and the like. They are charms averting the evil influence of spirits such as gandhabbas, yakkhas etc. They serve as protection against evil spirits. G. P. Malalasekera writes[13] that 'in Ceylon, for instance, it is recited with great fervour at the conclusion of the Paritta ceremonies, particularly in times of illness, in order to ward off evil spirits.' There are besides some suttas which deal with the doctrines of various sects and austere penances.

(ii) The *Majjhimanikāya* is a collection of one hundred and fifty-two suttas of medium length. Most of these suttas are devoted to the refutation of the views of others (paravādamathana). All these suttas have been arranged in fifteen vaggas. They are :—Mūlapariyāyavagga, Sīhanādavagga, Upamāvagga, Mahāyamakavagga, Cūḷayamakavagga, Gahapativagga, Bhikkhuvagga, Paribbājakavagga, Rājavagga, Brāhmaṇavagga, Devadahavagga, Anupadavagga, Suññatāvagga, Vibhaṅgavagga and Saḷāyatanavagga. The vaggas have roughly been classified according to subjects. Some of them have, however, been named from the first sutta. Like the *Dīghanikāya*, the *Majjhimanikāya* also throws ample light on the sīla, samādhi and paññā, the three cornerstones of Buddhism. The most famous is the Mūlapariyāyasutta which strikes the keynote of the entire doctrine of Buddha (sabbadhammamūlapariyāya). In the Acchariyabbhutadhamma-

[12] *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* by G. P. Malalasekera, Indian Texts Series, London, 1938, vol. II, p. 1134.

[13] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 242.

sutta are mentioned the marvellous and wonderful events of Buddha's life. The Cūḷasaccakasutta, Upālisutta, Abhayarājakumārasutta, Cūḷasakuludāyisutta, Devadahasutta and Samāgāmasutta provide us with an account of Buddha's discussion with the eminent Jain teachers. In the Mahāsāropamasutta is mentioned Devadatta's secession from the Saṅgha. The Madhurasutta, Assalāyanasutta and Esukārīsutta discuss the caste-system prevailing in the then India. In the Cūḷamāluṅkyasutta we find that Buddha while discussing the subtle philosophical problems did not expound the various speculations about the past and present as they were not conducive to the spiritual life. A few of the suttas enumerate different kinds of offences – burglary, robbery, adultery and the like and the consequent punishment thereof. It thus reveals the penal laws of the country. There are, however, some suttas which are pure narratives like the Aṅgulimālasutta. The *Papañcasūdanī*, a commentary on the *Majjhimanikāya*, tells us that the *Majjhimanikāya* was also called the *Majjhimasaṅgīti*.

(iii) The *Saṃyuttanikāya* contains fifty-six groups (Saṃyuttas). They are divided into five vaggas. They are – Sagāthavagga, Nidānavagga, Khandhavagga, Saḷāyatanavagga and Mahāvagga. The vaggas have usually been named after the name of the first in the group, or the name of the interlocutor. The Sagāthavagga contains eleven saṃyuttas, the Nidānavagga twelve, the Khandhavagga thirteen, the Saḷāyatanavagga ten and the Mahāvagga twelve only. The Māra and the Bhikkhuṇī saṃyuttas which are 'ballads in mixed prose and verse, are of great poetical merit.' They are 'but sacred ballads, counterparts of those ākhyānas with which the epic poetry of the Indians originated.' It is said that the suttas of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* have been arranged according to three principles :—

(a) those that refer to Buddhist Doctrines,
(b) those that refer to gods, men and demons, and
(c) those that refer to prominent persons.

In the first Vagga ethics and the ideal life of the Bhikkhus (monks) predominate while metaphysics and epistemology in the

remaining vaggas. In short, the *Saṃyuttanikaya* contains snbjects dealing with ethical, moral and philosophical matters.

(iv) The *Aṅguttaranikāya* is a collection of suttas arranged serially in an ascending order. It contains two thousand three hundred and eight (2308) suttas arranged in eleven groups. Each group is called a nipāta (section). There are eleven nipātas in it. They are :—Ekanipāta, Dukanipāta, Tikanipāta, Catukkanipāta, Pañcakanipāta, Chakkanipāta, Sattakanipāta, Aṭṭhakanipāta, Navakanipāta, Dasakanipāta and Ekādasakanipāta. The Ekanipāta deals with things of which one exists only. Thus it speaks of the nīvaraṇas (obstacles), exertion, diligence and the like. The Dukanipāta deals with two kinds of sins, two kinds of Buddhas, two virtues of forest life and so on. The Tikanipāta is concerned with the trinity of deeds, words and thoughts, three sorts of Bhikkhus, the three messengers of the god (old age, disease and death) and so on. The Catukkanipāta discusses the four ways which lead to liberation from existence and so on—the Ekādasakanipāta deals with eleven good and bad qualities of a monk, the eleven gates leading to Nibbāna and so on. "Thus we find set out in order first the units, then the pairs, the trios etc., up to groups of eleven."[14] The *Aṅguttaranikāya* further contains two hundred and thirty suttas. Some of the suttas deal with women. There are others which acquaint us with the methods of punishment and the criminal law of the then India. This Nikāya contains a variety of subjects which may be regarded as its distinguished features. It, however, emphasises much on the doctrinal points. Its style is characterised by sanity and perspicuity.

(v) The *Khuddakanikāya* consists of fifteen independent treatises. It is also called 'collection of miscellanies'. Opinions differ as to the *Khuddakanikāya* belonging to the canoncial collection. Some scholars believe that the texts constituting the *Khuddakanikāya* were composed a few years after the appearance of the four Nikāyas. Judged from the stand-points of the subject-matter there is no resemblance among the different texts—they

[14]G, P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. I, London, 1960, p. 21.

are all independent texts. Most of the texts are composed in verse. They are of great value for the Kāvya literature. Let us give here a brief survey of the texts from which a fair idea about them can be formed :—

The *Khuddakapāṭha* consists of nine short texts. They are—Tisaraṇa, Dasasikkhāpada, Dvattiṃsākāra, Kumārapañha, Maṅgalasutta, Ratanasutta, Tirokuḍḍasutta, Nidhikaṇḍasutta and Karaṇīyamettasutta. These are but a selection made out of the canon. According to the *Paramatthajotikā*, a commentary on the *Khuddakapāṭha*, the book derives its name from the first four texts, which are shorter in comparison with the remaining five. A young novice is enjoined to commit them to memory when he joins the Saṅgha. These suttas are also used as a kind of mantra prayers in the Buddhist cult. It is to be mentioned here that seven of these texts are used at the Buddhist Paritta ceremony which is held on possible occasions even at the present day in the Buddhist world, particularly in Ceylon. The beautiful Maṅgala and Mettā suttas illustrate how lofty ideals may be preached in the simplest words. In short, the *Khuddakapāṭha* is a manual of the Buddhist life.

The *Dhammapada* is an anthology containing four hundred and twenty-three verses divided into twenty-six vaggas (chapters) which are—Yamaka, Appamāda, Citta, Puppha, Bāla, Paṇḍita, Arahanta, Sahassa, Pāpa, Daṇḍa, Jarā, Atta, Loka, Buddha, Sukha, Piya, Kodha, Māla, Dhammaṭṭha, Magga, Pakiṇṇaka, Niraya, Nāga, Taṅhā, Bhikkhu and Brāhmaṇa. The gāthās (stanzas) of the *Dhammapada* have been collected together from various treatises of the Pali canon. The Buddhists believe that they are the very words of the Great Teacher. They were recited on various occasions and purposes. The title of the text indicates its subject-matter. It is a collection of religious sayings. The moral teachings embedded in the *Dhammapada* are to be found in the texts such as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Gītā* etc. The *Dhammapada* is 'equally popular in Buddhist and non-Buddhist countries, as it contains ideas of universal appeal besides being a manual of Buddhist teachings.' Many Buddhist laymen and laywomen

commit it to memory. All the monks in the countries of South-East Asia learn it by heart and can recite it from beginning to end. Young novices are enjoined to study this text before they receive the Upasampadā (higher ordination). It has been translated into various languages in Asia and Europe. It is the most popular book in the whole of the Tipiṭaka. It contains ethical teachings which are acceptable to all human beings—monks, novices and house-holders. The main objective of the *Dhammapada* is to teach the moral teachings to the common man. It lucidly explains how a man should lead a life in order to attain a happy state in life. Its verses are indeed very charming and its most striking feature is its wealth of similes and metaphors employed to illustrate the lofty ideals. The *Dhammapada* is now extant in Sanskrit, Mixed Sanskrit (Buddhist Sanskrit), Pali and Prakrit. There is further a Chinese translation of the text available to us now.

The *Udāna* is a collection of eighty stories, in eight vaggas (chapters), comprising solemn utterances by Buddha on special occasions. The eight vaggas are—Bodhivagga, Mucalindavagga, Nandavagga, Meghiyavagga, Sonatherassavagga, Jaccandhavagga, Cūlavagga and Pāṭalimiyavagga. The *Udāna* is mostly in verse and hardly in prose. Each udāna is accompanied with a prose account of the circumstances in which it was spoken. Its style is very simple. The ecstatic utterances are concise and enigmatic. Most of the udānas throw much light on the Buddhist ideal of life and nibbāna, the perfect state of bliss.

The *Itivuttaka* is a book of quotations of the authentic sayings of Buddha in prose and verse. It contains one hundred and twelve short suttas divided into four nipātas (sections). Each of the suttas begins with the words—"This has been said by the Blessed One—thus have I heard"[15], and closes with "This meaning was told by the Blessed One—thus have I heard"[16]. It contains mostly the ethical teachings of Buddha on a wide range of subjects. The language of the prose and verse is simple, natural and not

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[15] Vuttaṃ hetaṃ Bhagavatā vuttaṃ arahatā ti me sutaṃ.

[16] Ayam-pi attho vutto Bhagavatā iti sutaṃ-ti.

very flowery. It is probable that 'the *Itivuttaka* was compiled as a result of a critical study of the authentic teachings of the Buddha, considered in a certain light and made for a specific purpose'.[17]

The *Suttanipāta* is a collection of seventy suttas composed in verse. They are divided into five vaggas—Uragavagga, Cūlavagga, Mahāvagga, Aṭṭhakavagga and Pārāyanavagga. The Uragavagga contains twelve suttas, the Cūlavagga fourteen, the Mahāvagga twelve, the Aṭṭhakavagga sixteen and the Pārāyanavagga also sixteen only. The *Suttanipāta* is second only to the *Dhammapada* in its noble ideals and its pleasant language. It refers to the Brahmanical ideas which are akin to those of the *Bhagvadgītā*. Here it has been shown that the Buddhist ideal is higher and nobler as compared with the Brahmanical ideal. Its study is a necessity for a proper understanding of the ethical teachings of Buddha. It shows much light on the social, economic and religious conditions of India during the time of Buddha. It contains earliest phases of Buddhist poetry and its language and subject-mater point to the beginning of Buddhism.

The *Vimānavatthu* and the *Petavatthu* are the two short treatises which 'probably belong to the latest stratum of literature assembled in the Pāli-Canon.' The *Vimānavatthu* contains eighty-five stories in verse, which are divided into seven vaggas (chapters). It gives us a graphic description of the various celestial abodes enjoyed by the different devas (gods) as reward for some meritorious acts performed in their previous life. The *Petavatthu* contains fifty-one stories in verse. They are divided into four vaggas (chapters). It deals with stories of petas (ghosts) who are born in the peta world (hell) owing to their various misdeeds. According to the Buddhists, a good deed bears a good fruit and a bad deed a bad result. The main objective of these two texts is to preach the profound doctrine of Karma. Rhys Davids writes "The whole set of beliefs exemplified in these books (*Petavatthu* and *Vimānavatthu*) is historically interesting as being in all probability the

[17]G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. I, p. 306.

source of a good deal of mediaeval christian belief in heaven and hell. But the greater part of these books, composed according to a set pattern, is devoid of style ; and the collection is altogether of an evidently later date than the bulk of the books included in this Appendix."[18]

The *Theragāthā* and *Therīgathā* are the two collections of poems ascribed to the Theras and the Therīs respectively. Thera (Skt. Sthavira) denotes an old man, while Therī (Skt. Sthrvirā) means an old lady. But in the Buddhist literature they are employed in a technical sense. A highly qualified senior monk is called a thera while a highly qualified senior nun (Bhikkhuṇī) is known as a therī. A monk and a nun who were highly advanced in their path of spiritual progress are usually designated as thera and a therī respectively. Age has no concern in this regard. Prof. Winternitz observes, "The Theras and Therīs are the male and female "elders", primarily the first and most prominent male and female disciples of Buddha himself, and then those members of the order who were venerable by reason of their age and still more by their moral and spiritual qualities. Though Thera, fem. therī, Sanskrit sthavira, means "old," the title was determined rather by those qualities which inspire reverence, than by age or seniority. There was neither an honorary office nor privileges or duties of any kind in connection with this honorary title."[19] The *Theragātha* contains one thousand three hundred and sixty (1360) gāthās (verses) attributed to two hundred and sixty four (distinguished monks while the *Therīgāthā* five hundred and twenty-two gāthās (verses) ascribed to seventy-three eminent nuns. Most of the gāthās, it is believed, were recited by the Theras and Therīs in describing their attainment of Arhathood, ecstatic joy and samādhi. There are a few other verses narrating the future condition of the religion. On the first reading of the gāthās (verses) one is inclined to believe that these gāthās (verses) were composed either by the Theras or the Therīs. This supposition can not hold good on a careful scrutiny of the verses. We find sometimes

[18] *Buddhism, its history and literature* (American Lectures), p. 77.

[19] *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 100, fn. 3.

in a single verse the utterances of more than one monk or one nun. There is no doubt that some of the gāthās were the composition of either the Theras or the Therīs. A few of the gāthās point out the poetic excellence and religious sentiments of the monks and nuns.

The titles of the texts indicate their subject-matter. The main purpose of these two texts is to expound the subtle points of the Buddhist philosophy of life, the principal charactristics of Buddhism and fundamentals of Buddhism. Both of them give us a vivid picture how a Thera or a Therī can progress in his or her religious life by giving up their worldly life. It is believed that a gāthā usually records the spiritual experience a monk or a nun has gained by coming in close contact with Buddha and his teaching. They indeed charm and give immense joy to a reader. Both of them are of considerable value from the points of view of the Kāvya literature. The pictures of real life are far more numerous in the *Therīgāthā* than in the *Theragāthā*. They furnish us with information regarding the social conditions, especially the social position of women in ancient India. The beautiful description of nature that we find in the *Therāgāthā* indicates that the Theras had great predilection for nature. The lyrics and the dramatic conversations deserve praise and are of a high order. Undoubtedly a poet and a dramatist can collect ample materials from these two works for their compositions. The *Theragāthā* and the *Therīgāthā* may be regarded as 'the best productions of Indian lyric poetry, from the hymns of *Ṛgveda* to the lyrical poems of Kālidāsa and Amaru.'

The *Jātaka* contains the tales of the previous existences of Buddha. The word Jātaka which is derived from √Jan means birth, but it is employed in a technical sense in Buddhism. It means the previous existences of Buddha. Thus the Jātakas are briefly the "stories of former births (of the Buddha)" or "Bodhisattva stories." According to the traditional accounts there are five hundred and fifty Jātaka stories which describe Buddha's past career. From the *Jātaka* commentary we learn that a Jātaka consists of the following constituent parts :—(a) Paccupannavatthu,

i.e., the story of the present time narrating the circumstances in which Buddha related the story in question, (b) Atītavatthu, *i.e.*, the story of the past in which a story of one of former births of Buddha is recounted, (c) Gāthās (verses) which usually form part of the story of the past but which are very often a part of the story of the present—they are usually known as Abhisambuddhagāthās (verses uttered by Buddha after his enlightenment), (d) Veyyākaraṇa (short commentary) which explains the gāthās word for word, and (e) Samodhāna (connection) in which Buddha identified the different characters of the story of the present with those of the past. Most of the Jātakas are composed in prose and verse. Some scholars believe that the original Jātakas contained the gāthās only and a commentary on them containing the tales was added later on. The *Jātaka* book is classified according to the number of verses contained in them and the entire *Jātaka* book consists of twenty-two nipātas (sections). The main objective of the *Jātaka* is to inspire in the minds of the people, a faith in Buddhism and thus popularising the religion. The Jātakas are of immense value from the points of view of literature and art. 'Needless to say, this collection of myth and legend has been the inspiration of some of the greatest Buddhist art, from the caves of Ajantā to frescoes of the present day.' The Jātakas throw much light on the economic, religious, social manners and customs during Buddha's time. Fables, fairy tales, novels, moral narratives, pious legends and the like are the main contents of the Jātakas. A few of the Jātakas refer to mettā (friendliness), karuṇā (compassion), self-sacrifice and other good qualities. They further 'afford us a glimpse into the life of classes of Indian people, of which other books of Indian literature only rarely give us any information.' The Jātakas are thus replete with various kinds of information which help us greatly in re-writing the history of ancient India.

The *Niddesa* is a commentarial work ascribed to Sāriputta. It contains comments on the thirty-two suttas of the Aṭṭhaka and Pārāyana vaggas of the *Suttanipāta.* It is divided into two parts—the Mahāniddesa and the Cullaniddesa. The *Niddesa* is the oldest

of the Pali commentaries and that is why it was included in the canon. It gives us a fair idea of how the sacred texts were explained in ancient days. Many important technical terms have also been explained herein. It provides us with a long list of synonyms to interpret a word. It seems that it laid the foundation for dictionaries in later times.

The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* contains a systematic exposition of various topics in the form of questions and answers after the manner of the Abhidhamma treatises. It has been included into the Suttapiṭaka owing to its form being that of the suttas and further the traditional opening 'evaṃ me sutaṃ' (thus have I heard) and the address 'oh monk' are often to be found. It consists of three vaggas (sections)—Mahāvagga, Yuganaddhavagga and Paññāvagga. Each vagga contains ten chapters. The knotty problems of Buddhism have been discussed in these vaggas. The first vagga refers to jñāna (knowledge), sati (recollection), kamma (action) and the like, the second to cattāri ariyasaccāni (fourfold noble truth), mettā (friendliness) and the third to cariyā (conduct), pāṭihāriya (miracle) and the like. Dr. G. P. Malalasekera writes that "the treatment of the various topics is essentially scholastic in character, and whole passages are taken verbatim from the Vinaya and from various collections of the Suttapiṭaka, while a general acquaintance with the early Buddhist legends is assumed[20]."

The *Apadāna* contains stories in verse which describe the pious deeds of the Buddhist monks and nuns. The word 'apadāna' literally means a heroic or glorious deed and then glorious achievement of self-sacrifice and piety. Unlike the *Jātaka* the *Apadāna* contains noble deeds of not only Gautama Buddha and Paccekabuddhas but also other distinguished monks and nuns. The *Apadāna* 'is much more closely allied with the Sanskrit Avadānas than to the remaining works of the Pāli canon.' The major portion of the *Apadāna* is the Thera-Apadāna followed by the Therī-Apadāna. It contains biographies of five hundred and fifty monks and forty nuns, all mentioned as having lived in Buddha's

[20] *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. II, p. 116.

time. There are besides two other introductory chapters, the Buddhāpadāna and the Paccekabuddhāpadāna, dealing with Buddhas and the Paccekabuddhas respectively. The biographies of these monks and nuns, are valuable from the point of view of the history of the religion. The Apadāna tales emphasise much on pūjā (worship), vandanā (salutation), dāna (gift) and the like. It also points out the importance of worshipping thūpas, relics and the shrines. It is regarded as one of the latest books of the canon.

The *Buddhavaṃsa* gives us in verse an account of the twenty-four previous Buddhas supposed to have preceded Gautama Buddha during the last twelve ages of the world (kalpas). It contains twenty-six chapters. It is believed that Gautama Buddha himself recited the work and it 'was handed down an uninterrupted line of Theras, to the time of the third Council, and again, since then, passed down an uninterrupted line of teachers and pupils[21].' It states how Gautama Buddha made a vow to become a Buddha at the foot of Dīpaṅkara Buddha. It further narrates how all other Buddhas set 'the wheel of the Religion' in motion. The last chapter provides us with a list of Buddhas down to Metteyya, the successor of Gautama Buddha along with an account of the distribution of Buddha's relics.

The *Cariyāpiṭaka* is a collection of thirty-five stories from the *Jātaka* in verse. It is a work of the post-Aśokan period. It narrates how the Bodhisattva attained perfection in the Pāramitās in various of his previous existences. Tradition records that Buddha himself told the stories to the monks. In the Buddhist texts are mentioned the ten Pāramitās[22] which are the highest perfection through which the Bodhisattva must pass before he becomes a Buddha, but the *Cariyāpiṭaka* refers to the seven Pāramitās only. It marks the later stage of the development of Buddhism.

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[21] M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, p. 162.

[22] They are :—dāna, sīla, nekkhamma, paññā, viriya, khanti, sacca, adhiṭṭhāna, mettā and upekkhā.

Lastly, it is striking to note that "the Khuddakanikāya combines books of very different periods, and most probably of different schools also, as well as all sorts of books whose canonical dignity was called into question[23]."

The Abhidhammapiṭaka is the third division of the Tipiṭaka. According to the Pali tradition[24] it is said that Buddha first preached the Abhidhamma to the Tāvatiṃsa gods, while living among them on the Paṇḍukambala rock at the foot of the Pāricchattaka tree in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven during his visit to his mother there. Subsequently, he preached it to Sāriputta who used to meet Buddha when he came down to the Mānasasarovara for meals. Then Sāriputta handed it down to Bhaddaji and by successive succession of disciples it reached Revata and others, and it took its final form in the Third Council held during the reign of king Aśoka. The Kashmirian Vaibhāṣikas, however, maintain that Buddha delivered sermons to different persons, at different places, and at different times. They were later on collected by the Arhats and the Śrāvakas and were worked into Abhidhamma treatises by them[25]. There is a proverb current among the Buddhists that the suttas were composed on observing the faces of the people while the Abhidhamma on the observation of the suttas. In other words, the Abhidhamma was composed on the basis of the suttas. The suttas form the foundation of the Abhidhamma. In the *Atthasālinī*, a commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* by the eminent commentator Buddhaghosa as also in Asaṅga's *Sūtrālaṃkāra* is given a lucid explanation of the term Abhidhamma. The Abhidhammapiṭaka deals with the same Dhamma as taught in the Suttapiṭaka and differs from the latter in its arrangement and detailed treatment. "As far as the contents of the Abhidhamma are concerned," writes Prof. Malalasekera, "they do not form a systematic philosophy, but are a special

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[23] M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, p. 165.

[24] *Atthasālinī*, pp. 28-32, *Sammohavinodanī*, p. 1, *Manorathapūraṇī*, I, 77 and also Oldenberg's Introduction to the *Vinayapiṭaka*, p. XXXIV.

[25] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, B. B., p. 7.

treatment of the Dhamma as found in the Suttapiṭaka. Most of the matter is psychological and logical ; the fundamental doctrines mentioned or discussed are those already propounded in the suttas and therefore, taken for granted[26]."

The Abhidhammapiṭaka consists of seven books, usually known as the Sattapakaraṇas, which are *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Kathāvatthu*, *Puggalapaññatti*, *Dhātukathā*, *Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna*.

The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*—the title of the text indicates its subject-matter. It literally means the enumeration of the Dhamma, *i.e.*, the psychical conditions and phenomena belonging both to laukika (mundane) and lokottara (supra-mundane) realms. All phenomena belonging to the internal and external world have been classified and examined carefully. They are citta (consciousness), cetasika (mental properties), rūpa (material qualities) and nibbāna (the highest bliss). The work contains a minute and critical analysis as also divisions of these four ultimate categories. It has three principal divisions. In the first division citta (consciousness) and cetasika (mental properties) have been carefully analysed as also their functions have been clearly discussed. The total number of citta and cetasika is fifty-three only, of which citta is one and cetasika fifty-two. The second division deals with the analysis of rūpa (mental qualities). According to the Abhidhamma, rūpa means that which undergoes change. This division thus contains a detailed discussion of the rūpa. The third division is known as the nikkhepa (summary). It gives us a summary of what has been related previously. It is a purely learned work and has been held in great esteem in Ceylon.

The *Vibhaṅga* deals generally with the different categories and formulae given in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. Different methods of treatment have, however, been employed therein. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* analyses the psychical conditions and phenomena while the *Vibhaṅga* synthesises them. Thus the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* lays much emphasis on their analysis while the *Vibhaṅga* on their synthesis. The book is divided into eighteen chapters which are Khandhavi-

[26] *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. I, p. 138.

bhaṅga, Āyatanavibhaṅga, Dhātuvibhaṅga, Saccavibhanga, Indriyavibhaṅga, Paccayākāravibhaṇga, Satipaṭṭhānavibhaṅga, Sammappadhānavibhaṅga, Iddhipādavibhaṅga, Bojjhaṅgavibhaṅga, Maggavibhaṅga, Jhānavibhaṅga, Appamaññavibhaṅga, Sikkhāpadavibhaṅga, Paṭisaṃbhidāvibhaṅga, Ñaṇavibhaṅga, Khuddakavatṭhuvibhaṅga and Dhammahadayavibhaṅga. Each of these chapters is called a Vibhaṅga and contains three parts which are Suttantabhājanīya, Abhidhammabhājanīya and Pañhāpucchaka. The first three chapters of the *Vibhaṅga*, *viz.*, the Khandhavibhaṅga, the Āyatanavibhaṅga and the Dhātuvibhaṅga serve as a supplementary to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. Dr. B.C. Law writes[27] that "the object is to formulate the theories and practical mechanism of intellectual and moral progress scattered throughout the Suttapiṭaka and not to extend knowledge."

The *Kathāvatthu* is the only work of the Tipiṭaka ascribed to a definite author. It was composed by Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, the President of the Third Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputta under the patronage of king Aśoka. It comprises twenty-three chapters containing discussion and refutation of the heretical views of various sects. It is important from the point of view of the history of Buddhism as it throws much light on the development of Buddhist doctrine of the ages after Buddha. Some scholars believe that the *Kathāvatthu* greatly influenced Aśoka's Rock Edict, IX.[28]

The *Puggalapaññatti* is a short work which differs very much, both in language and subject-matter, from the other books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. It does not contain any discussion on citta and cetasika. It deals with the nature of the personality according to the stages along the spiritual path. The Sammāsambudha, Paccekabuddha and Ariyapuggala have been described herein. The main purpose of this text is to examine the various types of individuals and not the study of the various Dhammas.

The *Dhātukathā* is a discussion on the mental elements and their relations to other categories. The Khandhavibhaṅga, the

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[27] *A History of Pāli Literature*, vol. I, p. 316.

[28] *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 805 ff.

Dhātuvibhaṅga and the Āyatanavibhaṅga—the three chapters of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* form the foundation of the *Dhātukathā.* There are fourteen chapters in this book. All these chapters discuss khandhas, dhātus and āyatanas from different points of view in the form of questions and answers. Some scholars hold that this work should have been named the Khandha-āyatana-dhātukathā as it contains discussion mainly with reference to these subjects.

The *Yamaka* is a book on psychological subjects and their analysis is arranged as pairs of questions. It is so called because of its method of treatment. Throughout the work all the questions are presented and answered in two ways. It contains ten chapters which are Mūlayamaka, Khandhayamaka, Āyatanayamaka, Dhātuyamaka, Saccayamaka, Saṅkhārayamaka, Anusayayamaka, Cittayamaka, Dhammayamaka and Indriyayamaka. Each of the chapters is complete in itself and capable of being regarded as an independent one. Geiger calls this *Yamaka* an applied logic.

The *Paṭṭhāna* is the most important and voluminous book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. It is devoted to the discussion on causation and mutual relationship of phenomena. It is also called the *Mahāpakaraṇa.* In Buddhism there are two ways of determining a causal relation between things, mental and material. One is called the Paṭiccasamuppāda mode and the other is known as the Paṭṭhāna mode. The *Paṭṭhāna* is nothing but a detailed exposition of the paṭiccasamuppāda. The twelve links of the paṭiccasamuppāda have been explained very lucidly in the *Paṭṭhānā* in the form of twenty-four paccayas.[29] The *Paṭṭhāna* is divided into four great divisions, *viz.,* Anulomapaṭṭhāna, Paccanīyapaṭṭhāna, Anuloma-paccanīyapaṭṭhāna and Paccanīya-anulomapaṭṭhāna. In these four divisions the twenty-four paccayas have been applied in a six

[29]They are—Hetupaccaya, Ārammaṇapaccaya, Adhipatipaccaya, Anantarapaccaya, Samanantarapaccaya, Sahajātapaccaya, Aññam-aññapaccaya, Nissayapaccaya, Upanissayapaccaya, Purejātapaccaya, Pacchājātapaccaya, Āsevanapaccaya, Kammapaccaya, Vipākapaccaya, Āhārapaccaya, Indriyapaccaya, Jhānapaccaya, Maggapaccaya, Sam-payuttapaccaya, Vippayuttapaccaya, Atthipaccaya, Natthipaccaya, Vigatapaccaya and Avigatapaccaya.

fold way, *viz.*, Tikapaṭṭhāna, Dukapaṭṭhāna, Duka-tikapaṭṭhāna, Tika-dukapaṭṭhāna, Tika-tikapaṭṭhāna and Duka-dukapaṭṭhāna.

Among the works of the Tipiṭaka the study of the Abhidhamma is still continued in the Buddhist countries, specially in Burma. It is regularly studied and discussed in each monastery as also in the house of the laity. Many texts were written on it in the course of the century. In Burma a Buddhist novice is given to study first the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* which contains the essence of the Abhidhamma. A learner can thus understand easily the fundamentals of seven Abhidhamma texts.

As already observed, like the Pali Tipiṭaka of the Theravāda school there was also the Tipiṭaka of other schools composed in Sanskrit, Prakrit and the like. Fortunately, some fragments of manuscripts of the Tripiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school composed in Sanskrit have been discovered in Central Asia and Gilgit. The Tipiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school, it is learnt, had three divisions—Āgama, Vinaya and Abhidharma. We propose to give here a brief account of the works of the Sanskrit Tripiṭaka :—

The Āgama is divided into four books entitled *Dīrghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Saṃyuktāgama* and *Ekottarāgama*, corresponding to the four Pali Nikāyas, *viz.*, *Dīghanikāya, Majjhimanikāya, Saṃyuttanikāya* and *Aṅguttaranikāya.*

The *Dīrghāgama* consists of thirty sūtras only as against thirty-four in Pali. Among the sūtras the fragments of the Saṅgīti and Āṭānāṭiya sūtras have been discovered in Central Asia.

The *Madhyamāgama* contains two hundred and twenty sūtras as against one hundred and fifty of the Pali text. The manuscript fragments of the Upāli and Śuka sūtras have only been discovered.

The *Saṃyuktāgama* is divided into fifty chapters. It contains a large number of sūtras than those of the Pali text. The manuscript fragments of the Pravāraṇā, Candropama and Śakti sūtras have been discovered in Central Asia.

The *Ekottarāgama* contains fifty-two chapters while the Pali text contains eleven nipātasa (ekādasakanipāta) consisting of one hundred and sixty-nine chapters. The manuscript fragments of the Paṅkandhā, the Pūrṇikā and other sūtras have been discovered in

Central Asia. R. Pischel already published them in the *S.B.A.*, 1904.

Lastly, there is not yet a consensus of opinion as to whether the Kṣudrakāgama was the fifth Āgama of the Sarvāstivāda school. The manuscript fragments of the Kṣudrakāgama of this school have not yet been discovered. Fortunately, a complete copy of the *Dhammapada* as also a few fragments of the *Sthaviragāthā* have only been discovered.

The Vinayapiṭaka contains four divisions—*Vinayavibhaṅga*, *Vinayavastu*, *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* and *Vinaya-uttaragrantha*. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* corresponds to the *Suttavibhaṅga*, the *Vinayavastu* to the Khandhakas, *i.e.*, the *Mahāvagga* and portions of the *Cullavagga*, the *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* and the *Vinaya-uttaragrantha* to the *Cullavagga* and *Parivārapāṭha* respectively. The *Vinayavastu* is further divided into seventeen chapters :—Pravrajyāvastu, Poṣadhavastu, Pravāraṇāvastu, Varṣāvastu, Carmavastu, Bhaiṣajyavastu, Cīvaravastu, Kaṭhinavastu, Kauśāmbīvastu, Karmavastu, Pāṇḍulohitakavastu, Pudgalavastu, Pārivāsikavastu, Poṣadhasthāpanavastu, Śayanāsanavastu, Adhikaraṇavastu and Saṁghabhedakavastu. The *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* and the *Vinaya-uttaragrantha* contain various minor rules of the Vinaya. Of the Tripiṭaka texts of the Sarvāstivāda school a large number of manuscript fragments of the Vinayapiṭaka only have been discovered in Central Asia and Gilgit.

The Abhidharmapiṭaka—The Sarvāstivādins had seven Abhidharma treatises[30] like the Theravādins. They were—the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra*, *Saṅgītiparyāya*, *Prakaraṇapāda*, *Vijñānakāya*, *Dhātukāya*, *Dharmaskandha* and *Prajñaptiśāstra*.

Of the aforesaid treatises, the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* occupies the most important place. In his *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*[31] Yaśomitra compares the *Jñānaprasthāna* to the body of a being and the other six to its legs. It is the principal treatise of the Sarvāstivāda school, others are pādas or supplements to it. Prof. Takakusu has made a study of the seven Abhidharma texts on the

[30] They are available in Chinese translations only.

[31] Ed. S. Lévi and Stcherbatsky, p. 9.

basis of the Chinese translations[32]. Below is given a brief survey of these texts :—

The *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* was composed three hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha by the venerable Kātyāyanīputra who flourished in Kashmir. There are two translations of this work in Chinese, one by the Kashmirian monk Gautama Saṅghadeva along with Ku Fo-nien in 383 A. D. entitled the *Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha*, generally known as the *Aṣṭagrantha*,[33] and the other, much later, by Hiüen-Tsang (657-660 A.D.), entitled the *Abhidharmaśāstra*, generally called the *Jñānaprasthāna*[34]. Both the texts contain eight sections covering forty-four chapters. They deal only with prajñā (wisdom), dhyāna (meditation) and such other matters.

The *Saṅgītiparyāya* was composed by the venerable Śāriputra according to the Chinese writer, while Yaśomitra and Bu-ston ascribe it to Mahākauṣṭhila who was a renowned teacher of the Sarvāstivāda school. It was translated into Chinese by Hiüen-Tsang about seventh century A. D. It contains ten chapters. The dharmas have been grouped here numerically in an ascending order in the Aṅguttara style. The main purpose of this work was to bring together all the teachings of Buddha within a short compass in order to minimise the chance of difference among the disciples.

The *Prakaraṇapāda* is attributed to the renowned teacher Vasumitra of the Sarvāstivāda school. According to the Chinese pilgrim Hiüen-Tsang, the work was composed by Vasumitra in a monastery at Puṣkaravatī. There exist two translations of this work. Prof. Takakusu suggests that the original name of this treatise must have been the *Abhidharmaprakaraṇa*. But later on, on account of its being closely linked up with the Pāda work, it came to be known as the *Prakaraṇapāda*. The work contains eight

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[32] *J. P. T. S.* 1904-5.

[33] Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, No. 1273.

[34] Ibid., No. 1275.

chapters. It discusses briefly the different types of technical terms occurring in Buddhism.

The *Vijñānakāya* was composed by the Arhat Devaśarmā in Viśoka, near Śrāvastī, one hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha. It was translated into Chinese by Hiüen-Tsang in 649 A. D. It consists of six chapters. It contains exposition of pudgala, indriyas, śaikṣa, arhat etc. It is said that considering the importance of this treatise the Vaibhāṣikas accepted it as canonical, but the Sautrāntikas rejected it [35]

The *Dhātukāya*—According to the Chinese writers, it was composed three hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of Buddha by the venerable Vasumitra, by Pūrṇa according to Yaśomitra and Bu-ston.[36] It was translated into Chinese by Hiüen-Tsang in 663 A.D. It contains two chapters (khandhas). The topics discussed in the first chapter are almost identical with those of the fourth chapter of the *Prakaraṇapāda.* The second chapter (khandha) is devoted to a detailed discussion on the mutual relation of eighty-eight categories under sixteen sections.

The *Dharmaskandha*—According to the Chinese writers, it was composed by the venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana, but by Ārya Śāriputra according to Yaśomitra and Bu-ston. It was translated into Chinese by Hiuen-Tsang in 650 A. D.[37] It occupies a place next to the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra.* It consists of twenty-one chapters. It contains a detailed exposition of the sikṣāpadas, śīlas, caturāryasatyas and the like. The text is not so much concerned with the metaphysical questions, as with the moral and spiritual progress of a Bhikṣu. It chalks out a path for the attainment of the same. It may further be compared with Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga.*

The *Prajñaptiśāstra*—It was composed by the venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana. The text was translated into Chinese by Fa-hu

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[35] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, p. 374.

[36] B. Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, No. 1282.

[37] Ibid., No. 1296.

and others (1004 1058 A D.).[38] It contains three parts—Lokaprajñapti, Kāraṇaprajñapti and Karmaprajñapti. The Lokaprajñapti deals with the instruction about the world. It gives us an idea of the world system. The Kāraṇaprajñapti points out the characteristics of the Bodhisattva. The Karmaprajñapti deals with the different kinds of acts. Some scholars believe that this treatise agrees closely with the Lakkhaṇasuttanta of the *Dīghanikāya.*

The object of the six Pāda works, it seems, is to supplement the topics not dealt with in detail in the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra*, the principal treatise of this school.

Post-canonical Pali literature

Apart from the canonical literature in Pali there are also a large number of post-canonical Pali works. Most of them are the works of the monks of Ceylon. They comprise mostly Ṭīkās and Ṭippanīs *i.e.*, exegetical literature) and grammatical treatises too. Pali texts, especiallly the Ṭīkā, Dīpanī, Madhu, Gandhi, *i.e.*, the commentarial literature, were also composed in Burma later on. For the convenience of our treatment we propose to classify them into the extra-canonical works first, next the commentaries, then the chronicles, manuals, poetical works, grammars, and works on rhetoric and metrics, and lastly, the lexicons.

(i) Extra-canonical works: Let us take up the works composed 'in between the closing of the Pali canon and the writing of the Pali commentaries by Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla'. The works belonging to this period may rightly be called the extra-canonical works. Among them the *Milindapañha*, the *Netti-pakaraṇa*, the *Peṭakopadesa* deserve our special attention as they originated in India.

The *Milindapañha* is the oldest and most famous work of the non-canonical Pali literature. The original text was not composed in Pali. It was composed in Northern India in Sanskrit or in some North Indian Prakrit. The original text is lost, and the

[38] B Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, No. 1317.

present work is a Pali translation of the original made in Ceylon. It contains a learned dialogue between king Milinda and venerable monk Nāgasena on a good number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism. Some of its dialogues compare favourably with those of Plato. The problems discussed in it are mostly identical with those found in the *Kathāvatthu*. Its language is elegant. The present text contains seven chapters. Some scholars believe that it contains three chapters only. Chapters IV-VII were interpolated later on. It is of immense value from the points of view of the Buddhist literature and philosophy. It occupies a unique position in the post-canonical Pali literature.

The *Netti-pakaraṇa* is contemporaneous with the *Milindapañha*. It is ascribed to Mahākaccāna, a great disciple of Buddha. It is a work on the textual and exegetical methodology. It is the earliest text which gives us a connected treatment of Buddha's teachings. 'It stands in the same relation to the Pali canon as Yāska's Nirukta to the Vedas'. It is the text which refers first to the science of logic. It is also known as *Nettigandha*, or simply *Netti*. Mrs. Rhys Davids holds that *Netti-pakaraṇa* is earlier than the *Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna* of the Abhidhammapiṭaka[39]. The *Netti-pakaraṇa* bears close resemblance with the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* in some respects. Dhammapāla wrote a commentary on it in the fifth century A.D.

The *Peṭakopadesa* is another treatise contemporaneous with the *Milindapañha*. It is also composed by Mahākaccāna. It is a continuation of the *Netti-pakaraṇa*. "It is nothing but a different manipulation of the subject-matter taught in the *Netti-pakaraṇa*". It has quoted three chapters verbatim from the *Netti-pakaraṇa*. It contains teachings embedded in the Piṭaka texts. In some places we find quotations from the Tipiṭaka. It also throws much light on the points not clearly explained in the *Netti-pakaraṇa*. Here the cattāri ariyasaccāni (the four noble truths) have been described as the essence of Buddhism.

(ii) Commentaries: Let us now turn to the commentaries which have made Buddha's abstruse teachings intelligible to the

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[39] *J. R. A. S.*, 1925, pp. 111 ff.

common people and thereby making them popular. Among the Pali commentators the three most illustrious names stand out – Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla. Of them Buddhaghosa was the most celebrated.

Here come Buddhadatta and his famous commentaries. Buddhadatta was a contemporary of Buddhaghosa. Some scholars hold that he was of the same age with Buddhaghosa while others maintain that he was a little older than Buddhaghosa. His native place was Uragapura (modern Uraiyur) in South India. He wrote a number of commentaries on the Vinaya and Abhidhamma treatises. Of them *Vinayavinicchaya*, *Uttaravinicchaya*, *Abhidhammāvatāra* and *Rūpārūpavibhāga* are the most important.

The *Vinayavinicchaya* and the *Uttaravinicchaya* are the two commentaries on the Vinayapiṭaka. They contain rules of discipline for the monks and the nuns of the Saṅgha. It is said that the *Vinayavinicchaya* was composed at the request of Buddhasīha, a disciple of Buddhadatta. The *Uttaravinicchaya* is a supplement to the *Vinayavinicchaya*. There are further *Ṭīkās* (commentaries) on the *Vinayavinicchaya* and the *Uttaravinicchaya*.

The *Abhidhammāvatāra* contains twenty-four chapters. It is composed in verse and prose. It deals with citta (consciousness), cetasika (constituent of consciousness), ārammaṇa (support), vipāka-citta (resultant consciousness), rūpa (form), nibbāna and the like. The principal objective of this text is to analyse the dhammas contained in the Abhidhamma. It forms an introduction to the study of the Abhidhamma, and stands foremost among Buddhadatta's works. There are two Ṭīkās (commentaries) on it.

The *Rūpārūpavibhāga* is composed in verse. Rūpa, citta, cetasika and the like form the subject-matter of this treatise. It deals mainly with nāma and rūpa.

The aforesaid four works are known as Buddhadatta's manual.

Now comes Buddhaghosa whose name "stands out pre-eminent as one of the greatest commentators and exegetists." He was born in a Brahmin family in the fifth century A.D. near Bodh-Gaya. He was initiated to Buddhism by the monk Revata and went to Ceylon in search of Aṭṭhakathās (commentaries). He wrote a

number of commentaries on the texts of the Tipiṭaka. Apart from his commentaries, he wrote two other works, the *Ñāṇodaya*[40] and the *Visuddhimagga.* Here is given a brief survey of some of his works :—

The *Visuddhimagga* is Buddhaghosa's first work which was composed in Ceylon. It contains "something of almost everything" of the early Buddhist literature. It consists of twenty-three chapters. Buddhaghosa composed this monumental work in order to explain clearly a gāthā (verse)[41] which was given to him by the Sinhalese monks to test his knowledge. It is a digest of the whole of the Tipiṭaka texts. It is indeed an encyclopaedia of Buddha's teachings. It has immortalised Buddhaghosa. There are two Ṭīkās (commentaries) on it.

The *Samantapāsādikā* is a commentary on the five treatises of the Vinayapiṭaka. It was written on the basis of the *Mahāpaccarī* and *Kuruṇḍī* Aṭṭhakathās at the request of Buddhasiri. The valuable Vinaya materials apart, it discusses the reason for holding the Buddhist council, selection of members for the council and the place of the council. It gives us an account of the constituents of the Vinaya and Sutta piṭakas which were recited at the council. It also refers to eighteen Mahāvihāras. It further furnishes us with an account of king Aśoka. Kammaṭṭhānas, sati, samādhi, paṭisambhidhā etc. are also discussed herein. It is also rich in historical and geographical information.

The *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* is a commentary on the *Pātimokkha* of the Vinayapiṭaka. It is said that the work was written at the request of a monk called Sona. Apart from commenting on the rules of the *Pātimokkha*, it throws much light on the later development of the Buddhist monastic life. It "is remarkable for the restraint and matured judgment that characterize Buddhaghosa's style".

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* is a commentary on the *Dīghanikāya.* It

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[40]It has not come down to us.

[41]Sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sapañño,
cittaṃ paññaṃ ca bhāvayaṃ,
ātāpī nipako bhikkhu,
so imaṃ vijaṭaye jaṭaṃ.

was written at the request of Dāṭhanāgathera. It furnishes us with valuable information on the social, political, philosophical and religious history of India during the time of Buddha. It also gives us interesting geographical information.

There are besides other famous commentaries like the *Papañcasūdanī* (commentary on the *Majjhimanikāya*), the *Sāratthappakāsinī* (commentary on the *Saṃyuttanikāya*), the *Manorathapūraṇī* (commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*) and the like composed by Buddhaghosa. His famous *Atthasālinī*, a commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, provides us with the meanings of the terms found in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, which are very useful to students of Buddhism. It also contains some valuable historical and geographical information. Its introductory chapter deals with various literary and philosophical questions. His literary discussions help us much in determining the chronology of the works of the Sutta, Vinaya and the Abhidhamma. The teaching of the Abhidhamma in Ceylon has also been traced herein.

It is interesting to note here that "Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* which shows his encyclopaedic knowledge, keen intellect and deep insight and his numerous commentaries give him an unassailable position among Indian thinkers and scholars."[42]

Lastly, we come to Dhammapāla and his works Dhammapāla was born at Badaratittha situated on the south-east coast of India. He wrote a commentary known as the *Paramatthadīpanī* on the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, *Thera-Therīgāthās*, *Petavatthu*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Itivuttaka* and *Udāna* included in the Khuddakanikāya. He also wrote a commentary called the *Paramatthamañjūsā* on Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*. We are told that he also composed a commentary on the *Netti-pakaraṇa* at the request of a monk called Dhammarakkhita. Dhammapāla's commentaries throw much light on the religious condition of South India and Ceylon.

It should be mentioned here that other Aṭṭhakathās (commentaries) and expository works were also written before the composition of the well-known commentaries by Buddhadatta, Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla. Such commentaries have been referred

[42] P. V. Bapat, *2500 years of Buddhism*, p. 217.

to by Buddhaghosa in his different commentaries. The *Jātaka-ṭṭhakathā*, for instance, is one such commentary which gives in its introductory chapter called the *Nidānakathā*, the life-story of Buddha. We have in Pali literature no connected biographical sketch of the life of Buddha until we come to the *Nidānakathā* which is regarded as the most informative in this regard. We, therefore, propose to give here a brief survey of this work :—

The *Nidānakathā* contains a chronological biography of Gotama Buddha to a certain extent. Its authorship is not known. It is divided into three sections. It provides us with the story of Buddha in three sections—Dūrenidāna, Avidūrenidāna and Santikenidāna. The Dūrenidāna records the existence of Gotama Buddha as Sumedha Brāhmaṇa at the time of Buddha Dīpaṅkara up to his birth in the Tusita heaven. The Avidūrenidāna refers to the descent of Gotama Buddha from the Tusita heaven up to his enlightenment in Bodh-Gaya. The Santikenidāna mentions Gotama Buddha's early missionary career up to the dedication of the Jetavana by the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika. The *Nidānakathā* bears resemblance with the *Buddhavaṁsa* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. It is written mainly on the central themes of those two texts. It "represents an earlier phase in the development of the Buddha legend than the *Lalitavistara* and similar Sanskrit works, even if the latter must be ascribed to an earlier time."[43]

(iii) Chronicles : Here is given a brief survey of a few of the important Pali chronicles :—

The *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* are the two great Pali chronicles of Ceylon. They were composed on the basis of the Pali Aṭṭhakathās (commentaries). The author of the *Dīpavaṃsa* is not known. But Mahānāma who lived towards the later part of the fifth century A.D. was the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The two works bear close resemblance in respect of subject-matter and composition. We find hardly any difference even in their language and style. The two works introduce us with the life-history of Gotama Buddha. It is said that Buddha visited Ceylon thrice.

[43] M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, p. 189.

They trace the genealogy of the old royal families of India and Ceylon as also give us a brief account of the first three Buddhist councils. They also relate the propagation of Buddhism in Ceylon by Mahinda and Saṅghamittā. The works are of great value for a comprehensive account of the spread of Buddhism not only in Ceylon but in India too. It is said that the *Dīpavaṃsa* was so popular in Ceylon that king Dhātusena made endowment for its regular recital. These two texts are undoubtedly the most important works from the view points of the Buddhist religion and literature.

The *Mahābodhivaṃsa* or the *Bodhivaṃsa* was composed by the monk Upatissa at the request of Dāṭhānāga towards the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. It provides us with an account of the attainment of enlightenment of Gotama Buddha, his Mahāparinibbāna and first three Buddhist councils. It also furnishes us with the history of the coming of the Bodhi tree in Ceylon. Acceptance of the Mahāvihāra and Cetiyagiri have also been narrated herein. It is written mostly in prose.

The *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* or the *Dantadhātuvaṃsa* was written by the distinguished monk Dhammakitti who was well-versed in Sanskrit, Māgadhī and Vyākaraṇa (grammar) at the request of Parakkamabāhu I. It was written on the basis of the *Daḷadāvaṃsa*, an old Sinhalese chronicle. It contains five chapters. It is written not in pure Pali but in Sanskritized Pali. It gives us an account of the Tooth Relic of Buddha brought to Ceylon by Dantakumāra, prince of Kaliṅga. From the point of view of the history of Buddhist literature it is indeed an important contribution to Pali literature. The work further 'shows us Pali as a medium of epic poetry.'

The *Thūpavaṃsa* was written by Vācissara in the thirteenth century A.D. It exists in both the Sinhalese and Pali languages. The work may conveniently be divided into three principal chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the previous existences of Buddha and the thūpas (topes) erected over his relics. The second chapter provides us with the life of Buddha from his birth to his attainment of the Mahāparinibbāna as also the distribution

of his relics. The third chapter gives us a later account of the relics.

The *Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa* is a history of the monastery of Attanagalla. It contains eleven chapters and is composed in simple Pali. The first eight chapters give us an account of king Siri Saṅghabodhi and the remaining three chapters describe the various types of noble edifices erected on his last residence.

The *Chakesadhātuvaṃsa* was written by a monk of Burma. Its language is very simple. It gives us an account of the thūpas (topes) erected over the hair-relic of Buddha by Sakka, Pajjunna, Maṇimekhalā, Addhikanāvika, Varunanāgarāja and Sattanāvika.

The *Gandhavaṃsa* was also written in Burma by a monk named Nandapañña. It contains five chapters written mostly in prose. It provides us with the history of the Pali canon and further gives us an account of more modern Pali works written in Burma and Ceylon. In short, "it is a small and interesting outline of the history of Pali books". It is thus of immense value from the point of view of the history of Pali literature.

The *Sāsanavaṃsa* was written by the distinguished monk, Paññāsāmi of Burma towards the middle of the nineteenth century A.D. It relates mainly the history of the spread of Buddhism in Burma. The propagation of Buddhism in other countries have incidentally been discussed herein. It throws much light on the relation of the state and the Saṅgha in Burma.

(iv) Manuals : Here come the Manuals which present their subject-matter systematically in a terse and concise form.

The *Saccasaṅkhepa* was written by Culla Dhammapāla. The *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, however, attributes it to Ānanda. It is a short treatise containing five chapters on Abhidhamma materials. It deals with the rūpa (form), vedaṇa (feeling), cittappavatti (thought), pakiṇṇakasaṃgaha and nibbāna.

The *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* was written about 12th century A.D. by Anuruddhācariya, an Indian monk of Kāñcīpuram or Kāñjiveram. It is a manual of the psycho-ethical philosophy of the Theravāda school. The work deals with the four ultimate

categories, *viz.* citta (consciousness), cetasika (mental properties), rūpa mental qualities) and nibbāna. Citta is further classified into eighty-nine types (one hundred and twenty-one types according to another classification), cetasika into fifty-two, rūpa into twenty-eight. Nibbāna is a happy state—a state beyond description. It is not a systematic digest of the entire Abhidhammapiṭaka. But it gives us in outline the form which the teaching of the Dhamma took, when for the Buddhists it became Abhidhamma. It is indispensable as a guide to the study of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. Even at the present day it is held in high esteem in Ceylon and Burma than any other book of the Abhidhamma. There are a number of commentaries written by eminent scholars on it. The two outstanding among them are the *Vibhāvanī* and the *Paramatthadīpanī.*

The *Nāmarūpapariccheda* was also written by Anuruddha. It contains thirteen chapters in verse. It deals with nāma (name) and rūpa (form). There are two commentaries on it.

The *Suttasaṁgaha* was most probably written in Anurādhapura. It is a manual of select suttas. It is meant for learners who wished to have a knowledge of the canonical texts in brief.

The *Khuddasikkhā* and the *Mūlasikkhā* are the two compendia containing a short summary of the rules of the Vinayapiṭaka. They are mostly in verse. The *Khuddasikkhā* is generally ascribed to Dhammasiri and the Mūlasikkhā to Mahāsāmi.

(v) Poetical works : There is no lack of poetical works in Pali literature. Most of the works were written about 10th-15th centuries A.D. in Ceylon. We propose to give here a brief survey of some of the important works.

The *Anāgatavaṁsa* was composed by Kassapa, a native of the Coḷa country. It is composed in verse. The introductory verses relate that the story was recounted by Buddha at the request of Sāriputta. It is an account of life and career of Metteyya, the future Buddha. The manner and style of the *Buddhavaṁsa* has been followed herein. In fact, it is a supplement to the *Buddhavaṁsa.*

The *Jinacarita* was composed by Vanaratana Medhaṅkara. It

is a poem of more than four hundred and seventy stanzas composed in different metres. 'It represents a poetic development in Pali similar to that represented by the Buddhacarita in the Sanskrit Buddhist literature.'[44] It deals with the life of Buddha on the basis of the material found in the *Nidānakathā.*

The *Telakaṭāhagāthā* is a poem in ninety-eight stanzas supposed to have been uttered by Kalyāṇiya Thera who was cast into a cauldron of boiling oil by Kalyāṇatissa on suspicion of his carrying on an intrigue with his queen. It deals with the vanity of human life and the good religion of Buddha.

The *Pajjamadhu* was composed by Coliya Dīpaṅkara or Buddhapiya. It is a poem of one hundred and forty four stanzas. It deals with the eulogies of Buddha. Its language is Sanskritized Pali.

The *Saddhammopāyana* was composed by Buddhasamapiya. It contains six hundred and twenty-nine verses dealing with the fundamentals of Buddhism in general and the ethical doctrines in particular. The eight akkhaṇas, ten akusalas, and the miseries suffered by the petas (ghosts) are also described herein.

The *Pañcagatidīpana* is a poem of one hundred and fourteen verses. It enumerates the deeds committed in this world by body, word and mind by which human beings are reborn in one or other of the five conditions of life—as human beings, animals, ghosts, gods or hell creatures. The hell life, *viz.* Sañjīva, Kālasutta, Saṅghāta and others have also been described herein. Dr. B. C. Law writes that 'the real literary value of this poem consists in the simplicity of its diction and the handy form which is peculiar to a later digest of doctrines that are old'.[45]

(vi) Grammars : There is no dearth of Pali grammars in the Pali literature. All the grammatical works were written in Ceylon and Burma. Of the grammarians, three deserve special mention. They were Kaccāyana, Moggallāna and Aggavaṃsa. The first two belonged to Ceylon and the third to Burma. Kaccāyana was the

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[44] B. C. Law, *A History of Pali Literature*, vol. II, p. 614.

[45] Ibid., vol. II, p. 629.

oldest of them. He wrote the first Pali grammar named *Susandhikappa.* Many suttas of this work agree closely with those of the Sanskrit *Kātantravyākaraṇa.* The *Mahārūpasiddhi*, *Bālāvatāra* and the like were composed on the basis of Kaccāyana s suttas. The *Payogasiddhi*, *Padasādhana* and others were composed on the system of Moggallāna's grammar. The famous *Cullasaddanīti* was composed on the system of the famous *Saddanīti* of Aggavaṁsa. Besides, there were other grammars written by eminent teachers later on.

(vii) Works on Rhetorics and Metrics : Pali literature is not wanting in works of rhetoric and prosody. The number of works on this subject is of course very small. The few that we have were written on the model of Sanskrit works. They do not, however, exhibit any originality or profound knowledge of the authors concerned. A brief account of the treatises that are available at present is given below : —

The *Subodhālaṁkāra* is the only noteworthy work on rhetoric. It was written by the distinguished ācariya Saṅgharakkhita of Ceylon on the pattern of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa.* It contains three hundred and sixty-seven verses divided into five chapters. The life of Buddha has been illustrated by the figure of speech herein.

The *Vuttodaya* is the most notable work on metrics. It was also written by Saṅgharakkhita of Ceylon. It was written in imitation of the Sanskrit works dealing with metrics. The *Kāmandakī*, *Chandoviciti*, *Kavisārapakaraṇa* and *Kavisāraṭīkānissaya* are other works on this subject.

(viii) Lexicons : In Pali literature we have also lexicographical works, written on the pattern of Sanskrit lexicons. We are told that the Vevacanahāra of the *Netti-pakaraṇa* containing synonyms may be regarded as the early model of the Pali lexicon. The two most well-known lexicons are the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* and the *Ekakkharakosa.*

The *Abhidhānappadīpikā* was written by the distinguished monk, Moggallāna of Ceylon in the twelfth century A.D. . "It is the only

ancient Pali dictionary in Ceylon" writes B.C. Law[46], "and it follows the style and method of the Sanskrit Amarakoṣa". It is divided into three parts. It is held in high esteem in Burma and Ceylon.

The *Ekakkharakosa* was composed by Saddhammakitti, a student of Ariyavaṃsa in the sixteenth century A.D. It was also modelled on the Sanskrit works of the similar type.

[46] *A History of Pali Literature*, vol. II, p. 637.

CHAPTER VII

BUDDHIST EDUCATION

The introduction, expansion and proper management of the educational system are one of the main functions of a modern state. In ancient times the Christian missionaries in Europe and the various religious Orders in India planned out their own educational methods. They also received the active support and patronage of the ruling powers and the nobility of the time in this regard. Among them the Brahmanical system of education is the most ancient. It has been in vogue even today since the Vedic age. The tradition of the system of education with which we are concerned here relates to the Buddhist system of education only. It differs from the Brahmanical system in some respects. The Buddhist monasteries were the centres of learning and teaching was imparted to a collective body of pupils. Both religious and secular subjects were taught by the monks therein. It was the monks who carried on all the educational activities in those days. In fact, they were really the only custodians and torch-bearers of learning. There were practically no well-organised educational institutions wherein education was regularly imparted excepting the Buddhist monasteries in the Buddhist world in those olden times. The history of Buddhist system of education is really the history of the Buddhist Saṅgha. The rules that we find in the Buddhist education "are not the invention of the Buddha but modelled upon those of numerous other monastic orders professing other faiths and also of Brahmanism itself, the common source from which all such sects arose"[1]. It may be pointed out here that the Brahmanical education was individualistic. It was based on an individual teacher. It was imparted in the preceptor's residence, and was confined to the Brahmins and peoples of upper castes. The consideration of

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[1] Radha Kumud Mookherji, *Ancient Indian Education*, London, 1947, p. 394.

castes was thus the main criterion for admission of students. The subjects of study were also few and very limited.

The Pali *Mahāvagga* records that there were two ceremonies prescribed for admission into the Saṅgha. The first, called the Pabbajjā, admits one as a novice into the Saṅgha, while the other known as the Upasampadā makes one a regular member of the Saṅgha, a bhikkhu (monk). In the Buddhist text one who has received the Pabbajjā is called the sāmaṇera. The Pabbajjā thus marks the beginning of the period of the noviciate, and no one below the age of fifteen was given the Pabbajjā. After the period of the noviciate Upasampadā was given and it was not conferred on a person below the age of twenty. Admission to the Saṅgha was open to all, irrespective of castes and creed but certain class of people was, however, denied the privilege of receiving the Pabbajjā and Upasampadā. Elsewhere in the *Mahāvagga* it is found that when the monks settled down in the monastery they behaved improperly without proper exhortation and instruction. People often spoke ill of them at such improper behaviour of the monks. The matter was brought to the notice of Buddha who rebuked the monks and asked them to place themselves under the guidance of spiritual teachers—Upajjhāyas and Ācariyas for their proper training.

An Upajjhāya used to teach the novice on the moral rules of conduct, while an Ācariya used to look after his spiritual life and progress. According to the great Pali commentator Buddhaghosa an Ācariya is a Sikkhāguru (teacher) while an Upajjhāya is a Dikkhāguru (a spiritual guide). In the Buddhist text an Ācariya is also called a Kammācariya. In the Brahmanical literature an Ācariya is considered superior to an Upajjhāya. A pupil attached to an Upajjhāya is known as the Saddhivihārika while that to an Ācariya is called the Antevāsika. An Upajjhāya should treat a Saddhivihārika as a son while a Saddhivihārika should regard an Upajjhāya as a father. Similarly an Ācariya should treat an Antevāsika as a son while an Antevāsika should regard an Ācariya as a father. Because of this relation a life in the Saṅgha became very charming and delightful. In the Buddhist texts this method is technically known as the Nissayasampatti, *i.e.*, complete

dependence of the pupil on the preceptor concerned. The period of dependence generally lasted for ten years. But the period could be relaxed in case of an experienced, competent monk who had to live five years only in dependence, but an unlearned one all his life[2]. An experienced and competent monk of ten years or of more than ten years standing was competent to give guidance to the monks[3]. We also know that Nissaya to an Upajjhāya ceased due to five reasons while to an Ācariya for six reasons. They have been dealt with in detail in the Pali *Mahāvagga.* In short, the preceptors were mainly responsible for the education and moral conduct of the novices in the Saṅgha. A young novice had to select his own Upajjhāya and Ācariya from amongst the experienced and competent monks. He should choose them thus—placing his upper robe over one shoulder he should salute the feet of the Upajjhāya and Ācariya and squatting on the ground pray unto them with folded hands thrice to be his Upajjhāya and Ācariya upon which both the Upajjhāya and Ācariya would declare their intention either by the gesture of the body or by speech.

The Buddhist system of education like the Brahmanical one prescribed the service of his pupils to their preceptors as a part of their education. We have seen before that there were two kinds of preceptors, *viz.*, Upajjhāya and Ācariya and to them were attached the Saddhivihārika and Antevāsika. Their duties to their respective preceptors have been discussed in detail in the *Mahāvagga.* We propose to describe here the services of a Saddhivihārika to his Upajjhāya. A Saddhivihārika should rise early in the morning, leave aside his sandals, put his upper robe over one shoulder and offer the tooth-wood and water for rinsing his mouth. He should next prepare a seat and give him rice-gruel in a pot. When he had taken the rice-gruel, he should wash the pot with water and keep it in a proper place. When the Upajjhāya got up, the seat should be removed and the place, if soiled, should be swept. If the Upajjhāya wanted to go to a

[2]Vinayapiṭaka, vol. I, p. 80.

[3]Ibid., vol. I, p. 62.

village for alms the Saddhivihārika should give him his robe, girdle and begging bowl. If he liked the Saddhivihārika to go along with him, he should then dress himself properly and follow him. He should neither keep himself too far from him nor too close to him. He should not interrupt the Upajjhāya when he was talking with others. If his speeches were offensive from the point of view of the Vinaya code, he should restrain him. He should return to the monastery early and make ready for his teacher a seat, a foot-stool, a foot-stand as also water for washing his feet. When the teacher would return, he should approach him and receive his bowl and robes and give him his under-garments for wearing. If his upper robe was wet due to perspiration he should dry it for a little while in the sun and fold it up. He should then keep it in its proper place. If there was food in the bowl and the Upajjhāya wished to eat he should give it to him with a glass of water. When he had eaten he should wash the bowl properly and keep it in its proper place. If the Upajjhāya desired to bathe, he should arrange for his bath. If he wanted cold water, he should be given cold water ; if he wanted hot water, he should be given hot water. If the Upajjhāya desired to enter the bathroom, he should give him the powder and clay for shampooing. He should put a stool in the bathroom before the preceptor entered it. If the Saddhivihārika wished to bathe, he should finish his bath quickly, and put on his robes. He should then wipe of the water from the limbs of the Upajjhāya and give him his robes to wear and make ready his seat. He should also offer the drinking water to him. If the Upajjhāya wished to give him lessons he should listen to them attentively.

There were further no servants in the Saṅgha. The novices had to do all sorts of menial works like servants. If the dwelling place of the Upajjhāya became soiled a Saddhivihārika should cleanse it. Before cleaning the place he should take out the bowls, robes, mattresses, and the like and keep them on one side, and afterwards they should be duly put back to their original places. The cell (pariveṇa), store-room (koṭṭhaka), prayer-hall (upaṭṭhāna-sālā), fire-room (aggisālā) and even the privy (vaccakuṭi) were also

to be cleaned by the Saddhivihārika when required. The *Cullavagga* gives us a detailed account of the services of the novices. A Saddhivihārika was not allowed either to give or to accept a begging bowl without the consent of the Upajjhāya. He should not give or accept the robes without the consent of the preceptor. He should not cut his hair or get it cut without the consent of the preceptor. He should not serve others or get the service of others. He should not further collect alms from others. He should neither enter the village or a cemetery without the consent of the preceptor. In fact, he was not allowed to do anything without the consent of the Upajjhāya. If the Upajjhāya fell ill, the Saddhivihārika should wait upon him till he fully recovered. In short, the aforesaid duties of the Saddhivihārika towards the Upajjhāya may be classified under three types :—(i) works regarding the Saddhivihārika himself, (ii) works required for the service of the Upajjhāya, and (iii) works regarding the well-being of the Saṅgha and those concerning the general hygiene. An Upajjhāya should conduct himself properly towards his Saddhivihārika. He should treat the Saddhivihārika with kind care and attention. He should always keep watch on all his works. An Upajjhāya should always be solicitious for the well-being of the Saddhivihārika as a father is for his son. If a Saddhivihārika fell ill and was not fit to carry on his duty to serve him, an Upajjhāya should nurse him till he would become fit. The remaining duties of an Upajjhāya are similar to those of a Saddhivihārika.

If an Upajjhāya had gone away from the monastery to practise meditation in a solitary place, or had given up his monkhood, or had joined another order, an Ācariya was then allowed to instruct a Saddhivihārika so that there might not be any interruption in his study. It should be mentioned here that an Upajjhāya was not altogether lost to his Saddhivihārika. When an Upajjhāya had returned to the monastery after sometime he was allowed to teach his Saddhivihārika again. Thus it is to be seen that a greater responsibility devolved on an Upajjhāya than an Ācariya in regard to the teaching and training up of a novice. An Upajjhāya not only conferred the Pabbajjā on a novice but also arranged for his

Upasampadā. He had to train the novice also in the function and duties of a monk.

Lastly, it is striking to note that the teaching undoubtedly formed the main work of the monks. But it was certainly discipline on which more emphasis was paid by the monks in the early Buddhist Saṅgha.

The duties and obligations of an Antevāsika towards his Ācariya and *vice-versa* agree closely with those of a Saddhivihārika towards his Upajjhāya and *vice-versa.* We do not, therefore, reiterate them herein.

From the *Mahāvagga*[4] we learn that there were rules for the expulsion of a novice by his preceptor for his improper conduct. This kind of punishment is technically known in Pali as Panāmita. The preceptor would ask the novice to go out from his room with his robes and bowl forthwith and neither to come near him nor to serve him any longer. But the preceptor must express his resentment both in words and gesture. Otherwise his order would be invalid. If the novice confessed his guilt and begged his pardon the preceptor should pardon him. He was then taken in and all the privileges he used to enjoy before were restored. If the preceptor did not pardon him he would be guilty of committing the Dukkaṭa offence. In the *Mahāvagga* are also enumerated the five cases of expulsion of a novice by the preceptor :—'If there does not come to be much affection for his preceptor, if there does not come to be much faith (in him), if there does not come to be much sense of shame (towards him), if there does not come to be much respect (for him), if there does not come to be much development (under him)[5].'

Monks usually spent most of their time in meditation in the monastery. The little time that remained was devoted to the well-being of the country, and the Saṅgha. They were further to teach the young novice the rules of etiquette and monastic discipline and help him in his intellectual and spiritual progress. Apart from the teaching work of the novices, many people living close to the

[4]Vinayapitaka, vol. I, pp. 53-55.

[5]Ibid., vol. I, p. 54.

monastery used to come there to hear discourses from the monks. The Buddhist monasteries became thus the centres of learning and were organised on the ideal of a residential university. The members of the monastery were residential students while those coming from outside were taught in the day time. Thus the monastery appeared as the day school for them. Monks who were highly educated and experienced were selected as the teachers. In other words, well-known and distinguished monks were selected for the teaching work. The system of education in the olden days were different from that we have in the modern time. Education was then carried on orally and handed down from the teacher to the taught. The Pali Vinayapiṭaka records that the same was the condition in the Buddhist age too. We do not find mention either of any manuscript or any writing material among the daily requisites of a monk. Apart from short stone or copper plate inscriptions for official use, writing of books was probably quite unknown in the first century of the Christian era. A defaced sculpture preserved in the Museum at Mathurā points out how the preceptor took their classes in small groups in the Buddhist age. The preceptor is seen here with a parasol over his head and his left hand holding its handle. Many novices squatting on the ground in front of him are listening to his discourses attentively in various postures. The discourses given by the preceptor mainly "related to the monkish learning of the age—the monastic regula (Vinaya), the holy legends (the making of which seems to have been a continuous literary industry in the convents over several centuries), the Buddhist moral fables (Jātakas), hymnology and fundamental doctrines"[6]. The main objective was to make the novices ideal monks of the Saṅgha. The monasteries indeed created the spiritual and cultural atmosphere and produced ideal monks and nuns. It was through them only Buddhism was propagated in India and abroad. In fact, the life of Buddhism depended on the existence of monasteries. Buddhism lasted so long the monasteries maintained their ideals.

The study of Dhamma (Doctrine) and Vinaya (monastic rules)

[6]P. V Bapat, *2500 years of Buddhism*, p. 179.

were much emphasised upon in the monasteries. Apart from it there were other subjects which were taught therein. The *Dīghanikāya*[7] and the *Mahāvagga*[8] record that the tiracchānakathā (worldly talk) which comprises various branches of knowledge concerning worldly matters was one of them. It contains, *viz.* (i) talk of kings (rājakathā), (ii) talk of robbers (corakathā), (iii) talk of ministers (mahāmattakathā), (iv) talk of war (senākathā), (v) talk of battles (yuddhakathā), (vi) talk of food, drink and clothes (annapānavatthakathā), (vii) talk of relations and acquaintances (ñātikathā), (viii) talk of villages and towns (nagara-janapadakathā), (ix) talk of women (itthikathā), (x) talk of heroes (sūrakathā), (xi) talk of creation of the land or sea (samuddākkhāyika), (xii) talk on becoming and not-becoming (itibhavābhavakathā) and the like. In fact, 'the ākkhānas in verse which were narrated and sung by the bards for the education of common people in villages, from pre-Buddhistic times were the sources of these subjects and their topics.' The ākkhānas (tales) were further responsible for the origin of the Jātakas which came into existence later on to popularise Buddhism among the laity. From the *Jātaka* we also learn that the monks knew the art of war. We are told that king Pasenadi being defeated by king Ajātasattu in war approached the monks in the monastery to learn the better technique of war. Subsequently he defeated king Ajātasattu and made him a prisoner.[9] The *Milindapañha*[10] enumerates nineteen branches of learning in ancient India. They were :—the revealed tradition, secular lore, the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika system, accountancy, music, medicine, the four Vedas, the Purāṇas, the oral traditions, astronomy, conjuring, logic, spells, fighting, poetry and reckoning on the figures. Elsewhere in the same text[11]

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[7] Vol. I, pp. 7, 66, 178 ; III. 54.

[8] Vinayapiṭaka, vol. I, pp. 188-189.

[9] Vaḍḍhakisūkara Jātaka, No. 283.

[10] Ed. V. Trenckner, pp. 3-4.—Suti sammuti saṅkhyā yogo nīti visesikā gaṇikā gandhabbā tikicchā cātubbedā purāṇā itihāsā jotisā māyā hetu mantanā yuddhā chandasā muddā, vacanena ekûnavīsati.

[11] Ibid., p. 263.

the navakamma (knowledge of making repairs or in building) was also one of the subjects taught in the monastery. Engineering is also referred to in the later works. The aforesaid branches of knowledge are technically called the Tiracchānavijjā or Aparāvijjā as against Parāvijjā which leads to the attainment of spiritual knowledge and ultimately to the realisation of Nibbāna. The Parāvijjā was taught to the resident learners of the monastery, while Aparāvijjā was imparted to the laymen who used to come to the monastery to receive education only for earning their livelihood. Most of them wanted to live a life of ease and that is why they learnt it with great earnestness so that they could live happily in this world. A few of them, however, also acquired the knowledge of the doctrines and rules of morality. It should be mentioned here that the Aparāvijjā was not usually taught to the resident learners, but the preceptor sometimes explained to them its moral merely. The *Cullavagga*[12] records that experienced and competent monks used to prescribe the course of studies for the learners. It further gives us the names of subjects that were taught in a monastery. The *Aṅguttaranikāya* further provides us with a list of monks and nuns who occupied the topmost places in certain subjects. The preceptors of allied subjects were given seats close to one another, while those teaching different subjects had their seats in different cells. Those who used to come from outside to receive education were enjoined to record their names and addresses in the register of the monastery, as a monk on his first arrival at a monastery as a visitor had to enquire about the outside learners of the monastery.

As already observed, the monasteries were the residential centres of the learners. They came into existence first for spiritual training of the monks. But they gradually changed into great centres of learning. Later on they turned into big universities to which flocked students from far and near to gather knowledge on different subjects. Many distinguished scholars from distant foreign countries used to come here to get the benefit of instruction and to remove their doubts on points of religious matters. The doors

[12]Ch. IV.

of these institutions were always wide opened. There were no restrictions for admission. From the account of the Chinese pilgrims we learn that admission to them was thrown open not only to monks but also to other laymen who desired to receive education therefrom. Education was imparted to all learners with great care. But the lay pupils were divided into two classes, *viz.*, māṇavas (commoners) and brahmacārins (students). "But they had, of course, to bring their own boarding expenses, for they could not under rules be fed from the property of the Saṅgha unless they had done some laborious work for the Saṅgha, who might then pay for it in the shape of feeding them according to their merit."[13]

Righteousness, generosity and alms-giving are peculiar to the Indian people. Charity to noble causes is indeed a meritorious deed. History furnishes us with ample instances of such gifts to the noble causes by the people of the then India. Kings, nobles and the like used to meet the cost of running these Universities. It is said that kings sometimes assigned the revenue of a whole village or a group of villages for the maintenance of the Universities. Rich merchants also contributed largely for the upkeep of the Universities. Students, thus, in no way felt any inconvenience to prosecute their studies there. Teaching of various subjects was carried on uninterruptedly from morning to evening. 'The Buddhist monasteries of the times became the seats and centres of both sacred and secular learning, and being freely resorted to by both Buddhist monks and laymen, and even by non-Buddhists, materially aided in the diffusion of learning and culture in the country.' Of them the University of Nālandā to which flocked students from far off countries attracts our attention most. It accommodated ten thousand pupils and one hundred scholars to teach them. We are told that about one hundred chairs or pulpits were arranged daily for the lectures and discourses. The courses of study offered therein covered a wide range and students had to make a selection among them. Big palatial buildings were used as classes for teaching and residence of learners. The noted

[13]Radha Kumud Mookherji, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 546.

Chinese pilgrim Hiüen-Tsang himself studied in this university for five years. Śīlabhadra, the distinguished Bengalee philosopher, was the head of this institution. By virtue of their character and erudition the teachers of Nālandā became the ideal teachers in those days. During this period there were other Universities like Vallabhī, Vikramaśīlā, Jagaddal, Odantapurī and the like which deserve mention here. This shows the vastness of cultural activity carried on in the domain of education by the monks of the monasteries.

Lastly, it will not be out of place to mention here that Kaviguru Rabindranath Tagore who was noted for his great love for Buddhism built up his Visva-Bharati on the model of the Buddhist monasteries which were great centres of learning in those days.

CHAPTER VIII

DECLINE OF BUDDHISM

It is an undeniable fact that not only India but also other countries abroad came under the influence of Buddha's teachings. It was through Aśoka's strenuous efforts that Buddhism occupied a prominent position indeed in India and abroad. It also came to be recognised as one of the great religions of the world. But alas, nothing is permanent in this world. Rise and fall—this is the invariable law. India was not only the home of Buddhism but also its place of activities. But it is a matter of great regret that various causes and circumstances brought its decline in India. What are the probable causes ? This question agitates the mind of the scholars. And this is of course a pertinent question too. There is not yet a consensus of opinion on this issue among the scholars. Every scholar has its own opinion in this regard. We now proceed to examine briefly the causes which led to its decline.

It is generally believed that the persecution of the Buddhists was responsible for the decay of Buddhism in India. But some scholars, however, maintain that the Brahmanic persecution was the most potent factor which led to the decline of Buddhism in India. But this sort of persecution 'was not sustained and persistent, but which broke out in periodic or local ebullitions of frenzy till Buddhism was overpowered and hounded out of the land of its origin'. Those who advocate persecution to be the main factor often refer to the persecution of the Buddhists by Puṣyamitra, Mihirakula and Śaśāṅka as also to the merciless campaign against Buddhism by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Śaṅkarācārya and other saints. The early Buddhist texts neither refer to persecution nor to any feeling of hostility between the Buddhists and the Brahmanical followers. The Pali Piṭakas also refer nothing to persecution.[1]

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[1] *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1896, pp. 86, 108.

We learn from the *Divyāvadāna* that Puṣyamitra was the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. Buddhism lost its patronage during his reign. He was deadly against Buddhism. He greatly persecuted the Buddhists and tried his utmost to wipe out Buddhism from his dominion. It is said that he destroyed many Buddhist monasteries and declared a reward of one hundred Dināras (gold coins) for the head of each monk. He also destroyed all the monasteries in Punjab and adjoining areas. But he was 'thwarted in his attempt at the destruction of the Kukkuṭārāma of Aśoka at Pāṭaliputra by the roar of a lion'. There are still many Buddhists who do not utter the name of king Puṣyamitra and speak ill of him when his name is uttered to them. According to the eminent Tibetan historian Tāranātha, Puṣyamitra was not only a cruel persecutor of Buddhism but was intolerant of Buddhism in every respect. Ancient Chinese and Japanese historians place Puṣyamitra first in the list of religious persecutors. The distinguished archaeologist Havel thinks that king Puṣyamitra was more inimical to Buddhist Order than Buddhism. The king believed that many monks of the Order were active supporters of the vile conspiracy against him. But some scholars, however, differ in this regard. We are told that many Buddhist stūpas (monuments) came into existence during the Śuṅga period, and the popular support was extended to the Order for its progress. The great Buddhist stūpa at Bhārut in Central India was erected during this period. The celebrated stūpa at Sāñcī which was originally built by king Aśoka was also renovated during this period. The railings, and the life of Buddha, stories of the Jātakas and the like engraved on the gateways of ancient monuments which are the specimens of Buddhist art occupy an important place not only in Indian art but also in the world of international art. Some broken portions of the Bhārut Stūpa are now being preserved in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. It, therefore, seems that although Buddhism was deprived of the active support and patronage of king Puṣyamitra yet it continued to be prosperous and popular.

History does not record any tale of persecution of the Buddhists by the king for more than five hundred years after the Śuṅga

dynasty. Buddhism lived *pari passu* with Hinduism with dignity. But unfortunately towards the close of the Gupta period the national and religious life of India, especially the Northern India, was troubled in various ways by the ferocious Hūṇas. Buddhism again fell on evil days. Mihirakula was the son of the Hūṇa leader Toramāna. He was a determined enemy of Buddhism. Many Buddhists were treated with cruelty and oppression on account of their religious beliefs during his time. He considered the Buddhists as unrighteous and rebellious. Many Buddhists were thus killed at his hand and offered a cruel blow to the monastery. His main objective was to do away with Buddhism. We are told that he destroyed many thūpas (monuments), cetiyas (topes) and vihāras (monasteries) in Punjab and Kashmir. From the famous Chinese pilgrim Hiüen-Tsang's itinerary we learn that king Mihirakula requested the Buddhist Saṅgha to send a capable and learned monk to give him instruction on the Buddhist lore. But it sent a monk of low calibre to him to be his teacher. The king took this as a great insult and ordered the persecution of the Buddhist monks throughout the country. As a result so many monks were killed that the water of the Śvātī became red. It is further learnt that sixteen hundred cetiyas (monuments) and monasteries were destroyed with their vast collections as also nine crores of Buddhist laymen were killed. Thus Buddhism met with gradual decay and the monks were exhausted due to the king Mihirakula's tyranny. Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which contains the historical account of Kashmir also testifies to the inhuman persecution of the Buddhists by the king. This account, indeed, it seems, is a highly exaggerated one. But all scholars, however, agree about the tyranny of the Buddhists by the king.

Buddhism survived under the patronage of Harṣavardhana who became a staunch follower of Buddhism after the Guptas. It received a new lease of life for sometime. No other powerful king espoused the cause of Buddhism and helped its propagation after king Harṣavardhana. 'The century that followed Harṣa's rule saw a state of anarchy unfavourable to the growth of a monastic religion like Buddhism, which depended so much on the

patronage of the rulers'. King Śaśāṅka was the king of Bengal during the time of Harṣavardhana. His capital was at Karṇa-suvarṇa identified with Rāṅgāmāṭi, six miles south-west of Berhampur in the Murshidabad district[2]. He was an older contemporary and a great adversary of the great emperor Harṣavardhana. King Śaśāṅka was an adherent of a Brahmanical sect. He used to persecute the Buddhists in various ways. From Hiüen-Tsang's account we learn the numerous acts of oppression commited by Śaśāṅka against the Buddhists. It is said that he expelled the Buddhist monks from the monastery at Kuśinagara[3]. He also threw into the Ganges a stone containing foot-prints of Buddha at Pāṭaliputra. He is further said to have uprooted the Bodhi tree at Bodh-Gaya and burnt the remains of it[4]. He also removed an image of Buddha and replaced it by that of Śiva. No one can escape the consequence of an action. A good deed bears a good fruit and an evil deed bears an evil fruit—this is the invariable rule. King Śaśāṅka had to feel the consequence of his sacrilegious acts. He was thus attacked with leprosy and ultimately died of it. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* also records the story of Śaśāṅka's acts of oppression against the Buddhists. This account may also be regarded as a bit exaggerated story. But all scholars, however, agree that he was a cruel persecutor of Buddhism. Buddhism suffered a great decline owing to Śaśāṅka's activities. Thus it fell into evil days in Bengal. We are also told that Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa 'threatened the monks of Nālandā with a behaviour similar to that of Śaśāṅka, and with the destruction of the whole monastery unless Hiüen-Tsang were peremptorily despatched to his court'[5].

Buddhism experienced another great revival in Bengal under the patronage of the Pāla dynasty sometime after the death of king Śaśāṅka. Most of the kings of this dynasty were great adherents of Buddhism. Although Buddhism disappeared from

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[2] *History of Bengal*, vol. I, ed. R. C. Mazumdar, 1943, p. 60.

[3] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. 11, p. 43,

[4] Ibid., vol. II, pp. 118, 121-122.

[5] S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 171.

other parts of India Bengal was, however, the last resort of Buddhism during this Pāla period. Buddhism, however, underwent a change in this period and took up a new form which we call Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and the like. Buddha's ethical code ultimately came to be dominated by Mantra, Tantra and other secret practices. It thus developed forms of mysticism. And with the advent of the Pāla dynasty Buddhism indeed received a new impetus and flourished to a great extent. But unfortunately during this very period again it became practically moribund.

It is said that the Muslim persecution is one of the major causes for the decline of Buddhism in India. No one can ignore the ruthlessness of the Muslim conquests. Buddhism suffered most from Muslim invasions. According to the great historian Vincent Smith the Muslims were the greatest religious persecutors. We know that wherever they had gone they had been there with open swords in their hands. They tried their best to destroy the religion of the foreigners and were mostly successful in this regard. This finds corroboration in the Indian history too. Buddhism became weakened because of the corruption that crept into the religion during this period. And that is why sudden attack by the Muslims was not resisted. They were thus easily overpowered by them. Buddhism disappeared from many parts of India. Towards the close of the eleventh century A.D. Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Muhammad, usually called Muhammad Bakhtyar, a general of Kutub-ud-Din invaded the famous Odantapurī monastery in Bihar with only two hundred men. Practically he captured it without any resistance at all. The valuable treasures and the valuable records preserved therein came to his hand. The shaven-headed monks of the monastery were massacred. But when he searched for the learned men to explain to him the contents of the manuscripts of the monastery, he found none capable of reading the manuscript, and came to know that all of them had been killed by the Turks. Muhammad Bakhtyar came to realise then that Odantapurī monastery was not a fort. It was but a Buddhist monastery and the shaven-headed persons were no other than Buddhist monks. Eliot writes that "the Mohammedans had no special animus against

Buddhism. They were iconoclasts who saw merit in the destruction of images and the slaughter of idolaters. But whereas Hinduism was spread over the country, Buddhism was concentrated in the great monasteries and when these were destroyed there remained nothing outside them capable of withstanding either the violence of the Muslims or the assimilative influence of the Brahmans"[6]. Muslim invasion thus sounded the death-knell of Buddhism in northern India. It, however, "eked out a perhaps precarious existence for a few centuries beyond, in Bengal, Orissa, and some corners in the Deccan"[7].

As already observed, no religion can prosper and remain alive without the active support and patronage of the king and nobility of the time. Buddhism progressed and attained popularity due to Aśoka, Kaṇiṣka, Harṣavardhana and other powerful kings of northern India as also to the Pāla rulers of eastern India. Buddhism did not receive any patronage from any other ruling power after them. Its influence gradually waned and came to be absorbed gradually with Brahmanism. Thus want of patronage of the ruling powers and nobility was also one of the causes of the decadence of Buddhism in India.

No schism occurred in the Saṅgha due to the commanding personality of Buddha during his life-time. When he died, he left none to take his place as the supreme authority to guide the Saṅgha properly. We are told that Buddha advised his followers to rely on oneself, and to take resort to Dhamma before his Mahāparinibbāna. He further told them that Dhamma and Vinaya would be the supreme authority. As there was no supreme head of the monastery, the leaders of the different monasteries acted as they wished. They used to interpret the sayings of Buddha according to their own convenience. As a result Buddha's teachings were interpreted differently and ultimately they lost their purity. The believing laity gradually lost their faith in Buddhism. Some scholars believe that Saṅgha which contributed much to the

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[6] *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. II, pp. 112-113.

[7] Dr. R. C. Mitra, *The decline of Buddhism in India*, Visva-Bharati Studies 20, Visva-Bharati, 1954, p. 148.

propagation and popularity of Buddhism was also responsible for its decadence. Admission to the Saṅgha was open to men and women alike, irrespective of caste and creed. As a result many wilful and cunning men entered the Saṅgha as monks. They had no reverence for Buddhism. They entered the Saṅgha with the main object of leading a happy and comfortable life. Far from propagating and making Buddha's teachings popular they became thorns in the way of the religion. Thus the admission of these unscrupulous persons in the Saṅgha led to the rapid decay of Buddhism. To this may be added what R. Sathinatha Iyer writes with reference to the decadence of Buddhism. He observes : "the modest, pious and energetic wandering monks of the early days became in course of time ignorant and do-nothing priests attached to opulent monasteries and instead of passionately preaching and appealing to the human heart, the later monks indulged in gerund-grinding and logic-chopping and in debasing Tantric practices"[8].

The doctrine of suffering (dukkhavāda), according to some, is one of the causes of the decay of Buddhism. Buddhism teaches that birth, old age, disease and death are full of suffering. Life is full of suffering only. Man does not like suffering. He wants joy and happiness. This doctrine of suffering could not attract the laity more to Buddhism.

Rituals had no place in early Buddhism. Buddha was deadly opposed to them. But these rituals crept into his religion gradually. We are told that worship of the images of Buddha came into existence from and on Kuṣāṇa period. But Buddhism turned into Tantricism during the Pāla period. Tantric rites, however, predominated in Buddhism The consequence had been that Brahmanism revived and Buddhism fell into neglect.

Buddhism fell on its evil days and lost its popularity also due to the fierce campaigns carried on by some Hindu philosophers and preachers of south India. Among them Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Śaṅkarācārya deserve special mention. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa who was a Brahmin of Bihar was dead against Buddhism. In his work he established the excellences of the Vedic rites by refuting the

[8] *College-text-book of Indian history*, p. 360.

Buddhist doctrine. People thus lost their faith in Buddhism. Sudhanvan was the king of Ujjain at the time of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. At the instigation of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the king exterminated the Buddhists. He further ordered his officers to kill all the Buddhists from Rāmeśvara to the Himalayas. Any one who would not kill a Buddhist would be put to death. The story indeed seems exaggerated. But it cannot altogether be ruled out. The *Śaṅkara-digvijaya* (I & V) ascribed to Mādhava and the *Śaṅkara-vijaya* ascribed to Ānanda-Giri record the persecution of the Buddhists by king Sudhanvan at the instigation of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. From the *Kerala-utpatti* which deals with the history of Kerala, we learn that Kumārila Bhaṭṭa drove out the Buddhists from Kerala. Śaṅkarācārya who was a Brahmin of the south glorified the teachings of Vedas and Vedāntas by refuting those of Buddhism with reasons. As a result, Buddhism waned and Hinduism prospered. Some scholars believe that Śaṅkarācārya did not oppose Buddhism but was highly influenced by many strong points of Buddhism. He is thus called pseudo-Buddhist.

The Hindus accepted certain teachings of Buddhism which ultimately was absorbed with Hinduism. In the Purāṇas Buddha is described as the ninth avatāra of Viṣṇu. In his *Gītagovinda*[9] Jayadeva, the court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, refers to Buddha as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, and describes him as follows :

> "O you of merciful heart denounced the Veda
> Where the slaughter of cattle is taught, O Keśava,
> You, in the form of Buddha, victory to you,
> Hari, lord of the world."

Lastly, Hinduism is very liberal and tolerant. To make one its own is one of its special features. And that is why Buddhism did not disappear from India completely. It was fully absorbed with Hinduism. Eliot writes, "to Buddhist influence are due

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[9] Nindasi yajñavidher ahaha śrutijātaṃ
Sadayahṛdayadarśitapaśughātaṃ
Keśava-dhṛta-Buddhaśarīra
Jaya Jagadīśa Hare—I, 9.

for instance rejection by most sects of animal sacrifices: the doctrine of the sanctity of animal life: monastic institutions and the ecclesiastical discipline found in the Dravidian regions. We may trace the same influence with more or less certainty in the philosophy of Śaṅkara and outside the purely religious sphere in the development of Indian logic"[10]. Hinduism thus finds no fundamental difference between it and Buddhism. The whole of India pays her highest homage to Gautama Buddha even to-day.

[10] *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. II, p. 131.

PART II

BUDDHISM ABROAD

CHAPTER I

BUDDHISM IN SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Buddhism moulded thoughts, ideals and literatures not only of Ceylon, Burma, Siam (Thailand) and Cambodia but also extended its horizon northwards to Central Asia, Tibet, China, Korea, Mongolia and Japan. The history of Buddhism is on this account not only a story of the growth of a great civilization but also a story of the cultural contacts, through the medium of this expanding civilization between different groups of people in the south, south-east, north and north-east Asia. Its study is, therefore, a necessity for a proper understanding of the cultural contacts between all these different regions. It will also help to promote further friendship, co-operation and mutual understanding between the people of these neighbouring countries.

Here comes the account of the expansion of Buddhism in the countries to the south and south-east of Indian region followed by those to the north and north-east of it. It may be noted here that the countries located on the south and south-east still adhere to the Theravāda Buddhism as against those of the north and north-east which profess Mahāyāna.

Now commences the account of the expansion of Buddhism in the south and south-eastern countries :—

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The Sinhalese chronicles record that king Aśoka on the advice of Moggaliputta Tissa despatched missions to the different parts of India and abroad to preach the teachings of Gotama Buddha. He sent his son Mahinda who mastered the Buddhist lore and attained the Arhatship (highest spiritual life) along with six other companions to propagate the Buddhist religion in Ceylon (now Srī Laṅkā). Among his companions were the theras (experienced elder monks) Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla, Sumana Sāmaṇera, the son of Saṅghamittā and Bhaṇḍuka Upāsaka (lay disciple), the son of the daughter of his aunt. Devāṇaṃpiyatissa, the second son of Muṭasiva and the then

king of Ceylon, gave them a very cordial reception at Mihintale, eight miles east of Anurādhapura, on the full-moon day of the month of Jeṭṭha[1] which was a day of national festival in Laṅkā. During his conversation with the king, Mahinda was convinced about the king's intelligence and capacity to understand Buddha's teachings. He preached at once the Cūḷahatthipadopamasutta which deals with the training of monks, with a simile of an elephant's foot. It contains not only the fundamental teachings of Buddhism but also gives an idea of the Trinity (Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha) and the ideal life of a Buddhist monk. The various stages of the development of monk's life and his attainment of arhatship, the final goal of Buddhism are also described herein. 'It was a call for the adoption of the religion in the practice of life, not simply to understand it in theory.' As a consequence, the king along with his followers embraced the new faith. The next day Mahinda and his companions on the invitation of the king came to Anurādhapura where they were received with great honour. The king took them into the palace where he himself served them with delicious dishes. After the meal Mahinda preached first to the ladies of the royal household and then to the general public. He delivered the discourses dealing mainly with the theory of kamma which lays down that the actions of a being determine the state of the life into which one is reborn. "Every living being has kamma as its master, its inheritance, its congenial cause, its kinsman, its refuge. It is kamma that differentiates all beings into low and high states[2]." Many of those who listened to the sermon then embraced the new faith. Mahinda continued his preaching with unabated zeal to convince the people of the importance of Buddha's religion. His sermons dwelt chiefly with the impermanence of life, the terrible nature of saṃsāra (world) and the like evoked keen enthusiasm among the people. Thousands of men and women took refuge in

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[1] *Dīpavaṃsa*, xii, 40 ; *Mahāvaṃsa*, xiii, 18-20.

[2] Kammassakā, māṇava, sattā kammadāyādā kammayonī kammabandhū kammapaṭisaraṇā, kammaṃ satte vibhajati, yad-idaṃ hīnapaṇītatāya.

the new religion. Many men also joined the Saṅgha (Order) as bhikkhus (monks). King Devānaṃpiyatissa presented the Mahāmeghavana of Anurādhapura for the residence of monks. It became in later times the most important Mahāvihāra monastery 'the great centre of Buddhist culture and learning in the island, the stronghold of the Theravāda.' He also built monasteries, stūpas (topes) and other Buddhist establishments on all sides and made endowments for their proper upkeep. The chronicles state that he constructed monasteries a yojana from one another. Of them the Isurumunivihāra and the Vessagirivihāra are important places of worship even to this day. Mahinda further advised the king to erect a cetiya (tope) to enshrine Buddha's relics there. Accordingly the king procured Buddha's alms-bowl, bone-relics and the collar-bone. He then built over them the Thūpārāma cetiya which is the first cetiya to be erected in Ceylon. Anulā, the wife of Mahānāga, the brother of the king and many other women desired to enter the Saṅgha as bhikkhunīs (nuns). But according to the Vinaya code, no monk was allowed to ordain a woman. Woman should be ordained by the nun only. As there was none in the island it was decided to request king Aśoka to send some distinguished nuns for the purpose. King Aśoka sent his daughter Saṅghamittā along with a group of nuns to enable the women of Laṅkā to obtain ordination. With the arrival of Saṅghamittā and her party Anulā and her women were ordained. Thus came into existence the Bhikkhunī Saṅgha (order of nuns) in Ceylon. Separate residences were accordingly built by the king. Saṅghamittā and her attendants brought with them a branch of the Bodhi tree of Uruvelā (Bodh-Gaya) under which Gotama Buddha attained enlightenment. It was planted with great grandeur in the Mahāmeghavana 'and up to this date it flourishes as one of the most sacred objects of veneration and worship for millions of Buddhists.' This branch of the tree further fostered cultural relations between India and Ceylon. "Subsequently the saplings of this Bodhi were planted in Anurādhapura and its vicinity, and in Jambukolapaṭṭana and in the village of Tivakka Brāhmaṇa in the north, in Kājaragāma (Kataragāma)

in the south and in Candanagāma (unidentified). Later some thirty-two saplings were distributed all over the Island[3]". Mahinda and Saṅghamittā stayed in the island for about forty-eight years and applied themselves untiringly for propagation of Buddhism there. "Mahinda brought to Laṅkā not only a new religion but also a whole civilization then at the height of its glory. He introduced art and architecture into the Island along with saṅghārāmas and cetiyas. He can be regarded as the father of the Sinhalese literature. Buddhaghosa says that Mahinda brought to the Island of the Sinhalese the commentaries of the Tipiṭaka and put them into Sinhalese for the benefit of the people of the Island. He thus made Sinhalese a literary language and inaugurated its literature. It is probable that he introduced the Asokan alphabet as well[4]." Saṅghamittā's contribution to the social life of women was also noteworthy. She moulded the life and character of women in Ceylon in various ways.

Mahinda and Saṅghamittā survived king Devānaṃpiyatissa during whose rule Buddhism made phenomenal progress in Ceylon. It was also firmly established there and spread rapidly to various parts of the country. Thus with the royal patronage and popular enthusiasm, Buddhism became the accepted religion of the island.

Mahinda died in the eighth year and Saṅghamittā in the ninth of the reign of king Uttiya, brother and successor of Davānaṃpiyatissa[5]. Their funeral rites were performed with great honour by king Uttiya. Thūpas (stūpas) were also built over their relics.

After the death of Uttiya the island passed into the hands of the Tamil usurpers. Among them Elāra who reigned for forty-four years was most important. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the son of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa of Rohaṇa defeated and killed Elāra in battle. He thus became the ruler of the island and established the sovereignty of the Sinhalese rulers. He reigned for twenty-four

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[3] Walpola Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, p. 58.

[4] Ibid., pp. 59-60.

[5] *Dīpavaṃsa*, xvii, 95 ; *Mahāvaṃsa*, xx, 29-33.

years. He gave a fresh impetus to Buddhism and advancement of Buddhism became his principal objective in life. He built several sacred edifices like the Maricavāṭṭi, Mahāthūpa and Lohapāsāda. Of them the Mahāthūpa, called in Pali Suvaṇṇamālī, is the most notable of all the dagobas (topes) in Ceylon. The *Mahāvaṃsa*[6] records that many Buddhist monks from foreign countries attended the foundation laying ceremony of this thūpa. It is said that king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was 'not for king but for Buddhism.' He is further credited with the performance of meritorious deeds. He was not only a supporter of Buddhism but was also a devout Buddhist. Many learned monks flourished during his reign under his patronage. This clearly shows that Ceylon became a popular centre of Buddhism during his reign.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was succeeded by his younger brother Saddhātissa who ruled for about eight years. He did much for Buddhism and the people. Many vihāras (monasteries) were erected during his reign. Among them the Dakkhiṇagirivihāra at Anurādhapura played a prominent part later on in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon.

Of great significance for the history of Buddhism in Ceylon was the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, also known as Valagambahu who ruled towards the beginning of the first century B. C. During his reign the Buddhist scriptures, the Pali canon, called the Tipiṭaka—the Vinayapiṭaka, rules and regulations for the guidance of the monks, the Suttapiṭaka, religious discourses of Buddha and his prominent disciples and the Abhidhammapiṭaka, exposition of philosophical principles underlying the religious discourses were first put into writing. They had hitherto been committed to memory and handed down from teachers to pupils. The monks who feared that the continuation of oral tradition was impossible then and part of the scriptures might be lost, convened a council to preserve the teachings of Buddha in their pristine purity and committed them to writing. The council was, therefore, held under the Saṅgha of Ceylon in which five hundred monks assembled at Āluvihāra at Mātalē and recited and reduced to writing the

[6] Ch. xxix, 29.

whole of the Tipiṭaka with the commentaries thereon. The *Parivārapāṭha* which was composed in Ceylon was included in the canonical literature as the last book of the Vinayapiṭaka. Thus the Pali Tipiṭaka, the sacred canon of the Buddhist—the original of which was lost in India—which we possess to-day is the outcome of the labour of the monks of Ceylon. This period also witnessed the first schism in the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon. There was only one sect, the Theravāda, under the authority of the monks of the Mahāvihāra till then. But shortly afterwards, during Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's reign, some monks, followers of the great teacher Dhammaruci of the Vajjiputtaka sect, who came from India to Ceylon joined the Abhayagirivihāra built by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya. The monks of the Abhayagiri, who were liberal in their views, embraced the teachings of the Vajjiputtaka sect which advocated the theory of a persisting personal entity as opposed to the accepted theory of Anattā of the Theravāda sect. They henceforth came to be known as the Dhammarucikas. Here it may be noted that the dissensions in the Saṅgha 'were by no means a symptom of decay and degeneration but a sign of movement and progress.' Almost all the kings patronised either the Mahāvihāra or the Abhayagirivihāra, and promoted the cause of Buddhism, but the Mahāvihāra remained pre-eminent throughout the religious history of Ceylon.

In the third century A.D. during the time of king Vohārika Tissa, a new school of thought called the Vetulyavāda[7] arose in the island. The king who patronised the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra monks[8] suppressed the Vetulyavāda with the assistance of his minister Kapila[9]. Thus he purified the religion[10].

The king Goṭhābhaya became the ruler of the island in the

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[7]The term Vetulyavāda is used to refer to the Mahāyāna: R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, Buddhist Nikāyas in Mediaeval Ceylon, *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, vol. 9, No. I (January-June, 1966) p. 55 ; f. n. No. 1

[8]*Mahāvaṃsa*, xxxvi, 31-33.

[9]Ibid., xxxvi, 41.

[10]Ibid., xxxvi, 41.

fourth century A.D. He suppressed the Vetulyavāda which again asserted itself in the island. It is said that he burnt their books and exiled most prominent of their teachers from the island and some of them fled to Coḷa country in South India[11].

The fifth century A.D. was a period of great importance in the history of Buddhist thought in Ceylon. It was during the reign of king Buddhadāsa, the famous Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien came to Ceylon. He stayed at the Abhayagirivihāra in Ceylon. According to him there were five thousand monks at the Abhayagirivihāra as against three thousand in the Mahāvihāra[12]. His account indicates that the Abhayagirivihāra was flourishing at that time. Towards the middle of the fifth century A.D., the famous commentator Buddhaghosa visited Ceylon. He was born in a Brahmin family near Bodh-Gaya and converted to Buddhism by Mahāthera Revata. At the suggestion of his teacher he came to Ceylon and took up his residence in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura[13]. He translated the Aṭṭhakathās (commentaries) on the Tipiṭaka from Sinhalese into Pali. His well-known work, the *Visuddhimagga*, is the first work written in Ceylon. It shows his vast erudition, keen intellect and deep insight. It is divided into three parts dealing with Sīla (rules of conduct), Samādhi (meditation) and Paññā (wisdom) and is indeed 'a summary of the three Piṭakas with the commentary.' There were other Indian scholars like Buddhadatta and Dhammapāla who wrote additional commentaries and other works which contributed much to the enrichment of the Pali literature.

From the sixth to the eleventh century A.D. Ceylon suffered a great deal due to Indian invasion and internal disruption and consequently the progress of Buddhism was thereby greatly disturbed. With a view to evading the disturbance the capital of Ceylon was removed from Anurādhapura to Polonnaruva.

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[11] *Mahāvaṃsa*, xxxvi, 110-112.

[12] Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, translated from the Chinese by Hiuen-Tsiang (A. D. 629), London, 1906, pp. lxxiii and lxxvi.

[13] *Mahāvaṃsa*, xxxvii, 243-244.

Buddhism degenerated remarkably during this period. King Vijayabāhu I ascended the throne after defeating the Coḷa invaders in 1072 A.D. With his accession to the throne Buddhism came to life once again in Ceylon. He devoted his time to reform the Buddhist Saṅgha which had fallen to decay during the period of war and foreign rules. The *Cūlavaṃsa*[14] records that at that time the king found that the five ordained monks to perform an ordination ceremony could not be found in the island. He was determined to put an end to this state of affairs. To re-establish the Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon and to secure a chapter of five monks for the ordination ceremony he sent an embassy to king Anoratha (Anuruddha) of Burma for his help in reviving Buddhism in Ceylon. King Anuruddha sent a number of distinguished monks from Burma to reform the Saṅgha and to conduct the ordination ceremony in Ceylon. Many men joined the Saṅgha and several monasteries and stūpas were also erected. "The religious revival inaugurated by king Vijayabāhu led to a great re-awakening and a large number of religious literary works in Pali and Sanskrit were written[15]."

In the history of Buddhism in Ceylon the period between the death of Vijayabāhu and the ascendancy of Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.) may be regarded as a dark chapter. Immediately after the death of Vijayabāhu internal troubles broke out and the kings of this period were weak and they remained busy in their petty personal politics. As a result Buddhism was on the decline again. The *Cūlavaṃsa*[16] records that when Parakkamabāhu the Great came to the throne a period of prosperity and cultural progress followed and under royal patronage Ceylon established itself again as a centre of Theravāda Buddhism. He can be regarded as one of the greatest kings of Ceylon, and his reign may be taken as a glorious one for many reasons. In the history of

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[14]Chapter lx, 4.

[15]The Wheel Publication Number 100 : *Buddhism in Ceylon, its past and its present* : H. R. Perera, Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Ceylon, 1966, p. 40.

[16]Lxxvi, 10-14.

Buddhism in Ceylon he played an important rôle and made a valuable contribution to Buddhism by unifying the Saṅgha. He extended his whole-hearted support to the revival of Buddhism in the island. Elsewhere in the *Cūlavaṃsa*[17] it is said that he restored Buddhism to its former purity, unity and glory. A large number of vihāras were also built during his reign. His reign further ushered in a spell of intense literary activity in Pali, particularly in Buddhist philosophical analysis.

With the death of Parakkamabāhu the Great, Ceylon witnessed much internal trouble due to rivalry to the throne and foreign invasion, and as a consequence Buddhism fell into neglect again. But with the advent of kings like Vijayabāhu II (1186-87 A.D.), Nissaṅkamalla (1189-1198 A.D.), Parakkamabāhu II (C. 1240) and Parakkamabāhu VI (1412-68 A.D.) Buddhism received a new impetus. They were all zealous devotees of Buddhism and their efforts were largely responsible for the development of Buddhism and Buddhist Saṅgha in Ceylon. They all patronised the Buddhist scholars and religious institutions. Many religious edifices were also constructed during their reign. Thus their reign in Ceylon may be regarded as an important epoch in the history of Buddhism.

With the occupation of Ceylon by the Western powers, the Portuguese (1505-1658 A.D.), the Dutch (1658-1796 A.D.) and the British (1796-1947 A.D.) Buddhism fell on evil days. "They knew little of the past Buddhist traditions of Ceylon, but were interested witnesses to the prevalence of that religion on the island. Each power determined its attitude towards it according to its own tradition of dealing with the 'pagan' religion of an oriental people come under its subjection[18]." The Buddhist Saṅgha became divided and almost extinct in Ceylon. Distinguished monks were, therefore, invited from Burma and Siam for the restoration of the Saṅgha in Ceylon. With the revival of the Saṅgha it has grown to strength and eminence again which it occupies even to-day.

At present there are three sects or Nikāyas prevalent in

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[17] Lxxviii, 27.

[18] Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhism in East Asia*, New Delhi, 1966, p. 40.

Ceylon, *viz.*, the Siyāma Nikāya, Amarapura Nikāya and Rāmaññа Nikāya which are named after the countries from which the ceremony of Upasampadā (ordination) was introduced to Ceylon. The Siyāma Nikāya came into existence in Ceylon in the reign of Kirti Sri Rājasiṃha who occupied the throne of Kandy in the eighteenth century A.D. The Amarapura Nikāya was established later on in Kandy by Dhammajyoti who was ordained at Amarapura in Burma. The Rāmaññа Nikāya was, however, founded by Ambagahawatte Sri Saranaṅkara and Puvakadandave Sri Paññānanda. The Siyāma Nikāya only admits those who belong to the higher caste, and enjoins that their monks should wear upper robe over one shoulder only, while the Amarapura admits those belonging to the first three castes, and enjoins that their monks should cover their both shoulders. No rivalry now exists between the monks of these two Nikāyas. Monks of each sect are warmly received in the monastery of other sects. The Rāmaññа Nikāya is, however, more recent and is rather a reformed Nikāya. It lays much emphasis on the rules of morality, and is against the possession of property by the monastery. But all these Nikāyas belong to orthodox Theravāda. There exist no doctrinal differences among them. They, however, differ on the interpretation of certain Vinaya rules.

Lastly, in Ceylon about seventy per cent of its present population profess Buddhism. Its culture is thus predominantly Buddhist. There are about six thousand Buddhist monasteries spread all over the island with about fifteen thousand monks living therein. Most of the monasteries hold religious classes where Buddhist children are given religious lessons.

There is no consensus of opinion as to the account of the early introduction of Buddhism into Burma. As already observed, on the advice of the venerable Moggaliputta Tissa, Aśoka despatched missionaries to different countries for the propagation of Buddhist faith. Soṇa and Uttara were thus sent to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Skt. Suvarṇabhūmi) for the purpose. There are, however, other traditional accounts, but the story of the mission of Soṇa and Uttara is the most accepted tradition as

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to the earlier introduction of Buddha's religion into Burma. Opinions further differ as to the location of Suvaṇṇabhūmi. Some scholars identify it with Lower Burma which is also referred to in the Kalyani inscriptions[19], while according to others it is almost co-extensive with the lands, now known as the South-East Asia. The eprigraphic records as also other objects of archaeological interest found in Lower Burma definitely prove that Buddhism was introduced there at least before the 5th-6th centuries A.D.

According to the Burmese tradition the celebrated Buddhist commentator Buddhaghosa (5th century A.D.) came to Burma from Ceylon. It is said that he brought with him a number of Buddhist texts which he translated them into Burmese. Through his efforts Buddhism received a new impetus to its development in Lower Burma. This should be regarded as an important event in this history of Buddhism in Lower Burma. Apart from this Burmese tradition the accounts of the Chinese travellers throw a considerable light in this regard. The itinerary of the Chinese pilgrim K'ang T'ai deserves special mention. He has mentioned a country called Lin-Yang in which several thousand Buddhist novices (śramaṇas) lived. This Lin-Yang has been identified with Śrīkṣetra (modern Prome) by archaeological evidence. The Nāgārjunikoṇḍā inscription also records the existence of Buddhism in Burma in about the third century A.D.

Two gold plates were discovered at Maunggan, a small village close to Hmawza[20]. Each of the gold plates contains three lines and each plate commences with "ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesaṃ hetuṃ tathāgato āha..." in Pali. Around the base of Bawbawgyi pagoda near Hmawza were found three fragments of a stone inscription in Pali[21]. At Hmawza was also found a book containing

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[19]Taw Sein Ko, A preliminary study of the Kalyani inscription of Dhammaceti, 1476 A. D., *Indian Antiquary*, 1893, XXII, Bombay, p. 151.

[20]L. Finot, Un nouveau document sur le Bouddhisme Birman, *Journal Asiatique*, XIX, Paris, 1912, pp. 130ff.

[21]Ibid., 1912, p. 135; ibid., 1913, p. 193; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Burma*, 1924, p. 22.

twenty leaves of gold[22]. These leaves contain about nine passages from the different texts of the Piṭakas[23]. At Kyaundawza has been found an inscribed gold leaf in Pali[24]. These inscriptions are written in characters resembling the Andhra-Kadamba-Kannada script of South India of about the sixth century A.D.[25]. From the above it is evident that Buddhism was introduced into Lower Burma at least before the 5th-6th centuries A.D.

But according to Tāranātha (16th century A.D.), the great Tibetan historian, Hīnayāna form of Buddhism was propagated in Pagan (Pukhan) and Pegu (Haṃsavati) from the time of Aśoka onwards. He further informs us that Mahāyāna was introduced there later on through the enthusiastic efforts of Vasubandhu's pupils—Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna systems of Buddhism existing there for centuries together[26].

Towards the close of the seventh century A.D. the famous Chinese pilgrim I-tsing visited India and South-East Asia. He writes that the inhabitants of Shih-li-cha-ta-lo revere the three jewels (Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha)[27]. Shih-li-cha-ta-lo has been identified with Śrīkṣetra (old Prome)[28]. I-tsing's itinerary thus shows that Buddhism flourished at Prome in the 7th-8th centuries A.D. The T'ang Chronicles of China (618-970 A.D.)

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[22] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Burma*, 1938-39, pp. 12-22 ; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1926-27, p. 200.

[23] Ibid., 1938-39, pp. 12-22.

[24] C. Duroiselle, Excavation at Hmawza, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1928-29, pp. 108-109.

[25] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Burma*, 1924, p. 21, 1938-39, p. 12 ; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1926-27, pp. 171ff.

[26] C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, London, 1954, p. 52.

[27] I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, ed., by Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, pp. 9-10.

[28] A. P. Phayre, *History of Burma*, London, 1883, p. 32 ; C. H. Luce, Countries neighbouring Burma, *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, XIV, 1924, pp. 160-161.

mention that the P'iao (Pyu) kingdom had eighteen vassal states mainly in southern Burma[29]. Its capital has been identified with Shih-li-cha-ta-lo as referred to by the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing[30].

Several stone sculptures have been explored at Prome. In one relief[31] we find Buddha seated in Bhūmisparśamudrā on a lotus pedestal and on his left there is an alms bowl. There are further four figures who are offering bowls to Buddha encircling him. Buddha is surrounded by two figures on each side in another tablet. There are six persons, three on each side of the Dharmacakra (the Wheel of the Law) below them. There are two gazelles below them. This indeed represents the Deer Park at Benares[32]. At Hmawza have been discovered the relief sculptures representing the story of taming the elephant Nālagiri at Rājagaha, the birth story of Gautama Buddha and the conquest of Māra by Gautama[33]. These sculptures may be ascribed to a date from about the sixth to about the tenth centuries A.D.[34]. They might have been constructed under the patronage of the kings of the Vikrama dynasty which ruled at Prome in the 7th-8th centuries A.D.[35]. From the above it is apparent that Buddhism was a popular and flourishing religion in Lower Burma till the eleventh century A.D. Thaton was indeed an important centre of Buddhism during this period.

Let us now turn to the religious condition of Upper Burma. We know that apart from the sea routes Upper Burma had connections with Bengal and China by land routes from the

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[29]N. R. Ray, *An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 55-56.

[30]G. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, p. 68 ; D. G. E. Hall, *The History of South-East Asia*, p. 133.

[31]*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1927-28, p. 129.

[32]Ibid., 1909-10, p. 123.

[33]Ibid., 1938-39, pp. 7-9.

[34]Ibid., 1909-10, p. 123 ; N.R. Ray, *An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 65-66.

[35]D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 133 ; C. O. Blagden, The Pyu inscriptions, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XII, p. 127.

earliest times. It is very likely that missionaries from both the countries used to visit the region and propagate Buddhism there mostly by land routes. Eliot writes[36] that it is clear 'that any variety of Buddhism or Brahmanism may have entered this region from India by land at any epoch'. The archaeological finds and Burmese Chronicles also furnish us with reliable information as to the state of religion in Upper Burma. They show that Buddhism prevailing there till the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. was Mahāyāna with elements of Tantricism.

In 1044 A.D. king Anoratha (Aniruddha) ascended the throne of Pagan. With his accession we enter upon a new phase in the history of Buddhism in Burma. His reign is thus a turning point in the religious history. Burma was unified into one country during his reign. When he ascended the throne, there had already been in existence some kinds of Buddhist Tantric worship. There was a class of heretical teachers called Aris who resorted to debased Tantric practices. According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, they were known as the Samaṇakuttakas (sham ascetics) who declared themselves as the disciples of Gautama Buddha. They lived in groups, each consisting of thirty and there were at least one thousand such groups. But 'it is hard to say whether they were degraded Buddhists or an indigenous priesthood who in some ways imitated what they knew of Brahmanic and Buddhist institutions. They wore black robes, let their hair grow, worshipped serpents, hung up in their temples the heads of animals that had been sacrificed, and once a year they assisted the king to immolate a victim to the Nats on a mountain top. They claimed power to expiate all sins, even parricide. They lived in convents (which is their only real resemblance to Buddhist monks) but were not celibate'[37].

The Glass Palace Chronicle[38] records the visit of a Talaing monk named Shin Arahan (Thera Arahanta) known as Dhammadassī to Arimaddana (Pagan) from Sudhammapura during the

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[36] *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 53.

[37] Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 53-54.

[38] pp. 171ff.

early part of the reign of king Anoratha. He pointed out to him the essencelessness of the teachings of the Aris, and explained to him the excellencesness of Buddha's doctrine. On hearing the profound teachings of Theravāda Buddhism from Shin Arahan "the king and all the people forsook their own opinions and were established in the Good Law"[39]. He then requested the Thera to stay at Pagan to propagate the teachings of the Master in his kingdom. At his instance king Anoratha sent an envoy, one of his ministers, to Manohari (or Manuha), the king of Thaton asking for a copy of the Tipiṭaka and the relics. King Manuha contemptuously refused the king Anoratha's request saying that "it is not befitting to despatch the three Piṭakas and the sacred relics to a place of wrong views like yours. The doctrine of the Highly Enlightened One, the foremost of the three worlds, will remain in the place of those holding right views, as a fat of a maned lion-king is kept in a golden vessel only, and not in an earthen one"[40]. On hearing of it king Anoratha grew furious and marched on to Thaton with a huge force. His men captured king Manuha with his followers. He brought not only king Manuha, bound in golden chain, to his own capital but also all the monks and the sacred relics and the thirty sets of Piṭakas (Buddhist sacred scriptures) on thirty-two white elephants. He also led many expeditions in other places in Burma for collections of Buddha's bodily relics. Inspired with ardent zeal of a convert he built numerous monasteries and temples on all sides. *The Glass Palace Chronicle*[41] records that king Anoratha rendered all the thirty sets of Piṭakas in the Mon script into Burmese. He also sent for the copies of the Tipiṭaka from Ceylon. Shin Arahan compared them with those of Thaton to settle the reading. The construction of the Shwe Zigon Pagoda in

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[39] *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 74.

[40] ...tumhādisānaṃ micchādiṭṭinaṃ ṭhāna piṭakatttayaṃ sarīradhātuyo ca pahiṇituṃ na yuttā tilokaggassa hi sammāsambuddhassa sāsanaṃ sammādiṭṭhīnaṃ ṭhāne yeva patiṭṭhahissati yathā nāma kesarasīharājassa vasā suvaṇṇapāṭiyaṃ yeva na mattikābhājane ti—Mabel Bode, *Sāsanavaṁsa*, London, 1897, p. 62.

[41] p. 96.

which the tooth of Buddha is enshrined is ascribed to him. Unfortunately, death removed him away before it was completed. While describing this Pagoda Harvey observes that "this Pagoda is a solid Pagoda of the kind so common all over Burma ; yet it attracts worshippers daily, while the finer temples built by his successors are deserted. Its popularity is due to the exceptional sanctity of the relics and to the shrines of the entire pantheon of the thirty-seven Nat spirits who, as it were, have come circling round in homage to these relics. If any one doubts the debt Burma owes to Buddhism, or wishes to see what she would have been without it, let him wander here and contemplate these barbarous images of the heathen god. Asked why he allowed them, Anoratha said, 'Men will not come for the sake of the true faith. Let them come for their old gods, and gradually they will be won over"[42]. He also built a number of other shrines over Buddha's relics which came to his possession. Through his earnest efforts Buddhism was propagated throughout his dominion. He was thus regarded as the defender of the Buddhist faith.

Kyanzittha ascended the throne of Pagan after the death of his father, Anoratha. It is said that the famous Shwe Zigon Pagoda was completed by him. Many other buildings were constructed during his reign. The most celebrated among them was the Ānanda Pagoda, "the one monument which has spread the name of Pagan beyond the boundaries of Burma, and which, with its white garb bathed in the tropical sun, shines as the crown-jewel on the head of Eastern architecture"[43]. The *Gandhavaṃsa*[44] records that the monk Dhammasenāpati who dwelt in the monastery attached to the Pagoda wrote a grammatical treatise known as the *Kārikā*. The *Etimāsamidīpanī* and the *Manoharā* were also composed by him. A good number of other works were also written by him. From the Talaing inscription we learn that Kyanzittha was the first Burmese king who rebuilt the holy temple

[42]G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, London, 1925, p. 33.

[43]N. R. Ray, *An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, p. 101.

[44]pp. 63 and 73.

at Bodh-Gaya and converted a Cola king to Buddhism[45]. His reign was a golden age for Buddhism and Pali literature. His successors also became great patrons of Buddhism. Thus Pagan became a great centre of Buddhist culture in Burma.

In the twelfth century A. D. an important event took place in the history of Buddhism in Burma. Capaṭa, a pupil of the celebrated monk Uttarājīva, visited Ceylon along with his teacher. Uttarājīva returned to Burma after some time. But Capaṭa received the ordination at the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon and was thus admitted into the Sīhala Saṅgha[46]. He spent about ten years in the island and acquired a complete knowledge of the Tipiṭaka and their commentaries. He returned to Pagan with four other monks. In the meantime Uttarājīva Mahāthera died. These five monks who had received their ordination at the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon refused to perform any ecclesiastical act with the monks of Pagan. They further declined to recognise the Burmese Saṅgha. As a result the Sīhala Saṅgha came into existence in Pagan. Narapatisithu who was the king of Pagan at that time requested the five monks to perform the Upasampadā ceremony on the Burmese monks who wanted to receive it and to join the Sīhala Saṅgha[47]. The Sīhala Saṅgha became very popular at Pagan and many monks of the Burmese Saṅgha gradually joined the Sīhala Saṅgha. The Sīhala Saṅgha was subsequently divided into several branches due to the dissension among the monks of the Sīhala Saṅgha on questions of monastic discipline as also on personal reason.

The seventeenth century A. D. witnessed a new chapter in the history of Buddhism in Burma—the Pārupana-Ekaṃsika controversy. It was a bitter controversy as to the manner of wearing of robes of monks during the village round of monks in Burma.

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[45]The third Talaing inscription of the Shwesandaw Pagoda, Prome, *Epigraphia Birmanica*, I, ii, p. 153.

[46]Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 142-148.

[47]Taw Sein Ko, A Preliminary study of the Kalyani inscriptions of Dhammaceti, 1476 A. D., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxii, 1893, p. 30.

The *Sāsanavaṃsa*[48] records that a Thera called Guṇābhilaṃkāra used to advise his followers to go about in the village with one shoulder uncovered by the upper garment. They were called the Ekaṃsikas owing to this practice. The followers of the Mahā-theras Buddhaṅkura, Citta, Sunanda and Kalyāṇa on the other hand, instructed their followers to cover their both the shoulders during their village round. Their followers were called the Pārupanas because of covering their both the shoulders. As a consequence the Saṅgha was divided into two sects—Ekaṃsika (one shoulder) and Pārupana (full clad). Both the sects asserted that their practices were in conformity with the Vinaya rules and this controversy continued for a very long time. But during the reign of Bodoah Pra (A D. 1782) the Pārupana practices were declared valid.

(The Fifth Council was held in Mandalay under the patronage of king Mindan Min in A.D. 1871. About 2400 distinguished monks and eminent teachers took part in it.) The distinguished Theras Jāgarābhivaṃsa, Narindābhidhaja and Sumaṅgalasāmi took the chair in turn. (The texts of the Tipiṭaka which were compared and collated by the eminent monks were inscribed on stone tablets. In 1954 A.D., the Sixth Buddhist Council was inaugurated in Rangoon and was completed in A.D. 1956 to mark the 2500th anniversary of Buddha's Mahāparinirvāṇa. Many learned monks from various countries participated in it. The venerable Abhidhaja Mahāraṭṭha Guru Bhadanta Revata was the president of this Council. Buddhism is still a living force in Burmese life.)

(At present there are three main sects in Burma, *viz.* Sudhamma, Schwegin and Dvāra. The Sudhamma is the oldest and has a large number of following. Its followers are allowed to use umbrellas and sandals. They are also permitted to chew betel-leaves. Smoking and the use of fans are also permitted at the time of giving religious discourse to the laity. (The Schwegin sect came into existence during the reign of king Mindon Min. It was established by Jāgara Mahāthera.) Its followers are not allowed to chew betel-leaves in the evening. It is also against smoking.

[48] pp. 118ff.

Thus these two sects differ mostly on minor matters of Vinaya. The Dvāra sect lays much emphasis on kāyadvāra (the door of body), vacī-dvāra (the door of tongue) and mano-dvāra (the door of mind) in place of kāya-kamma (actions of the body), vacī-kamma (actions of the tongue) and mano-kamma (actions of the mind)[49].

Lastly, it is striking to note that 'the most important aspect of the development of Buddhism in Burma is the growth of a distinct and voluminous Pali literature. The knowledge and study of the Buddhist canon may be regarded as a common feature in every Indian where Buddhism made its influence felt, but nowhere else except in Ceylon, has it led to the adoption of the language of the sacred texts as a classic, which has evolved a new literature and continued its unbroken career down to the present times'.

SIAM (THAILAND)

Opinions differ as to when Buddhism entered Siam, now known as Thailand[50]. The traditional belief in Siam is that Buddhism was introduced to Siam during the reign of king Aśoka[51]. The *Dīpavaṃsa*[52] and the *Mahāvaṃsa*[53] record that king Aśoka sent missionaries headed by distinguished Theras to as many as nine territories. The two eminent monks Soṇa and Uttara were sent to the territory of Suvaṇṇabhūmi to propagate Buddha's teachings. The Siamese Buddhist legends claim Soṇa and Uttara as the first apostle of Buddhism in Siam[54] which was included in Suvaṇṇabhūmi. Different localities in Siam have also been pointed out therein as the venue of their missionary activities. But

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[49]Prof. P. V. Bapat, *2500 years of Buddhism*, New Delhi.

[50]Since 1945 Siam has adopted the name of Thailand after the Thai people.

[51]Siamese history prior to the founding of the Ayudhya, translated from the Siamese of H. R. H. Prince Damrong by J. Croshy, *The Siam Society*, vol. III, Bangkok, 1959, pp. 44-46.

[52]Ch. viii, vv. 8-9.

[53]Ch. xii, vv. 5-6.

[54]S. Dutta, *Buddhism in East Asia*, New Delhi, 1966, pp. 19-20.

there is no archaeological evidence which refers to the prevalence of Buddhism in Siam as early as the third century B.C.

The archaeological finds unearthed at Phra Pathom and P'ong Tuk show that Buddhism entered Siam during the beginning of the Christian era. Phra Pathom is about thirty miles west of Bangkok and P'ong Tuk is about twenty miles further to the west. At Phra Pathom have been found Dharmacakra (the Wheel of the Law) associated with a figure of a deer, the footprints of Buddha, the Vajrāsana, seated Buddha images and votive tablets bearing inscriptions "Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā···" in Pali[55]. At P'ong Tuk have also been found several images of Buddha in bronze or bluish limestone[56]. Among several ruined buildings unearthed at P'ong Tuk one contains the remains of a platform and fragments of a column[57].

From the very early period Hīnayāna Buddhism had an uninterrupted progress in the country. The itinerary of the famous Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing[58] records that Buddhism once flourished in Siam and Hīnayānism was prevalent there. (Siam was formally under the political supremacy of Cambodia for a long time. During this period there was much inter-mixture of the religions and cultures of these two countries.) 'Much of the Brahmanic

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[55]G. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, p. 70 ; Reginald Le May, *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 26-27.

[56]A. B. Griswold, Imported images and the nature of copying in the Art of Siam, *Artibus Asiae*, vol. II, supplementum, xxiii, p. 69 ; G. Coedes, The exacavations at P'ong Tuk and their importance for the ancient history of Siam, *The Siam Society fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Publication*, vol. I, 1904-29, Bangkok, 1954, pp. 206, 225-227; G. Coedes, New archaeological discoveries in Siam, *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. II, London, p. 15 ; R. G. Quaritch Wales, Further excavations at P'ong Tuk (Siam), *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. X, London p. 42.

[57]*The Siam Society Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Publication*, vol. I. p. 216 ; *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. II, p. 11.

[58]C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 82.

culture which survives in Thailand till today could be traced to its origin from Cambodia during this period. Many of the Cambodian kings themselves were zealous adherents of Brahminism and its ways of life'. About the middle of the thirteenth century A. D. the Thais made an end of the political supremacy of Cambodia after hard struggle for a long time and established their own Government at Sukhothai (Sukhodaya) in North Siam. The establishment in Sukhothai as the capital of the Thai kingdom is an important event not only in the political history of Siam but also in the history of Buddhism in Siam. It is very probable that the Thais who came from China were adherents of Mahāyāna Buddhism[59]. After their arrival in Siam they were highly influenced by Mon culture, and adopted Theravāda Buddhism which flourished in Siam during this period under the patronage of the Mons.

The Thai kings were ardent followers of Theravāda Buddhism. King Lu Thai, popularly known as Sūryavaṃśa Rāma Mahādhammarājādhirāja was well-known for his erudition in the Buddhist lore. He was a great patron of Buddhism, and erected many monasteries, temples and images of Buddha all over his kingdom. An inscription in the Siamese language[60] records that a sacred relic of Buddha and a branch of the sacred Bo Tree were brought to Siam from Ceylon during his reign. The former was installed with great solemnity at Nagar Jum and the latter was also planted therein. He also sent a mission to Ceylon to bring the head of the Saṅgha (Saṅgharāja) to Siam to reform the religion. On his arrival in Siam he was received with great honour. The king dedicated a golden image of Buddha and became a Buddhist monk shortly after to preach the teachings of Buddha. There are several inscriptions in Pali which speak highly of his meritorious deeds. He became a strong advocate of Buddhism and encouraged Pali, the language which preserves Buddhavacana (teachings of Buddha). Many historical and other works came to be written in this language during his reign. He also gave his full support to the

[59]R. Le May, *The Culture of South East Asia*, p. 156.

[60]G. Coedes, Stele de Nagara Jum, *Recueil des Inscription du Siam*. vol. I, pp. 77-90.

development of the Sīhala Saṅgha in Siam. Under his patronage Sukhothai thus became the centre of Buddhist activities.

The middle of the fourteenth century witnessed the rise and growth of the kingdom of Ayuthia in Southern Siam. A Thai prince who belonged to the family of the rulers of Jayasenapura (Xieng Saen) in Northern Siam[61] founded the new kingdom in about A.D. 1350. Dvāravatī Śrī Ayudhya (Ayuthia) became the capital of this kingdom and its founder came to be known as Rāmādhipati[62]. The central and lower Menam valley *i.e.*, Lobpuri, Suvarṇapuri (Suphan), Rājapuri (Ratburi), Pejrapuri (Phetburi) and Candrapuri (Cantaburi) and a greater part of the Malay Peninsula including Tenasserim, Tavoy (now in Burma), Ligor and Singora came under his rule. His dominion even extended over Sukhothai in the north and Malacca in the south[63]. Ayuthia extended its territory further from Kamphaeng Phet to Pitsanulok and Sri Sachanlai in northern Siam during the rule of his successor, Boromorāja or Paramarāja (A.D. 1370-1388)[64]. The establishment of the capital at Ayuthia and the changing of the political centre of Thai power from Sukhothai in northern Siam to Ayuthia in southern Siam marked the beginning of a new era of great cultural prosperity. Under royal patronage Buddhism flourished and Ayuthia became an important Buddhist centre. The rulers of this dynasty like the rulers of the Sukhothai kingdom patronised cultural and religious intercourse between Siam and Ceylon and encouraged and supported the Sīhala Saṅgha which played an important rôle during the Ayuthia period.

Ayuthia continued to be the capital of Siam till the Burmese invasion in A.D. 1767. As a result of this invasion Ayuthia which "had a long lease of life : thirty-three Thai kings had ruled from

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[61] D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, p 165 ; G. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, p. 140 ; G. Coedes, *Les Etats Hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, p. 369.

[62] D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 195 ; G. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, pp. 369-370.

[63] Ibid., p. 165 ; Ibid., p. 147

[64] Ibid., p. 145.

that city" failed. The Burmese destroyed or defaced the Buddhist temples, monasteries and statues. As a result, the Siamese collapsed for the time being. But this collapse was temporary and local. Phaya Tak Sin, a leader of the Chinese origin collected the troops and drove away the Burmese out of the country, and established the new capital northward at Bangkok which still occupies this noble position. In 1782 A.D. he was deposed "and one of the reasons for his fall seems to have been a too zealous reformation of Buddhism". Chao Phaya Chakkri founded a new dynasty in the same year. He convoked a Buddhist Council for the revision of the Tipiṭaka and built a special building to preserve the sacred texts of the canon thus settled. The study of Pali, the language of Theravāda Buddhism also made great progress[65]. "The Chakkri kings were actively interested in making Siam a full-fledged 'Buddhist state', guided by Buddhist principles". King Chulalong-korn (1868-1911), one of the kings of this dynasty, published an edition of the Tipiṭaka in Siamese type—Cambodian characters were formerly used for religious works.

At present there are two sects or Nikāyas of the Saṅgha in Siam (Thailand). They are Mahānikāya and Dhammayuttikanikāya. The former is the older and by far the larger numerically and the latter was founded in 1833 A. D. by king Mongkut who spent twenty-six years as a monk and then became a king. He wanted the 'monks to lead a more disciplined and scholarly life in accordance with the pristine teachings of Buddha'. The two sects differ mostly on matters of discipline only and not on the doctrine. They follow the two hundred and twenty seven rules of *Pātimokkhasutta* of the Vinayapiṭaka. Both of them receive the same honour and esteem from the laity. They, however, differ in the mode of wearing of their robes.

Lastly, Buddhism is the state religion of Siam (Thailand). Ninety four per cent of the population of Siam are now Buddhists. It proves how Buddhism holds its influence in Siam. 'Indeed, to the Thai nation as a whole, Buddhism has been the main spring

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[65] C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 86.

from which flow its culture and philosophy, its art and literature, its ethics and morality and many of the folkways and festivals.

From the legendary account we know that the earliest known kingdom in Cambodia founded in the lower valley of Mekong in the earliest centuries of the Christian era was Funan[66]. This kingdom was established by a Brahmin named Kauṇḍiṇya who was also called Hun-t'ien in the Chinese reports.

CAMBODIA

Buddhism flourished at Funan under the royal patronage in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Of the kings of the Funan dynasty the reigns of Kauṇḍiṇya Jayavarman (A. D. 478-514) and Rudravarman (A. D. 514-539) were important from the religious and cultural points of view. In 484 A.D. Kauṇḍiṇya Jayavarman sent a mission under the leadership of a monk Nāgasena by name to the Chinese ruler[67]. *The Liang Annals* tell us that Kauṇḍiṇya Jayavarman in 503 A. D. sent a mission with the coral image of Buddha to the Chinese emperor Wu-ti who was a great patron of Buddhism. During his reign two monks of Funan, Saṅghapāla and Mandrasena came to the Chinese court in the early years of the sixth century A. D. to translate the Buddhist texts[68]. Both of them worked hard for several years in China for translating the Buddhist documents. This shows that the Buddhist monasteries existed in Funan in Cambodia where Buddhist texts were studied. In 514 A.D. Rudrasena succeeded Jayavarman[69]. *The Liang Annals* also mention his cultural and friendly relations with

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[66] L. P. Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, Philadelphia, 1951, p. 12 ; G. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, pp. 57-58 ; A. P. Pelliot, Le Founan, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient*, vol. III, pp. 248-303; L. Finot, Buddhism in Indo-China, *The Buddhist Review*, vol. I, October, 1909, p. 233 ; D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 25.

[67] D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 32.

[68] P. Pelliot, Le Founan, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient*, vol. III, pp. 284-285.

[69] L. P. Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, p. 30.

the Chinese Emperor Wu-ti.[70] In 519 A. D. Rudravarman sent a sandal-wood image of Buddha to the emperor Wu-ti. In 539 A.D. a long hair relic of Buddha was also sent to him[71]. At Ta Prohn in the province of Bati in southern Cambodia a Sanskrit inscription which refers to Jayavarman and Rudravarman has been unearthed. It commences with an invocation to Buddha. Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha have also been referred to in another stanza[72]. There is no indication about the date of the inscription. But some scholars maintain that it belongs to about the middle of the sixth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds[73]. Prof. Coedes writes that Hīnyāna Buddhism with its Sanskrit language was prevalent at Funan in the fifth and in the first half of the sixth centuries A.D.[74] At Toul Preah or Prah That in the province of Prei Veng in southern Cambodia a statue of Buddha with an inscription "ye dhammā..." has been discovered[75]. The whole of the inscription is in Pali with the sole exception of the term 'hetuprabhavā' in Sanskrit. The date of the inscription is generally assigned to the sixth or seventh century A.D.[76] Pali which has been employed in this inscription shows

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[70]D. G. E. Hall, A *History of South-East Asia*, p. 33 ; Pelliot, P. op. cit., pp. 248-303.

[71]C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 105.

[72]R. C. Mazumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, *The Asiatic Society Monograph Series*, vol. VIII, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 4-7 ; G. Coedes, Deux Inscriptions Sanskrites du Founan, *Bulletin de I' Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient*, XXXI, 1931, pp. 8-10.

[73]Ibid., vol. XXXI, pp. 9-10 ; L. P. Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, p. 31.

[74]G. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, p. 61.

[75]Thay-Sok, Traites de morales des Cambodgiens du xiv au xix siecles, *The pourle doctorat de Faculte des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de I'Universite de Paris*, 1964, pp. 164, pp. 185-186 ; G. Coedes, *Inscription du Cambodge*, vol. I, p. 297.

[76]R. Dalet, Dix-huit mois de recherches archaeologiques au Cambodge, *Bulletin de I'Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient*, vol. XXXV, 1935, p. 153.

that Hīnayāna Buddhism existed at Funan in Cambodia at that time.

Specimens of the Gupta art generally assigned to the sixth century A.D. have been found in Funan. The Chinese traveller I-tsing also refers to Buddhism in Cambodia in his itinerary. He writes that Buddhism flourished at Po-nan (Funan) in early times[77]. According to him, the people of Funan 'were mostly worshippers of devas, and later on Buddhism flourished there ; but a wicked king has now expelled and exterminated them all, and there are no members of Buddhist Brotherhood at all[78].' Thus the seventh century witnessed a decay of Buddhism in Cambodia and Saivism was the dominant religion there[79].

The beginning of the eighth century A.D. witnessed the division of Cambodia into two parts : Upper Chenla and Lower Chenla[80] which was sub-divided into several kingdoms and principalities and the Javanese invaded Lower Chenla and several of its small states towards the latter part of the eighth century A.D.[81]. But Jayavarman II (A.D. 802-850)[82] reunited Lower Chenla and put an end to the political supremacy of Java over that kingdom[83].

Towards the close of the ninth century A. D. Yaśovarman ascended the throne of Cambodia. A few inscriptions give us valuable information about Yaśovarman's role in the religious history of the country. A Sanskrit inscription of Tep Pranam near Angkor Thom in Nagari characters tells us that he established a Saugatāśrama (for the residence of the Buddhist monks).

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[77] I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (671-695) translated by J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, pp. 10-12.

[78] Ibid., pp. 10-12.

[79] R. C. Mazumdar, Buddhism in South-East Asia, *Gautama Buddha, 25th centenary volume*, 1956, p. 190.

[80] D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 94.

[81] Ibid., p. 96.

[82] G. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, p. 96.

[83] D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 97.

Elaborate rules were also framed for the proper guidance of this monastery.

During the reign of Jayavarman V (A.D. 968-1001) Mahāyāna Buddhism was in a flourishing state in Cambodia. From an inscription of Srey Santhor or Wat Sithor[84] in southern Cambodia discovered on the east side of Mekong we learn that Kīrtipaṇḍita who was a Buddhist minister of Jayavarman V played an important role in the development of Buddhism in Cambodia in the second half of the tenth century A.D[85]. This inscription contains *inter alia* instructions of the king in support of Buddhist practices. It also refers to the importation of Mahāyāna books by Kīrtipaṇḍita from foreign lands.

The eleventh century A.D. witnessed the accession of Suryavarman I on the throne of Cambodia. He was a devout Buddhist as his posthumous title Nirvāṇapāda indicates[86]. He gave donations to various religious establishments including the Saugatāśrama founded by Yaśovarman I. This shows his great religious tolerance. From the several inscriptions we learn that king Sūryavarman I patronised both Mahāyāna and Theravāda Buddhism.

The reign of Jayavarman VII (1181-1218 A.D) marks an epoch in the history of Buddhism in Cambodia. He encouraged and supported the propagation and development of Buddhism in Cambodia. From all his inscriptions[87] we learn that the king

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[84]G. Coedes, State de Vat Sithor, *Inscription du Cambodge*, vol. vi, pp. 195-211.

[85]B. R. Chatterjee, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, University of Calcutta, 1928, pp. 162-163.

[86]G. Coedes, Sdok Kak Thom, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme Orient*, XV, p. 91 ; G. Coedes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, p. 100.

[87]R. C. Mazumdar, Ta Prohn Inscription of Jayavarman VII dated 1108, *The Asiatic Society Monograph Series*, vol. VIII, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 459 ff ; L. Finot, *Inscription d' Angkor*, NO.X ; Phimanakas, *Bulletin de l' Ecole Française d' Extreme Orient*, vol. XXV, 1925, pp. 372 ff ; L. Finot, The inscription of Say-Fong, *Bulletin de l' Ecole Française d' Extreme Orient*, vol. III, pp. 18-38.

patronised Mahāyāna Buddhism and he and his family were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. He made magnificent gifts to the Buddhist establishments. He also built the Angkor Thom and the Bayon.

There is no denying the fact that Buddhism flourished in Cambodia up to the thirteenth century A.D., but it was never a state religion there. Brahmanical religion particularly Śaivism and Mahāyānism existed there side by side. Śaivism, of course, was the dominant religion. But subsequently through the influence of Siam (Thailand) Cambodia became the stronghold of Theravāda Buddhism which is the only religion of the people of Cambodia now. Traces of Hinduism, however, remain in the ceremonials of the people even now.

There are at present two sects of Buddhism in Cambodia as in Siam. They are the Mahānikāya and the Dhammayuttika. The Mahānikāya is the older and the larger numerically than the Dhammayuttika. Both of them consider Siamese texts as fundamental and the Maṅgalatthadīpanī is the outstanding text in this regard[88]. Both the sects differ on the pronunciations of Pali words and on the minor rules of Discipline (Vinaya).

CAMPĀ

Campā lies on the eastern coast of Indo-Chinese peninsula known as Annam, now called Vietnam. 'The very name Champā is thoroughly Indian and it is clear from the monuments, statuary and inscriptions found in that ancient country that the early civilization flourishing there was due to strong influence from India. Contact with India started from about the early centuries of the Christian era and the influence of the Amaravati school is visible on its early artistic creations'[89].

At Dong-Duong has been discovered a fine image of Buddha of the Amaravati school which flourished from A.D. 150 to 250 A.D. This indicates the existence of Buddhism in Campā before

[88] Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhism in East Asia*, p. 100.

[89] *India's contribution to world thought and culture*, published by Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee, Madras, p. 10.

the third century A.D.[90] But epigraphical evidence is, however, wanting in this regard. The Chinese sources state that the city of Campā was captured by the Chinese who took away many Buddhist works in the early part of the seventh century A. D. This also proves that Buddhism flourished in the country before the seventh century A.D.

The famous Chinese pilgrim I-tsing writes that in Campä the 'Buddhists generally belong to the Āryasammitīyanikāya and there are also a few followers of the Sarvāstivādanikāya.' It is, therefore, evident that Hīnayāna prevailed there in the seventh century A.D.

King Indravarman (A. D. 854-893) was a devout Buddhist. D. G. E. Hall writes that "his reign was a peaceful one, notable for a great Buddhist foundation, a monastery, the ruins of which have been located at Dong-Duong, south-east of Mison. This is the first evidence of the existence of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Campa"[91]. Many kings of his dynasty also patronised Buddhism and gave liberal donations to temples and monasteries. Not only did they build new monasteries but they also restored religious foundations after desecration. Many inscriptions describing their religious activities were also erected by them.

Mahāyāna Buddhism continued to exist in Campā till the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. Towards the close of the fifteenth century A. D. Annamites occupied Campā and introduced a corrupt form of Mahāyāna Buddhism there.

INDONESIA

Indonesia also called Insulindia, consists of islands, like Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo etc. An attempt has been made here to give a brief account of the introduction and expansion of Buddhism in these islands :—

Java : Is is said that Buddhism was introduced into Java after the fourth century A.D. The famous Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien[92]

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[90] *2500 years of Buddhism*, ed. by Prof. P. V. Bapat, New Delhi, 1956, p. 93.

[91] *A History of South-East Asia*, London, 1964, p. 174.

[92] H. A. Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien or Record of Buddhistic kingdoms*, Cambridge, 1923, p. 78.

visited this island in the fifth century A. D. He writes that Brahmanism dominated this island and very little was heard of Buddhism there. But shortly after prince Guṇavarman of Kashmir who became a Buddhist monk visited the island. He converted the king, his mother and the people to Buddhism there. As a consequence Buddhism spread throughout the kingdom and became well-established there[93]. We are told that Guṇavarman was an adherent of Mūlasarvāstivāda school of Buddhist thought and due to his strenuous efforts this school became powerful in Java and neighbouring regions.

Java, particularly Central and Western Java, was occupied by a dynasty who professed Mahāyānism from Sumatra, known as the Śailendras of Śrī Vijaya. Their territory extended not only over Sumatra but also over Malay Peninsula.

Sumatra : Sumatra, especially the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya generally identified with Palembang, also received early the doctrine of Buddha. From an inscription dated 684 A. D. discovered in this region we learn that king Jayanāsa who ruled over Śrī Vijaya was a devout Buddhist. The famous Chinese pilgrim I-tsing visited Śrī Vijaya twice. From his itinerary we learn about the popularity and prosperity of Buddhism in the islands of Southern Sea covering more than ten countries. According to him Hīnayāna Buddhism was prevalent in those regions except at Śrī Vijaya where Mahāyānism prevailed[94]. This also points out the importance of Śrī Vijaya as a centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism during I-tsing's visit to this island. 'That Śrī Vijaya's Buddhism was mainly Mahāyānist, however, has been confirmed by the discovery of Bodhisattvas there, though there is also evidence of the existence of some Hinayana Buddhism of the Sanskrit canon.

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[93] P. Pelliot, Deux itineraires de Chine en Inde, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient*, Hanoi, vol. IV, pp. 132 ff.

[94] *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-tsing*, translated by J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, pp. 10-11.

The differences between the two forms were then far less distinct than they became later, particularly in thirteenth century South-East Asia[95].

Bali and Borneo : Bali and Borneo also came under the influence of Buddhism. But it could not make much headway there. Brahmanical religion was in the ascendant and Buddhism gradually became extinct there.

Buddhism obtained a firm footing in Indonesia in the fifth century A. D. From the seventh to the tenth centuries A. D. it became an important centre of Buddhism. In the seventh century A. D. Dhammapāla, a famous teacher of Nālandā, Vajrabodhi, a monk of South India and Amoghavajra visited Indonesia. Towards the end of the eighth century A.D. Indonesia became a stronghold of Mahāyāna Buddhism owing to the patronage of the Śailendra kings who held sway over the greater part of this island. During their reign the temple of Kalasan (779 A. D.) dedicated to the goddess Tārā was erected. The Śailendras were also responsible for the construction of magnificent monument of Borobudur in Central Java. At Nagapatam near Madras and Nālandā monasteries were built by the Śailendra kings out of great devotion towards Buddhism. Lastly, traces of debased form of Mahāyāna Buddhism are also found there.

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[95] D. G.E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 44.

CHAPTER II

BUDDHISM IN NORTH AND NORTH-EAST ASIA

We propose to give here an account of the expansion of Buddhism in the countries to the north and north-east of Indian region :—

CENTRAL ASIA

Central Asia is an extensive region extending from the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea to the Great Wall of China. The Pamirs divide it into two regions—the western region and the eastern region. The former now belongs to Russia, while the latter to China. Central Asia is also called Ser-India or the Inner-most Heart of Asia. No precise date can be given as to the introduction of Buddhism to Central Asia. 'It is almost certain that the nomadic tribes, the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas, as well as Indian merchants had carried elements of Indian culture with Buddhism to the different states of Eastern Turkestan[1] at least a century before the Christian era'[2]. We have evidence to show that small colonies were set up in the southern part of this region by the Indian colonists who first introduced Buddhism there. The eastern region became in course of time the stronghold of Buddhism and many famous centres of Buddhism and Buddhist culture arose there. The most important of them were—Kashgar, Kucha, Turfan and Khotan. Here is given a brief survey of these important centres :

Kashgar : It is said that Kashgar received Buddhism in about the second century A.D. Towards the close of the fourth century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien visited Kashgar. From his itinerary we learn that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition there at that time. He found there many relics of Buddha

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[1]It is the region occupied by the Chinese. It is also known as the Chinese Turkestan.

[2]*2500 years of Buddhism*, ed. by P. V. Bapat, p. 65.

Among them were Buddha's spittoon, alms-bowl and the tooth kept in a thūpa[3]. He also found there more than two thousand monks with their followers probably belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school of the Hīnayāna sect. His account further tells us that he was present at the quinquennial religious conference (Pañcavārṣika) held by the king. Buddhist monks of the different places were invited to the conference and were given offerings and gifts by the king and the ministers.

On his way back to China Hiuen-Tsang also visited Kashgar in about 643 A.D. He has given us an interesting account of the condition of Buddhism in Kashgar. He states that the people there were devout Buddhists, and followed the rules of Buddhist discipline faithfully. He came across many hundreds of monasteries with about 10,000 monks of the Sarvāstivāda sect. Many of the monks were well-versed in the Buddhist texts and could even recite the Tripiṭaka. We also know another Chinese pilgrim, Wu-k'ong who also lived sometimes in Kashgar about 786 A.D.[4]. But his itinerary does not give us any new information for the study of Buddhism there.

It is said Kumārajīva, an Indian scholar of great reputation, came to Kashgar and stayed there for about a year. He studied the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivāda sect with a competent teacher there. Other Indian teachers like Buddhayasa and Dharmacandra also visited Kashgar.

Kucha : Between Kashgar and Turfan stands the town of Kucha. We do not know the exact date of the introduction of Buddhism to Kucha. But it is almost certain that it received Buddhism not much later than the close of the first century A.D. It played an important part in the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia and China. The *Tsin Annals* of the third century A.D. give us an account of Buddhism in Kucha. They tell us that there were about one thousand thūpas and Buddhist temples in and

[3]Probodh Chandra Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1955, p. 46.

[4]Probodh Chandra Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, p. 47.

around Kucha. It was also an important centre of Buddhist propaganda in other countries. The Buddhist monks of this country used to go to China to spread the message of Buddhism during the 3rd-5th centuries A.D.[5]. The Kuchean monks Po Yen, Po Srimitra and others visited China and translated the Buddhist texts into Chinese.

From one of the Chinese texts we learn that Kucha was a great centre of Buddhist activities in the fourth century A.D. 'It was almost entirely a Buddhist city. The palace of the king looked like a Buddhist monastery with standing images of Buddha carved in stone. Number of monasteries in the capital was very large, and there were also some special monasteries founded by the kings. There was a monastery called Ta-mu which had 170 monks. The monastery on the Po-shan hill in the north which was called Che-hu-li had 50 or 60 monks. The new monastery of the king of Wen-su (Uch-Turfan) had 70 monks'[6]. The above text further mentions that there were nunneries in Kucha. The nuns came mostly from royal and noble families, and observed the rules of Vinaya as laid down in the *Bhikkhunīpātimokkhasutta.*

Kucha has been immortalised in the history of Buddhism for the place of residence of the famous Buddhist monk Kumārajīva. His father was an Indian and his mother was a princess of the royal family of Kucha. Soon after the birth of Kumārajīva his mother became a nun. When Kumārajīva was nine years old his mother came to Kashmir with him to give her son better education in the Buddhist lore. Thus in his early youth he was educated at Kipin (Kashmir) under the guidance of the eminent teacher Bandhudatta who taught him the Buddhist Āgamas. He also attained great proficiency in the various branches of Buddhist studies during his sojourn there. At last both the mother and son returned to Kucha after visiting many centres of Buddhist learning in Central Asia. While at Kashgar on his way to Kucha he studied the Abhidhammapiṭaka, the Vedas and other Brahmanical texts. As a consequence he was converted to Mahāyāna Buddhism.

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[5]Ibid., p. 16.

[6]Ibid., p. 80.

Shortly after his return to Kucha he received the Upasampadā (Ordination) in the royal palace. He used to reside in the new monastery founded by king Po-Shun and people flocked round him to hear the sublime teachings of Buddhism. There were more than one thousand monks in Kucha at that time. Vimalākṣa, a distinguished Buddhist scholar of Kashmir came to Kucha at this time. Kumārajīva studied with him the Vinayapiṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda school[7]. It was from Kucha the celebrated Buddhist monk Kumārajīva was taken as a captive by king Fu-Chien of Tsin dynasty to China in 383 A.D.[8]. where he distinguished himself greatly as a translator of the Buddhist texts. About more than ninety-eight texts were translated by him and thus ushered in a glorious epoch in the history of Buddhism in China. He won a great reputation in China as one of the greatest exponents of Buddhism especially the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism. Scholars from different parts of China used to come to him to study the Buddhist texts and as a result many became his disciples. It is thus evident that Kumārajīva played an important rôle in the propagation of Buddhism not only in Kucha but also in China.

In about 584 A.D. Dharmagupta, a noted Buddhist monk came to Kucha. He resided for two years in the new monastery there and taught the Mahāyāna texts to the king and the laity. He then left for China to propagate Buddhism there. From his account we learn that he found Mahāyāna Buddhism greatly flourishing there.

Lastly, Hiuen-Tsang visited Kucha in 630 A.D. He has furnished us with a full account of Buddhism there. From his itinerary we learn that there were about one hundred monasteries with more than five thousand disciples in Kucha. They all belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school of Hīnayāna Buddhism. The monks there 'were strict according to their lights and that the monasteries were centres of learning.' He has also referred to a few famous monasteries. Of them A-she-li-ni monastery, close to Kucha,

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[7] Probodh Chandra Bagchi, *India And Central Asia*, p. 82.

[8] C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 203.

provided residence to the monks coming from other countries to Kucha. The head of the monastery was Mo-ch'a-kiu-to (Mokṣagupta) who was highly respected by all for his erudition and intelligence. We further learn from his account that the kings and the nobles had great reverence for Buddhism and Buddhist monks. Thus Kucha was still an important centre of 'cultural religious development.'

Turfan: Turfan contained the ruins of many cities belonging to different periods. It is said that in the fourth century A.D. Meng-hsun, a tribal chieftain of this region took keen interest in Buddhist literature and religion. In 480 A.D. a temple dedicated to Maitreya with an inscription in Chinese in his honour was also built there[9]. The Buddhist monks of Turfan were solely guided by the monks of Kashgar and Kucha in regard to their ecclesiastical acts in the early period. But with the occupation of the country by the Chinese dynasty which ruled till the middle of the seventh century A.D. the monks of Turfan were highly influenced by the Chinese form of Buddhism during this period. Buddhism had also influenced the life of the people of the country. In 630 A.D. Hiuen-Tsang visited Turfan. King Wen-t'ai who was reigning then received the pilgrim with a warm reception. And he was accommodated in a monastery close to the royal palace. He stayed at Turfan for about a month and expounded the *Prajñāpāramitā* containing the basic teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

We are told that there was a great massacre of Buddhist monks in Turfan in the ninth century A.D. But Buddhism still lingered there. Eliot writes that "even in 1420 the people of Turfan were Buddhists and the Ming Annals say that at Huo-Chou (or Kara-Khojo) there were more Buddhist temples than dwelling houses"[10].

Lastly, explorations in Turfan have produced plentiful materials. Numerous manuscripts of Buddhist texts in Sanskrit, Buddhist Sanskrit, Chinese and various other languages have been

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[9]C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 206.

[10]Ibid., p. 207.

discovered there. Paintings of various types depicting Buddhist scenes have also been unearthed there.

Khotan : The introduction of Buddhism to Khotan is ascribed to king Vijitasaṃbhava, grandson of Kustana who was the son of Aśoka and founded the royal dynasty at Khotan[11]. The ancient annals of Khotan record that a monk Āryavairocana by name came to Khotan from Kashmir and made the king Vijitasaṃbhava built for him a great monastery outside his capital. It is said to have been the first monastery built in Khotan. Āryavairocana also brought the sacred relics of Buddha from Kashmir later on. A number of other monasteries were also constructed during the reigns of other subsequent kings.

Khotan became an important centre of Buddhist studies from the very early times. It was also known to China as a famous seat of Buddhist learning before the visit of the famous Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien. In about 260 A.D. Chu-shin-hsing, a Chinese Buddhist monk came to Khotan from distant Loyang to study the Buddhist texts. He devoted himself seriously to the Buddhist studies. He collected a large number of original Buddhist texts and sent them to China. The texts sent to China by Chu-shin-hsing were translated in China by Mokṣala, a Khotanese Buddhist scholar who went to China in 291 A.D. with the assistance of an Indian monk. The *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpārāmitā*, *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* and other Mahāyāna texts were the works translated in China by them. It is thus evident that Khotan was a great centre of Mahāyāna studies in the early third century A.D. Fa-hsien also visited Khotan in 480 A.D. He stayed along with his companions at the Gomativihāra which was one of the premier institutions of Buddhist learning and culture in Central Asia. The famous pilgrim has given us a very interesting description of the Gomativihāra. He writes that in this vihāra there were 'three thousand monks who are called to their meals by the sound of a bell. When they enter the refectory their demeanour is marked

[11]Sten Konow, *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 344 ff.

by a reverent gravity, and they take their seats in regular order, all maintaining a perfect silence. No sound is heard from their alms bowls and other utensils. When any of these pure men requires food they are not allowed to call out for it but only make signs with their hands.' A number of distinguished Indian scholars lived in this vihāra. Instead of coming to India many Chinese pilgrims stayed in Khotan for their studies in Buddhism. The monks of the Gomativihāra wrote a number of texts which were esteemed as canonical[12]. From his itinerary we also learn about the condition of Buddhism in Khotan. He writes that 'there were some tens of thousands of monks mostly followers of the Mahayana and in the country, where the homes of the people were scattered 'like stars" about the oases, each house had a small stupa before the door.' He has further stated that apart from the famous Gomativihāra there were other principal monasteries in Khotan. The king's new monastery, situated outside the city which took eighty years to build was the second large monastery of Khotan.

After Fa-hsien Hiuen-Tsang visited Khotan on his way back home in 644 A.D. His account furnishes us with a fair picture of Buddhism there in those days. According to him, there were about a hundred monasteries with some five thousand monks who were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The people were devout Buddhists and supported the Saṅgha with their magnificent gifts. The monks were not lacking in the observance of the disciplinary code and the monasteries were still the centres of learning.

Several sites in Central Asia have been explored by the Russian, German, French and British archaeologists. They have yielded fruitful results. The finds discovered are indeed rarity. The bulk of the manuscripts is Buddhist. They are fragments of the texts belonging to the Sarvāstivāda and later Mahāyāna sects. The palm leaf manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's drama *Sāriputraprakaraṇa* and Pārśva's two other dramas have been discovered

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[12]Probodh Chandra Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 15.

therein. A large number of fragments of Sanskrit medical texts have also been unearthed there. They are generally known as Bower Manuscripts. Here have also been discovered documents written in Prakrit, Sogdian, Manichaen, Turkish, Tibetan, Chinese and Khotanese and in scripts not yet deciphered. Fragments of Buddhist images, paintings and other articles of immensely archaeological value have further been explored there. 'The famous monasteries of Central Asia became active centres not only for the preservation and propagation of the canon but also for its reconstitution. In course of this literary activities conscious efforts were made by the monks to naturalise the canon by introducing in it such element as would make it a Ser-Indian literature as well. Pseudo-canonical Mahāyāna literature was also created in different parts of the country'[13]. Thus Central Asia was an important centre of Buddhism and played a dominant rôle in the dissemination and interpretation of Buddhism and Buddhist culture. It also contributed largely to the establishment of Buddhism in China.

TIBET

It is generally believed that Tibet received Buddhism during the reign of king Naradeva (Miḥi-lha) who ascended the throne at the age of thirteen only in 629 A.D. But owing to his meritorious deeds he was later on better known as Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (lit. straightforward, strict, profound) in Tibet. He was the son of king Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan who was a war-like king and held supreme authority over Tibet. King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po imbibed the martial spirit of his father and took delight in bloody wars and campaigns. On his ascension to the throne he increased his military powers manifoldly and led an expedition against King Aṁśuvarman of Nepal in the south. Fearing defeat at his hand, Aṁśuvarman thought it wise to establish a matrimonial alliance with king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po of Tibet. He offered his daughter in marriage to him. The king gladly accepted the princess as his queen[14]. Tibet became a very power-

[13]Probodh Chandra Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, p. 108.

[14]King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po was only sixteen years old when he married the Nepalese princess who was aged eighteen years.

ful nation then because of king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po's military powers. Some two years later king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po again led a military campaign against Seṅ-ge-btsan-po (T'ai-tsung), the powerful emperor of China in the north. He also evaded the war by giving his daughter in marriage to him. King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po had thus two queens. One was Ṭhi-btsan, the daughter of king Aṁśuvarman of Nepal while the other was called Wen-ch'eng, the daughter of Seṅ-ge-btsan-po (T'ai-tsung), the powerful emperor of China. Both of them were pious. The princess of Nepal was a devoted Buddhist. As a part of her dowry she brought an image of Buddha Akṣobhya which was enshrined in a great temple built by the king in Lhasa. It still exists there and is popularly called the Jo-khaṅ (House of Lord). The princess of China was also a worshipper of Buddha. She brought to Tibet fine images of Buddha Śākyamuni and Maitreya as also a few Buddhist texts. These images were also installed in a great temple built by the king in Lhasa. It still survives there and is the chief temple of Lhasa. Both the wives were further 'canonized as incarnations of Avalokita's consort, Tārā, "Saviouress" or Goddess of Mercy, and the fact that they bore him no children is pointed to as evidence of their divine nature'. The Chinese princess was glorified as the white Tārā while the Nepalese princess as the green Tārā which is still very much venerated in Nepal.

The king was a man of culture. He was deeply interested in the cultural development, social reforms and the like. By the persuasion of these two queens the king was soon converted to the religion of Buddha. He felt the necessity of introducing Buddhism into his own country and thenceforth devoted his attention to its spread in Tibet. He wanted every man to be virtuous and wise. He enjoined on leading a pure and simple life as also on cultivating love for one's motherland and fellow beings. He ruled over his kingdom on the basis of the ten golden precepts[15] which

[15] They were :

(i) Srog-mi-gcod-pa—not to kill any living being.

(ii) Ma-byin-par-mi-len-pa—not to take what is not given.

(iii) Log-gyem-mi-byed-pa—not to fornicate.

agree fairly with the ten rules of morality[16] (sikkhāpadas) as recommended in Buddhism for the observance of both the monks and the laity in their daily life[17].

At the instance of his queens king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po sent many intelligent young men to India, Nepal and China for

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(iv) Rdzun-mi-smra-ba—not to tell a lie.
(v) Phra-ma-mi-byed-pa—not to slander.
(vi) Tshig-tsub-mi-smra-ba—not to speak harsh words.
(vii) Nag-ḥchal-mi-smra-ba—not to speak senselessly.
(viii) Brnab-sems-mi-byed-pa—not to covet another's property.
(ix) Gnod-sems-mi-byed-pa—not to think of doing injury to others.
(x) Log-lta-mi-byed-pa—not to turn to heretical views (false doctrine).

[16] They are as follows :

(i) Pāṇātipātā veramaṇī—abstaining from taking life.
(ii) Adinnādānā veramaṇī—abstaining from taking what is not given.
(iii) Abrahmacariyā veramaṇī—abstaining from adultery.
(iv) Musāvādā veramaṇī—abstaining from telling a lie.
(v) Surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇī—abstaining from taking intoxicating drinks.
(vi) Vikālabhojanā veramaṇī—abstaining from eating at the wrong hour,
(vii) Naccagītavāditavisūkadassanā veramaṇī—abstaining from worldly amusement.
(viii) Mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍanavibhūsanaṭṭhānā veramaṇī—abstaining from using unguents, ornaments and the like.
(ix) Uccāsayanamahāsayanā veramaṇī—abstaining from sleeping on a high and big bed.
(x) Jātarūparajatapaṭiggahaṇā veramaṇī—abstaining from accepting any gold or silver.

[17] The first five or the eight are recommended for the laity while all the ten are for the monks.

Buddhist works and teachers. Among the young men sent to India Thon-mi-Sambhoṭa[18], son of Anu, was very intelligent. He was highly noted for his aptitude and erudition. Along with a group of sixteen companions, he was sent to study in Āryadeśa (India) and to invent a script for the Tibetan language. They studied there with ācārya Devavitsiṁha (Siṁhaghoṣa), Paṇḍita Lipikāra (Lipidatta) and others. But due to the extremely burning heat of the plains, all his companions died and Thon-mi Sambhoṭa only survived. He stayed in India for several years and studied the texts both Buddhist and Brahminical extensively there with them. There was no form of writing in Tibet then. Texts were memorized and transmitted orally. It was Thon-mi Sambhoṭa who reduced the Tibetan language to writing and invented an alphabetic script consisting of thirty-four letters—thirty consonants and four vowels. The alphabet evolved from the central Indian script of the 6th-7th centuries A. D., was adopted as the alphabet of the Tibetan language and from then on all historical events in Tibet as also all sacred Buddhist works were translated and written down in this script. Thon-mi Sambhoṭa is said to have written about eight books on writing and grammar in Tibetan. He also translated several Buddhist texts into Tibetan. Among them the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*[19], *the 100 Precepts* and the *Ratnameghasūtra* deserve mention. There is no doubt that the first script and the first grammar owed their origin to Thon-mi Sambhoṭa who thereby introduced literacy into Tibet. He is thus regarded as the father or creator of Tibetan literature. The king became very much pleased and appointed him his chief minister. He became his pupil and studied the texts with him for about four years. He further

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[18] Thon-mi is the name of a tribe in Tibet and Sambhoṭa means a good Bhoṭa *i.e.* Tibetan. The word, therefore, literally means a good Tibetan of the Thon-mi tribe of Tibet.

[19] The complete title of this work is *Avalokiteśvaraguṇakāraṇḍavyūha.* There are two versions of this work—one in prose and the other in verse. The former is earlier than the latter. The Tibetan translation of this work by Thon-mi Sambhoṭa is based on the prose version.

procured Buddhist texts from Nepal and got them translated into Tibetan.

The translation work, thus started during Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's reign continued steadily for several hundred years till the close of the 17th century A. D., as a result of which a large number of works dealing with Buddhism and allied subjects were rendered into Tibetan. He established several Buddhist centres and temples in his dominion. The famous sandal wood image of Avalokiteśvara, the Lord of Mercy, which is worshipped even to-day, was brought to Lhasa during his reign. He is further said to have laid down the foundation of the Potala palace, the world famous eleven storied abode of Dalai Lama. He encouraged his subjects to adopt the new faith. Thus he gave a strong religious impetus to the whole of Tibet and made Buddhism his state religion. He died after a reign of about twenty years in 650 A.D. 'To the Tibetans he is not only the national hero but also the inspired founder of the nation, the giver of civilization and, above all, the living spiritual guide of Tibet'. His name is to this day a household word. He is, indeed, revered as an incarnation of Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara, Lord of Mercy), the patron deity of Tibet.

After the death of king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po Buddhism could not make much headway against the existing Bon religion, the primitive pre-Buddhist creed of Tibet. It is essentially a shamanist, devil-charming, necromantic cult with devil-dancing, and is closely allied to Taoism of China. Sacrifices of animals and even human-beings and such other practices were openly indulged in and they formed an important part in the religious observances of Bon. But with the light of Indian civilization introduced by Buddhism the followers of Bon were obliged to give up their human and animal sacrifices and instead use little statues made of dough containing barley-flour, butter and water. Its mythology is exceedingly complicated. It enumerates an endless number of spirits or divinities, all hostile to man and it is necessary to propitiate them by continual sacrifices. Even down to the present day some Bon practices still exist in the parts of eastern and south-eastern Tibet, the most populous part of the country. Because of

the great resistance of the followers of Bon, Buddhism had to suffer a set-back. As is expected we hear little of Buddhism for a few decades.

The history of Buddhism in Tibet remained obscure for some years after the death of king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po as nothing worth recording about the progress of Buddhism happened. Practically it declined. We are, however, told that through the skilful guidance of Thon-mi Sambhoṭa the Tibetans conquered practically the whole of Eastern Turkistan during the reign of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's successor in 670 A.D. They found big monasteries, beautiful shrines and fine statues of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in this region. They also came across a large number of texts dealing with different aspects of Buddhism. The discovery of a huge number of Bodhisattvas created a stir in the religious world of Tibet, and ultimately paved the way for the foundation of Buddhism there.

In 705 A.D., king Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan who ascended the throne took great interest in the propagation of Buddhism. The interest in Buddhism thus reappeared and became extremely pronounced with him. He built many monasteries and temples in his dominion and highly encouraged the translation of the Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. He also invited the monks of Khotan to Tibet. In an edict (783 A.D.), still extant in Lhasa, is recorded the earnest zeal of the king for the propagation of Buddhism in Tibet.

The next great king was Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan (740-786 A.D.). His rule 'marks the zenith of Tibetan power and the affirmation of Buddhsim as the chief religion of the state'. It was during his reign Śāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava and Kamalaśila were brought to Tibet. He is regarded by the Tibetans as an incarnation of of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī even to-day. He was the son of the Chinese princess who was a devout Buddhist and from her he received a strong religious impulse for Buddhism. He ascended the throne at the age of thirteen only. He became a staunch admirer of Buddhism and directed all his efforts to further the consolidation of Buddhism in Tibet. He sent an envoy to China in search of Buddhist texts. He also brought Śāntarakṣita, the

famous Buddhist teacher from India. In Tibetan Śāntarakṣita is called Zhi-ba-tsho. He is also known in Tibet as Śāntirakṣita and Ācārya Bodhisattva. He belonged to the royal family of Zahor[20] and was born during the reign of king Gopāla (660-705 A.D.), the founder of the famous Pāla dynasty of Bengal. He was a distinguished teacher of the Yogācāra school and was a professor of the University of Nālandā. He was the author of several philosophical and logical works. His *Tattvasaṃgraha*[21] deserves mention. It criticises the Buddhist and non-Buddhist philosophical systems. Most of his other works are preserved in Tibetan translations, the Sanskrit originals of which are lost.

Arriving in Tibet Śāntarakṣita began to preach the fundamental teachings of Buddhism. But shortly after, an epidemic broke out there. The adherents of Bon, the old religion of Tibet, with the active support of the king's uncle incited the people by alleging that this calamity was due to the wrath of the gods for the introduction of this form of religion as also for the presence of this alien teacher in Tibet. Undoubtedly this accusation caused a serious set-back to the propagation of Buddhism. At the advice of the king Śāntarakṣita had to flee to Nepal for the time being to evade indignation. But subsequently the king brought him back to Tibet. Again the people began to offer bitter opposition in his preachings of Buddhism. He then thought that a teacher possessed of supernatural powers and mystic charms would be able to move deeply the people of Tibet, steeped in sorcery, exorcism and the like. Accordingly he advised the king to invite the celebrated Buddhist teacher Padmasambhava.

On the advice of Ācārya Śāntarakṣita, king Khri-Sroṅ-lde-btsan sent messengers to bring Padmasambhava to Tibet. Padmasambhava, it is said, was the son of Indrabodhi, king of Udyāna or Urgyāna[22]. In his '*The Buddhism of Tibet* or

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[20]In Bengal or near Lahore—a name not yet identified.

[21]This work along with the commentary of Kamalaśīla has been published in G. O. S.

[22]In the Swat valley, Kashmir.

Lamaism'[23], Waddel has given a legendary account of the origin of Padmasambhava. He married the sister of Śāntarakṣita. He was one of the distinguished teachers of the University of Nālandā, 'the Oxford of Buddhist India' and was deeply versed in the Tantricism of the Yogācāra school. He accepted the invitation of the king and escorted by messengers came to Tibet in 747 A.D. On the way he also subdued many evil spirits by means of his magic charms. He was warmly welcomed by the king when he reached Tibet.

Padmasambhava who had great miraculous powers visited many parts of Tibet and expounded the fundamental teachings of Buddhism which received a fresh impetus there. With him started an era of great literary activity in Tibet. He organised the Saṅgha (Order of monks) and introduced certain elements of Tantricism into the then existing religion. With him thus originated a new sect called Nying-ma-pa (lit. the old one) sect.

In this connection, it should be mentioned that Buddhism of Tibet is known as Lamaism after its Lamas (lit superior priests, monks). 'But now-a-days the word Lama has come to be a title of courtesy for every priest of Tibetan Buddhism, whether he is a fully ordained Gelong (monk) or not'. Lamaism which is an admixture of some old Bon practices and elements of Tantricism has 'a marked individuality and a peculiar hierarchical organization of its own'. It is divided into various sects. They differ little in respect of doctrinal matters. But 'each sect has special tutelary deities, scriptures and practices of its own but they all tend to borrow from one another whatever inspires respect or attracts worshippers'. Each sect has further monastery and is outwardly distinguished by peculiarities of costumes, specially the hat. The Nying-ma-pa is the old sect established by Padmasambhava and is also called the 'Red-hat' sect. It claims to preserve fully the teachings of Padmasambhava. Of its many sub-divisions, one known as the sect of Udyāna, in reference to Padmasambhava's birth place, is considered to be the most ancient and still exists in the Himalayas and eastern Tibet. The Lamas

[23] pp. 379 ff.

of the Nying-ma-pa sect are said to have kept the necromancy of the old Tibetan religion more fully than any of the reformed sects that arose later on. They pay special worship to Padmasambhava.

Padmasambhava advised the king to send a body of monks from Tibet to India to study the Buddhist texts in original. At the request of the king he selected a site for a monastery and Ācārya Śāntarakṣita consecrated it. The king built the Sam-ye monastery, a few miles away from Lhasa on the model of the famous Odantapuri Mahāvihāra of Magadha. Ācārya Śāntarakṣita was appointed the head of the new monastery. It is the greatest monastery ever built in Tibet. It contains a number of fine shrines and has a good collection of Sanskrit and Tibetan books. With the construction of the Sam-ye monastery, Buddhism made steady progress In Tibet. But a fierce controversy arose over the interpretation of the Buddhist teachings among the followers of Śāntarakṣita and the pupils of the Chinese Buddhist Ho-shang. Accordingly king Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan invited Kamalaśīla from India to defend Śāntarakṣita's interpretation. A philosophical debate was organised and Kamalaśīla won. His victory was indeed 'an important landmark in the religious history of Tibet'.

Towards the close of the 8th century A. D. Padmasambhava procured a number of manuscripts of the Buddhist texts from Kashmir. Many learned monks were appointed to render them into Tibetan. Of them a monk named Vairocana of Kashmir was the best. The Sam-ye monastery thus became a great centre of literary activity in Tibet. Both Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava collaborated with each other in expounding the teachings of Buddhism. At their request many monks of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism came to Tibet from Magadha for translating the Buddhist texts into Tibetan. Many young men were also ordained by them. Padmasambhava is known even to-day in Tibet as Guru or Mahācārya Padmasambhava. He is also called Guru Rimpoche and is given the first place as the propagator of Buddhism in Tibet. 'His image and portrait are to be found wherever Lamaism is practised, irrespective of sects or schisms'.

King Ral-pa-can (817-836 A. D.) was the grandson of king Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan and proved to be another champion of Buddhism. He made strenuous efforts to establish firmly the religion of Buddha in Tibet. His youngest son became a Buddhist monk at his inspiration. On his first ascension to the throne he convened a meeting of the monks to advise him for further propagation of Buddhism in Tibet. As a result many scholars on his invitation came to Tibet from India. Prominent among them were Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi, Surendrabodhi, Prajñāvarman. Dānaśīla and Bodhimitra. They were entrusted with the work of translating the scriptures and the commentaries of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Vasubandhu and others. A considerable portion of the present canon was also then translated into Tibetan. Monasteries were also built during his reign and monks of those monasteries could collect tithes of the lands assigned to the monasteries. It was during his reign that the history of Tibet came to be written for the first time.

Till the 9th century A.D. Buddhism, however, played a dominant part in the life of the Tibetans. But it became moribund subsequently for about a century because of the initiation of the policies highly prejudical to Buddhism by the then kings. It passed through many vicissitudes. But the translation work started some several hundred years back was not discontinued. The progress of the work was, of course, occasionally disrupted, but it could not deter the zeal of the scholars engaged in it. They however, pursued the works with sincere devotion. In 1038 A.D. Atīśa (Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna), the most distinguished Buddhist teacher, came to Tibet from India. He was the second son of king Kalyāṇaśrī and was born in 982 A.D. in Sahor in eastern India. His mother was Prabhāvatī. His name was Candragarbha. But he received the name Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna from Ācārya Śīlarakṣita of Odantapuri where he was first initiated. At the age of thirty only he was fully ordained at Odantapuri by Ācārya Dharmarakṣita. He became proficient not only in the Buddhist lore but also in the Vaiśeṣika system and Tantricism too. He became the head of the monastery of Vikramaśīlā. At the request of the

king of Tibet he left the monastery and went to Tibet when he was sixty years old. Many Tibetan scholars studied Buddhism with him. He devoted himself whole-heartedly to the preachings of Buddhism in Tibet. He composed a short Sanskrit text dealing with essential teachings of Buddhism. It was translated into Tibetan and distributed widely among the Tibetans. He also wrote a commentary on the Kālacakra system of Tantricism. He introduced a new calendar in Tibet. The famous Sa-skya monastery was built during his time. It was Atīśa who enriched the Tibetan literature by rendering Sanskrit works into Tibetan. This period is called the golden age of Tibetan literature. Thus he instituted a new era in the Tibetan literature. He reformed the Saṅgha in Tibet and brought a great renaissance in the religion.

With the reformation started by Atīśa, a distinguished teacher of the Vikramaśīlā monastery of India, originated the Kadam-pa sect based on his interpretation of Buddhism. Later on it developed into the famous Gelu-pa (Yellow hat) which became less ascetic and more highly ritualistic under the leadership of Tsong-khapa in 1457 A.D. With the rise of the fifth Dalai Lama it became the most dominant sect of Buddhism in Tibet. It is still the most powerful sect in Tibet. Our present Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama belong to this sect. From the Kadam-pa sect arose the semi-reformed sects of Kargyu-pa (Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa) and Sakya-pa (Sa-skya-pa), the latter gaining the control through the great Chinese Emperor Kublai Khan who captured Tibet in 1206 A.D. The Sakya-pas are so called because of the colour of the soil where their monastery Sa-skya-pa is situated. The Kargyu-pa is said to have been founded by the Tibetan saint Marpa and his follower Mila-ra-pa, the most famous of the poet-saints of Tibet. It has several important sub-sects, such as the Karma-pa, found in Sikkim and Darjeeling as well as in Tibet, the Dug-pa which is prominent in Bhutan and Ladakh, and the Dikung-pa which possesses a large monastery, hundred miles north-east of Lhasa[24].

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[24] C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 393.

The mission of Atiśa to Tibet is notable in various respects. About two hundred works are ascribed to him. Thus Dīpaṅkara's influence on the thought and culture of Tibet can neither be gainsaid nor exaggerated. In 1054 A.D. he died at the age of seventy-three at Ne Thaṅ, south of Lhasa. He is worshipped as a living spiritual guide even to-day in Tibet.

Bu-ston (1290-1364 A.D.), who belonged to Sa-skya-pa sect, was an eminent scholar and authoritative historian of Tibet. He systematically arranged the Tibetan translation into two great collections. The first comprising the utterances of Buddha is popularly known as the Kanjur, while the second composed of writings of distinguished teachers by way of explanation of the first is known as Tanjur. The first thus contains original works, while the second exegetical works, as also works on medicine, astronomy, grammar, logic, poetry and the like.

Let us now proceed to examine the contents of the Kanjur and Tanjur :—

The Kanjur[25] consists of 100 or 108 volumes. It is divided into seven parts, viz, 1. Ḥdul-ba (Vinaya), 2. Śes-rab-kyi-phal-rol-tu-phyin-pa (Prajñāpāramitā), 3. Saṅs-rgyas-phal-po-che (Buddhāvataṁsa), 4. Dkon-mchog-brtsegs-pa (Ratnakūṭa), 5. Mdo-or Mdo-sde (Sūtra), 6. Mya-ṅan-las-ḥdas-pa (Nirvāṇa) and 7. Rgyud (Tantra).

1. The Ḥdul-ba (Vinaya) contains thirteen volumes and is divided into the following parts : (i) Ḥdul-gzhi (*Vinayavastu*), (ii) So-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo (*Prātimokṣasūtra*), (iii) Ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-ḥbye-pa (*Vinayavibhaṅga*), (iv) Dge-sloṅ-maḥi-so-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo (*Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣasūtra*), (v) Dge-sloṅ-maḥi-ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-ḥbyed (*Bhikṣuṇīvinayavilhaṅga*), (vi) Ḥdul-ba-phran-tshegs-kyi-gzhi (*Vinayakṣudrakavastu*) and (vii) Ḥdul-ba-gzhuṅ-bla-ma (*Vinaya-uttaragrantha*).

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[25]In the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx, Alexander Csoma de Koros has given an analysis of the Kanjur and the short one of the Tanjur. In his French translation (*Analyse du Kandjour*) L. Feer has also given an analysis with additional matters based upon Csoma's work.

Some scholars are of opinion that the Ḥdul-ba is divided into four parts (i) Ḥdul-gzhi (*Vinayavastu*), (ii) So-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo (*Prātimokṣasūtra*) and Ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-byed-pa (*Vinayavibhaṅga*), (iii) Ḥdul-ba-phran-tshegs-kyi-gzhi (*Vinayakṣudrakavastu*) and (iv) Ḥdul-ba-gzhuṅ-bla-ma (*Vinaya-uttragrantha*), corresponding to the four divisions of the Pali works, *viz*, (i) *Mahāvagga*, (ii) *Suttavibhaṅga*, (iii) *Cullavagga* and (iv) *Parivārapāṭha*.

Here are given in brief the contents of each of the four parts :—

(i) The Ḥdul-gzhi (*Vinayavastu*) covers four volumes. It consists of seventeen chapters. It deals with the rules and regulations of the Saṅgha, the ecclesiastical acts and the like.

(ii) The So-sor-thar-paḥi-mdo (*Prātimokṣasūtra*) and Ḥdul-ba-rnam-par-byed-pa (*Vinayavibhaṅga*) contain five volumes. The former contains disciplinary rules for the guidance of the monks and nuns, while the latter is an extensive commentary on the Prātimoksa rules. Each rule is explained word for word and occasion for the introduction of each rule is given.

(iii) The Ḥdul-ba-phran-tshegs-kyi-gzhi (*Vinayakṣudrakavastu*) extends over two volumes. It contains briefly rules regulating the life and conduct of the monks for their practical guidance and the social conditions of the people of Central India.

(iv) Ḥdul-ba-gzhun-bla-ma (*Vinaya-uttaragrantha*) covers two volumes. It is an appendix to the Ḥdul-ba. It tells us nothing new. It is only an abridgement of the Ḥdul-ba text, even then it is a work of great value as it helps us in the study of the Ḥdul-ba literature.

2. The Śes-rab-kyi phal-rol-tu-phin-pa (*Prajñāpāramitā*) contains twenty-one volumes. It deals with psychological, logical and metaphysical terms of Buddhism. It is said that Ḥod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa) was the first compiler of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

3. The Saṅs-rgyas-phal-po-che (Buddhāvataṁsa) contains six volumes. It deals with moral precepts and metaphysics. Here are also found descriptions of Tathāgatas, their qualifications and the like.

4. The Dkon-mchog-brtsegs-pa (Ratnakūṭa) contains six

volumes. It deals with moral rules, qualities of Buddha, his teachings and the like.

5. The Mdo or Mdo-sde (Sūtra) consists of 270 treatises on various subjects. Moral and metaphysical doctrines of Buddha, legendary accounts of various persons, medicine, astronomy and the like occupy the greatest part of the Sūtra. It is said that Kun-dgaḥ-bo (Ānanda), the favourite disciple of Buddha, compiled the text after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Gautama Buddha.

6. The Mya-ṇan-las-ḥdas-pa (Nirvāṇa) contains two volumes. It describes the last moment of Gautama Buddha, his funeral and how his relics were distributed.

7. The Rgyud (Tantra) contains twenty-two volumes. It deals generally with mystic theology. Here are given descriptions of gods and goddesses, preparation of maṇḍalas (circles), prayers and the like.

The Tanjur contains 225 volumes and is divided into two parts viz. Mdo (Sūtra) and Rgyud (Tantra).

The Mdo (Sūtra) covers 136 volumes. It contains mostly exegetical and scientific literature.

The Rgyud (Tantra) covers 89 volumes. It deals mainly with rituals and ceremonies of Tantricism.

There are besides two other volumes—one deals with the hymns, prayers and the like and other is an index.

The two collections contain 4566 works—the Kanjur 1108 and the Tanjur 3458.

Apart from the translated works, there are various other original works composed in Tibetan under the titles: Lo-rgyus (history), Gtam-rgyud (oral tradition), Chos-ḥbyuṅ (the origin of the dharma *i.e.* Buddhism), Rtogs-brjod (heroic deeds), Rnam-thar (legendary accounts), Yig-gzhuṅ (chronicles) and others. These works deal mainly with sacred subjects which are apocryphal or authentic or quasi-authentic. The apocryphal texts of course occupy the major portion and are very popular in Tibet. All these indigenous works are written in elegant and accurate Tibetan language. Their literary style is also commendable.

Many monks and novices came to India from Tibet to study the Buddhist texts with the distinguished leaders of Nālandā and Vikramaśīlā universities. They worked hard under these teachers and acquired proficiency in Sanskrit literature too. On their return to Tibet they devised a system of vocabulary for translating mechanically Sanskrit terms into Tibetan and restored a number of Sanskrit works from their Tibetan translations. It has been in vogue since then. Undoubtedly by this device translations become very accurate, faithful and literal. It thus renders a very appreciable service in the matter of restoration of original Sanskrit texts from their Tibetan versions.

From the Buddhist texts we learn that with the growth of the Buddhist Saṅgha (Order) originated the monastery for the residence of the monks. It was generally situated outside the town or the village to keep the monks isolated from the world. The idea was that by escaping the worldly temptation, monks might devote to meditation and progress in their spiritual life. Tibet, the land of Lamas (monks), has also been strongly influenced in this regard. It has also got a monastery for the residence of Lamas (monks). In Tibetan, a monastery is called dGon-pa, meaning a solitary place, a hermitage. Most of the monasteries are situated at a little distance from the cities or the villages. They are generally built of stone or sun-dried bricks. There are more than 3,000 monasteries scattered all over Tibet. Of the chief monasteries mention may be made of Sam-ya, Rdo-rje-brag, Sa-skya, Tshud-phu, Bdag-ldan, Ḥbras-spuns, Se-ra, Bra-shis-lhun-po and others. There is accommodation for 3,000 to 10,000 lamas (monks) in a few of them. The large monasteries are like towns and have their own police. Thus 'the spirit of discipline learned in managing such large bodies of monks has helped the Lamaist church in the government of the country.'

The site of a monastery is often picturesque. It is usually open on the east so that rays of the sun may enter into it. It should have a lake in front of it. Its site is usually consecrated by a body of monks before any building is begun. Again at the laying of the first stone prayers are offered to protect the building

from evil spirits. A monastery usually takes a religious name, or the name of a famous Indian monastery, or the name of a local place. Its architecture is generally ostentatious and preserves much of the mediaeval Indian style. Schlogintweit, Hue, Rockhill and others have described it in some details.

Each monastery has a hall for teaching purpose. It serves as a college. Unlike in Burma, it is open to those who enter the Saṅgha (Order) only. The laity are not allowed to take tuition there.

There is a temple in each monastery. In Tibetan a temple is called Lha-khaṅ (God's house). It is generally the central and most outstanding building in the monastery. Images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, local gods and goddesses, saints and the like are usually installed there. They are usually of gilded copper only. Lamas (monks) gather together several times a day and chant hymns in chorus there. Every visitor is enjoined to circumambulate the temple.

CHINA

It is said that Buddhism entered China during the reign of the Han emperor Ming-ti (58-75 A.D.). We are told that the emperor had a dream in which he saw a golden man standing in the west. He consulted his courtiers who interpreted that there was a great teacher in the "Western Regions" who could enlighten the Chinese. Opinion differs on this issue among scholars. Some accept the story of the emperor's dream, while others reject it as apocryphal.[26] Shortly after the emperor sent embassies to the west to look for the great teacher, Buddha. They returned accompanied by the two Buddhist monks—Kāśyapamātaṅga and Dharmarakṣa who brought with them Buddhist sacred texts and a portrait of

[26] H. Maspero, "Le Songe et L'Ambassade de L' Empereus Ming. Etude critique des sources", *Bulletin Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, pp. 95-130 ; Pelliot *T'oung Pao* (1920), pp. 255ff ; Cordier, *Histoire Generals de la Chine*, pp. 262-266 ; Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 9-12.

Buddha. The emperor received them with due honour on their arrival and they were accommodated in one of the palace buildings. Subsequently he built them a little monastery called the 'White Horse Monastery' after the white horses which the monks employed for carrying these sacred works. These two foreign monks worked hard for the cause of this new religion and translated a large number of works into Chinese in order to create an interest in the minds of the Chinese for Buddhism. One of them translated into Chinese *The sūtra of forty-two sections* which is still very popular. Both of them died some three years later but their sacrifice was not in vain. Others came forward and continued the translation work. 'Buddhism was not likely to get a warm reception from the Chinese at the first stage. It was more or less considered as an object of curiosity and if not respected was not at least looked down upon'.[27]

It was not till the third century that we hear much of Buddhism. During the period further missionaries and translators came to China and continued their work. The emperor Wu (265-290A.D.) took a keen interest in this new religion and built a large number of monasteries in the different parts of his empire. Thus the patronage of the emperor, the work of translations and interpretation of Buddhism created in China a great interest in Buddhism and aroused in the heart of the Chinese people a sympathy for it which ultimately 'became, before the middle of the fourth century, the chief religion of the nation'.

Buddhism was not, however, firmly established. From the fourth century onwards, Buddhism began to flourish more and more in spite of occasional persecution. It was in the beginning of the fourth century that the native Chinese were officially permitted to enter the Order as monks. J. B. Pratt[28] observes: "This meant an important turning point in the history of Chinese Buddhism—a turning point comparable to that which the Christian church in China is just reaching". After the official recognition native Chinese began to take orders in large numbers, which

[27] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 96.

[28] *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrimage*, p. 276.

ultimately led to the establishment of Buddhism in China. Further, the patronage of kings can in no way be ignored. They also contributed most to the spread and development of Buddhism in China. The patronage of the Wei rulers was remarkable in this respect[29]. Some of the rulers took keen personal interest in this religion. It was under the patronage of these rulers, Lo-Yang and Ch'ang became important centres of Buddhism in China. Again, noted scholars like Kumārajīva, Buddhayaśa, Puṇyatrāta and the like who played a considerable rôle in the propagation of Buddhism in China came to China during this period. It may be noted that Kumārajīva who had to his credit one hundred and six translations of important Chinese works created a new epoch in the transmission of Buddhism into China. It was he who preached the Mahāyānic ideals first to the Chinese which appealed most to them and gradually it could establish itself there, relegating the other two religions to the background. Thus from the fifth century onwards, Buddhism 'was no longer considered in China as a foreign religion which excited mere curiosity. It was a living force in the life of the Chinese people'. It reached its acme of influence in the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.). "China once converted to the Buddhist faith turned missionary herself, and most of the surrounding countries received their Buddhism through Chinese influences".[30]

Buddhism flourished more in China after the introduction of Mahāyāna which subsequently became the most popular religion in China. The Chinese who were imbued with morality and ethics took deep interest in the study of Mahāyāna doctrines propounded in their literature. Some of them busily devoted themselves to the study of their exoteric aspect, while some others their esoteric aspect and these, we are told, led to the evolution of sects (tsung) and their branches in Chinese Buddhism[31]. Thus

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[29] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 99ff,

[30] W. M. Megovern, *An Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism*, Varanasi, 1968, p. 124.

[31] Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, pp 155 ff ; Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, pp. 92, 93,

the formation of Buddhist sects (tsung) in China was not due to the result of any disruptive forces, but was due rather to dogmatic tenets formulated by different teachers from different well-known works. De Groot[32] tells us that 'the sects were organised in typical Asiatic form ; combining an aristocratic and hierarchical form with democratic features'. The growth of the various sects with their branches in Chinese Buddhism amply demonstrates that Buddhism became a living force in the national life of China for years, superseding the then religions of the country—although a few of them were transported to China and were elaborated by the Chinese genius there. The different sects with their branches, with few exceptions, that flourished in China have ceased to exist now. The following are the different sects with their subdivisions :—

(1) The Chan-tsung (Dhyāna sect)—was established by Bodhidharma, better known in China as Tamo and in Japan Daruma, in China about 527 A.D. He was a prince of southern India and was the twenty-eighth patriarch of the Buddhist Order in India and the first in China. In his youth he became a monk and was initiated into the Dhyāna or contemplative form of Buddhism by Prajñātara. After his teacher's death he succeeded him and worked tremendously for about sixty years to popularise the Dhyāna (Chan) teachings among the educated class of people. Subsequently he sailed for China and reached Canton in south China in 520 A. D. The emperor Wu-ti who was a devout Buddhist first received him very warmly at his capital at Nanking. But finding that the emperor was not able to understand the exposition of his doctrines, Bodhidharma left the capital and went to north China He spent the rest of his life in the Shao-lin monastery, near Lo-yang, deeply absorbed in contemplation with his face to the wall for nine years, for which he was called 'Wall-gazing brahmin'[33]. He also possessed supernatural powers and

[32] *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China*, pp. 200ff.

[33] D.T. Suzuki, The Zen Sect of Buddhism, *JPTS*, 1906-7, pp. 11, 12 ; J. B Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrimage* pp. 280, 281 ; P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 107-109.

we are told that he crossed the Blue River by means of a broken reed on his way to the north. This is only an instance in point. Such instances might be multiplied and need not be cited here [34]

The Chinese word chan comes from the Sanskrit dhyāna (meditation) and the Chan-tsung, as the name of the sect implies, insists on chan (meditation) as the most effective method for attaining true insight. In other words, meditation, according to this sect, leads to the attainment of true enlightenment, the essence of Buddhism. Practice of yoga (meditation) for attaining complete control over the mind (citta) was in vogue in China from very early times. Numerous treatises on yoga (meditation) were translated into Chinese during the first centuries of the Christian era. A considerable number of texts dealing extensively with dhyāna (meditation) and samādhi (concentration of mind) were further rendered into Chinese towards the beginning of the fifth century A.D. These translations further evoked keen interest in the study of the yoga (meditation) among the Chinese Buddhists and were most studied by them[35].

The origin of the Buddhist sects in China, as we have already seen, is based on authoritative works and the principles of the Chan tsung (Dhyāna sect) are contained mainly in such well-known works as the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, *Vajrasamādhi*, *Vajracchedikā* and the *Prajnāpāramitāsūtras*. It teaches that we must focus all our attention towards the realisation of enlightenment, the essence of Buddhism, and meditation alone leads to its attainment. It discards blind acceptance of scriptural authority as it enslaves the mind and binds it. Further, slavish imitation serves as a potent factor in retarding progress and indigenous growth towards healthy and normal lives. It also deprecates the worship of images and priestcraft. According to it Buddha is in the heart of man. The

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[34] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 109 ; Hu-shih, *Development of Zen Buddhism in China*, Peiking, 1932 ; K. L. Reichelt, *Article in Chinese Recorder*, Dec., 1934, pp. 297-299 and 329ff ; Saunders, *Epochs in Buddhist History*, pp. 137 ff.

[35] J. Prip-Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, p. 68.

following lines sum up the fundamental principles of Chan (Dhyāna) Buddhism :—

"A special transmission outside the scriptures ;
No dependence upon words and letters ;
Direct pointing at the soul of man ;
Seeing into one's nature and the attainment of Buddhism."[36]

(2) The T'ien-t'ai-tsung is next in importance to Chan-tsung (Dhyāna sect) in China. It is also known as Fa-hua in China and in Japan as Tendai. It was named after the monastery T'ien-t'ai, bearing the same name as the group of hills in the province of Chehkiang, where the founder resided.

The T'ien-t'ai-tsung originated with the distinguished teacher Chih-ch'i-yeh towards the end of the sixth century A.D. and flourished in the following centuries. Chih-ch'i-yeh was born in Ho-yeh-chu'an in 531 A. D. and entered the Buddhist Saṅgha when only seventeen years old. He lived in Nanking and was held in high esteem by the people there. Subsequently he retired to the lonely spot close to the beautiful range of hills called the T'ien-t'ai in the province of Chehkiang. In 597 A. D. he died 'while sitting cross-legged and giving instruction to his followers' in his lovely monastery, leaving behind a good number of adherents to carry on his great mission in life[37].

Chih-ch'i-yeh has his own form of philosophy. His view is closely related to the Mādhyamika of Nāgārjuna who lived in the second century A.D. Like Nāgārjuna he advocated the middle path and believed in the two kinds of truth. "In reality this sect" says W.M. Mcgovern[38], "is the consummation of the Mādhyamika Tradition, and represents the stronghold of the transcendental philosophy". Chih-ch'i-yeh's moral system is not so original. He based his system mainly on the teachings of the Mahāyāna giving

[36] D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, p. 163.

[37] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 111 ; Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 179 ; Eliot, *Hinduism, and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 310 ; K. J. Saunders, *Epochs in Buddhist History*, p. 150.

[38] *An Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 130.

new interpretations to some of the terms to suit his own purpose. It had always been the supreme endeavour of Chih-ch'i-yeh to bring forth a harmony of teachings of the diverse sects and to strike a new and comprehensive Buddhism for a proper understanding of his followers—the result has been the pantheistic realism. In other words, his primary object had been to achieve a fusion of different teachings into an admirable integration and it must be borne in mind that this is one of the fundamental postulates of Indian moral consciousness. By his ceaseless services, magnificent sacrifice and steadfast devotion to highest ideals, Chih-ch'i-yeh had demonstrated how the spirit of fusion and synthesis brought in could work well to the advantages of all. This unquestionably earned for him the right to be called one of the great patriarchs of China and also made his great sect greater still. This sect extended its influence not only throughout China but into Japan and the synthesis expounded by him is still followed by the monks of Japan.

(3) The Lüh-tsung (Vinaya sect)—is another sect of importance. Towards the early sixth century A. D. it was founded by Tao-suen, a distinguished disciple of Hiuen-Tsang. It is also known as the Nan-shan-lüh-i-nan-shan, a mountain in the province of Shensi where the founder resided. It is still one of the most important sects of the present day—the other being the Chan-tsung (Dhyāna sect) mentioned above—and a large proportion of the Chinese monasteries belong to either sect[39]. In the eighth century A. D. it was taken by a Chinese monk to Japan where it is known as the Ritsu. It lays much stress on morality and discipline of its adherents. In other words, it lays much emphasis on the scrupulous observance of the rules of the Vinaya by its followers.

Tâo-süen founded his dogmatic system on the Vinaya of the Dharmagupta sect, otherwise known as the Ssû-fen-lüh (*Caturvargavinaya*)[40]. It is the most authoritative code of disciplinary rules

[39] K. L. Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, Chap. XI, Sanghai, 1934.

[40] Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1117.

regulating the life of the monks. Most of this sect must owe obedience to all these rules and some of them are obeyed even at present by those belonging to other sects in China. The monastic life of China, for instance, is regulated by the two hundred and fifty disciplinary rules of the Chiêh-pan (*Prātimokṣa*) of the Dharmagupta Vinaya. Monks belonging to all the sects promise obedience to all these rules during the ordination ceremony. We learn from De Groot[41] that the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Dharmagupta sect is used in all the monasteries of China even at present. Relevant portions were subsequently extracted from this Ssû-fen lüh (*Caturvargavinaya*) and constituted separate texts with separate titles for the convenience of the monks.

Tâo-süen was also a great writer. He wrote numerous works. They are mostly concerned with biography, history, philosophical discourses and the like. He trained a large number of his followers who continued the work after his death and it was during the T'ang dynasty this sect produced a number of distinguished writers[42].

Lastly, the founder of this sect was of the opinion that discipline was of particular importance for the formation of character which was most useful for the religious life. He advised all those around him how to create a sense of discipline among themselves. His sect, therefore, differs from others in this that it lays much stress on the code of disciplinary rules while others are much lacking in this regard. "It is hardly a sect", says J. B. Pratt[43], "in the same sense as the others, for it has no special doctrine, but confines itself purely to the training of monks in the monastic discipline". This sect extended its influence most in the provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang[44]. It survives even to-day.

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[41] *Code du Mahayana en Chine*, p. 3.

[42] W. M. Mcgovern, *An Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 129.

[43] J. B. Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrimage*, p. 328.

[44] R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, p. 92.

(4) The Tsiṅ-thu-tsung (Pure Land Sect)—is another sect of importance in China. It is also known as the Lien-tsung (Lotus sect) or the Lien-thu-hêng-ch'o-chao-mên (the short cut to the pure land) or the Amidst Sect—the term Amidst is from the Japanese Amida which stands for Skt. Amitābha. It was established by Hui-yuan in the fourth century A. D. He was a native of north Shan-si and a disciple of Tâo-an. In his early life he was a serious student of Taoism, the founder of which was Lao-tsêu. He wanted to go to the south, the stronghold of Taoism, to continue the study vigorously but on account of political troubles he had to stay at Chang-ngan, a centre of great intellectual life. He studied different branches of Buddhist scriptures there, and subsequently shifted to Lu-shan from which this sect is also called Lu-shan sect. He founded a Buddhist institution there for the propagation of religion, which attracted a large number of scholars—both Chiness and Indian. Among noted Indian scholars mention may be made of Buddhabhadra, Jinagupta, Buddhayaśa and the like who translated a number of important works into Chinese there[45].

This sect compares favourably with the Japanese Jōdo sect which also teaches salvation through faith in Amida (Amitābha). J. B. Pratt[46], however, points out that 'there is no sect in Japan exactly continuous with this, but in doctrine it is the forerunner of four Japanese sects, namely, the Jodo, Shin, Jishu, and Yut-su Nembutsu'. Although this sect originated with Hui-yüan, it was Shan-tsun, known in Japan as Zendo, who further developed it and propagated the new teachings extensively towards the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries A. D. He is, therefore, regarded as the second founder of the sect.

The Tsiṅ-thu-tsung (Pure Land sect) arose and developed in China whence it spread to Japan later on. It reached its acme of influence during the Yuan and Ming dynasties[47]. It exercises great influence even at the present day in China and Japan. It

[45] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 103.

[46] *The Pilgrimage of a Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrimage*, p.329, f.n. 5.

[47] J. P. Moller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, p. 68.

has introduced the cult of Amitābha[48]—a conception quite unknown to the primitive Buddhism. It teaches that mere faith in Amitābha and the repetition of his name ensures rebirth in the Western Heaven. In other words, it teaches that evangelical doctrine which teaches salvation by grace and faith. The followers of this sect even believe that one may be reborn in the Western Paradise by taking once only the name of Amitābha at the moment of death. This belief in the efficacy of repeating the holy name is also current among the followers of other religions even today. The followers of Vaiṣṇava religion, for instance, believe that the repetition of the holy name of Kṛṣṇa is a great religious act. We are told that a section of the people of China at the time felt the need of some simpler teachings than those provided by the Chan, T'ien-t'ai and the like. This extreme form of devotional Buddhism could, therefore, make a great appeal to the people. Further, there is the Taoist influence in the teachings of Tsiṅ-thu-tsung (Pure Land Sect)[49]. Thus this sect, 'far from being a transplanted Indian school of Buddhism, was a definite contribution of the Buddhists in China.'

(5) The Hua-yen-tsung (Avataṃsaka sect)—is another sect that arose and flourished in China in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. It is also known as the Hua-yen-hien-shou-tsang-yi-hien-shou—the posthumous title of the third patriarch of this sect. In the eighth century it was introduced into Japan where it is known as the Kegan sect. It ascribes its origin to the great scholar Aśvaghoṣa, recognising him as its patriarch and Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika system, being the second.[50] But strictly speaking, Nu-thu-fa-sü was really the founder and first patriarch of this sect. He was a contemporary of Chih-che-ta-shih, the founder of T'ien-t'ai and died in 640 A.D.

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[48]One of the five Buddhas who rules in the west. For further information, vide, Johnston, *Buddhist China*, pp. 94 ff.

[49]Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, chap. v.

[50]Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, p. 287.

We are told that it is the doctrine of the Yogācāra school that was responsible for the origin and development of the Hua-yen-tsung (Avataṃsaka sect) in China just as it is the doctrine of the Mādhyamika for the T'ien t'ai sect. In other words, Yogācāra has been the parent of the Hua-yen sect just as the Mādhyamika of the T'ien-t'ai[51]. "This sect", says Mcgovern[52], "plays the same relation to the Yogacarya (Yogācāra) sect as Tendai does to the Madhyamika." It is a philosophic sect. It maintains that 'the universe is the manifestation of the one Great Spirit', the corresponding Sanskrit expression being 'ekacittāntargatadharmaloka', which literally means 'One mind in which is included the whole of the universe'. It is based on the well-known Ta-fâng-kwang-fo-hua-yen-ching (*Mahāvaipulyabuddhāvataṃsakasūtra* or *Buddhāvataṃsakamahāvaipulyasūtra*) which is the principal scripture of this sect.

This sect was popular and powerful in China at one time but it lost its popularity and influence later on with the result that it has but few followers at present—it is extinct as a separate sect. It has, however, to its credit several works written by its distinguished followers. It has, therefore, no mean achievement in the world of Buddhist scholarship and its influence will ever remain amongst the Chinese.

(6) The Fa-cha-tsung (Dharmalakṣaṇa sect)—is another sect that was introduced into China towards the latter part of the sixth century A. D. by Hiuen-Tsang on his return from India. It is also known as the Tzü-ên-tsung or the Wei-shih-cha-hsiao-ch'ien from the Ch'eng-wei-shih, its principal work[53]. It was introduced into Japan in 650 A. D. and was the first of the Chinese Buddhist sects to enter there. It still exists in Japan. But it has, however, become extinct in China now.

The Fa-cha-tsung is essentially a philosophic sect. It is rather a spiritualization of the philosophy of the Yogācāra school. "This

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[51] Ibid., 287.

[52] *An Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 130.

[53] Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 315.

plays the same relation", observes Mcgovern[54], "to the Yogacarya (Yogācāra) school as the Sanron sect does to the Madhyamikas, and just as the Tendai sect flourished at the expense of the Sanron, so did the Kegan school flourish at the expense of the Hosso school in spite of the great prestige and influence of Genjo who left his mark on the teachings of the other schools". The Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhiśāstra*) is the principal work of this sect. It repudiates the belief in the reality of the objective world, maintaining that citta (cittamātra) or vijñāna (Vijñānamātra), better known as the Ālayavijñāna, is the only reality. It teaches subjective idealism—only thought real. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* containing, as it does, the revelations, made to Asaṅga by Maitreya, also represents the views of this sect.

(7) The San-lun-tsung (The Three Śāstra sect)—came into being in China in the early fifth century A.D. It was Kumārajīva who was mainly responsible for its introduction into China. It is based on his translations of the three fundamental works—the *Mādhyamikaśāstra* and *Dvādaśanikāyaśāstra* of Nāgārjuna, and the *Catuḥśataka* or *Śataśāstra* of Āryadeva for which the sect is known as the San-lun-tsung (Three Śāstra sect). It is also a philosophic sect and 'represents the extreme of Mahayanism'. It teaches the doctrine of Śūnyatā and is thus a continuation of the Indian Mādhyamika school. In 625 A. D. it was introduced into Japan where it is known as the San-ron sect. It is, however, dead both in China and Japan at present.

(8) The Ch'êng-shih-tsung (Satyasiddhi sect)—is another sect that arose in China in the early fifth century A. D. The noted Indian scholar Kumārajīva was also responsible for its introduction in China. It is based on Kumārajīva's translation of the Ch'êng-shih-lun (*Satyasiddhiśāstra*)[55] of Harivarman and as such, it

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[54] *An Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 130.

[55] It was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in 117-18 A. D. (or 407 A. D.). It contains 20 fasciculi consisting of 220 chapters—Nanjio's *Catalogue*, No. 1274. It exists in Chinese only—the Sanskrit original is lost to us.

is known as the Ch'êng-shih-tsung (Satyasiddhi sect). In the early seventh century A. D. it entered Japan where it is known as the Jōjitsu sect. It has completely died out both in China and Japan now. "In both China and Japan", observes Mcgovern[56], "this school has never had a separate existence, but was incorporated in the Sanron sect...".

Like the San-lun-tsung (Three Śāstra sect) it is also a philosophic sect. It teaches Śūnyavāda (the doctrine of unreality).

(9) The Chü-shê-tsung (Kośa sect)—is another sect that originated in China with Hiuen-Tsang in the sixth century A. D. It is based on Hiuen-Tsang's translation of the *Abhidharmakośaśāstra* of Vasubandhu from which the sect is often called the Kośa sect. It is known as the Kusha sect in Japan where it was introduced in the seventh century A. D. It became extinct shortly after its introduction into China and Japan.

The Chü-shê-tsung (Kośa sect), based as it is on the *Abhidharmakośaśāstra*, is thus a philosophical sect of Hīnayāna Buddhism. It teaches semi-materialism. According to it, Ātman (self) is unreal while the Skandhas (the five constituents of a being) are real. This sect 'represented the best scholastic tradition of India more adequately than any other Chinese sect'.

(10) The Mi-tsung (lit. Secret sect)—is another sect that was introduced into China by an Indian monk Vajrabodhi in the early eighth century A. D. It is also known as the Chên-yen-tsung (lit. true word sect). It corresponds to the Indian Mantrayāna or Tantrayāna Buddhism. It is the last sect that was transported to China from India. In the early ninth century A. D. this sect was taken by Kōbō Daishi to Japan where it is known as the Shingon sect.

The Tâ-phi-lu-kö-nâ-chang-fo-shan-hien-chia-kh'-ching (*Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi*), commonly known as the Tâ-rih-ching (*Mahāvairocanasūtra*), is the fundamental work of this sect. According to

[56] *An Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 128.

it, Vairocana, or the Sun Buddha is the chief object of worship. He is the supreme Buddha and is identical with Tathatā, Dharmadhātu or Tathāgatagarbha. He is the source of all. Every being can become one with him. It thus teaches symbolic pantheism. Further, like the Tsing-thu-tsung (Pure Land sect) it points out a short cut to salvation to its followers. It teaches that incantations, magic spells, mystic rites and the like are the principal means for achieving salvation. It may hardly be mentioned that with the introduction of this form of Buddhism, the people of China have become superstitious, ritualistic and the like. Some of the rituals still survive even at the present day. The practice, for instance, in connection with All Soul's Day is still a reminder of the same. There are others besides—too numerous to be mentioned here. Thus 'the deeper aspect of the religion had been thrown to the background in China and formalism had come to the forefornt'.

The different sects mentioned above 'represent the various phases of Chinese Buddhism proper', and one of the dominant phases is the integration of the different religions into it. All these sects are either philosophical or religious. The earlier sects were philosophical while the later were mostly religious. The later sects played a great rôle in Buddhism of China and were introduced in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. By their vivid adaptability to new conditions and environments, their amazing absorbing capacity and the magnificent literature they fostered and promoted through the writings of their distinguished monks, they made Buddhism popular and ultimately succeeded in establishing it firmly in China. For instance, the Chan-tsung (Dhyāna sect), the principal sect even at the present day, contains a good deal of Taoist ideals. Its conception of meditation (dhyāna) too is more Chinese than Indian. The Tsing-thu-tsung (Pure Land sect) contains elements of Taoist mysticism. The T'ien-t'ai sect possesses the largest number of works, more than sixty. Instances need not be multiplied. Adaptations, absorbing capacity and the like are thus more in the later sects than in the earlier. All the sects further may be put under four groups : Sūtra sect,

Vinaya sect, Śāstra sect and Dhyāna sect[57]. They deviated no doubt from the letter but remained true to the spirit of the Great founder. All of them, with the few exceptions of the Chêng-shih-tsung (Satyasiddhi sect), the Chü-shê-tsung (Kośa or Abhidharmakośa sect) and the Lüh-tsung (Vinaya sect), belong to Mahāyāna. "Although the monks", says Tai-Hsu,[58] "divide themselves into different sects or schools, yet their views are liberal and tolerant". The establishment of so many sects in China also amply proves how Buddhism, although originated in India, played a very important part in a foreign land within a few hundred years of its introduction there. Unfortunately, most of the sects which made Buddhism a living force in the national life of China are practically extinct. There are, however, at present four sects—Chan-tsung (Dhyāna sect), Lüh-tsung (Vinaya sect), T'ien-t'ai sect and Tsing-thu-tsung (Pure Land Sect)—extant in China of which Chan-tsung (Dhyāna sect) occupies a dominant position. While writing about the Buddhist schools and sects in China R. F. Johnston[59] observes: "The lines of sectarian demarcation are now almost obliterated or perhaps it would be truer to say that the great Dhyāna (Chinese Ch'an) school has so extended its boundaries that in Buddhist China (or at least in Chinese monastic Buddhism) there is comparatively little territory left for it to conquer".

There is a large collection of translations of Indian Buddhist texts preserved in Chinese. In the *Catalogue* compiled by Bunyiu Nanjio[60] are enumerated as many as one thousand six hundred and sixty-two works. They are classified into four divisions: Sūtrapiṭaka, Vinayapiṭaka, Abhidharmapiṭaka and Miscellaneous. The first three contain translations only while the fourth original Chinese texts as well.

Lastly, "Buddhism is practically dead in China but its great work in all fields of Chinese life still survives. This work still

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[57] Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, p. 4

[58] A statement to Asiatic Buddhists,—*The Young East*, I, 179.

[59] *Buddhist China*, p. 82.

[60] *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1893.

bears testimony to the great effort made by two major countries of Asia, India and China, in building up a common civilisation".[61]

KOREA

Buddhism reached Korea in the early part of the fourth century A.D. and 'quickly overran the whole of the peninsula'. It has a great significance in the history of far-eastern Buddhism for it served as an intermediary for the introduction of Buddhism into Japan. It was Korea from which Japan received Buddhism first. The earliest extant edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka known only by a single copy preserved in Korea was also then taken to Japan[62]. Korea was then divided into three states. They are Koguryu in the north, Pakche in the south-east and Silla in the south-west. In 372 A.D. a Chinese monk, Sundo by name, brought Buddhism to Koguryu first. He built two monasteries and converted many people to Buddhism. A Central Asian monk Mārānanda by name, was responsible for the introduction of Buddhism in Pakche. Silla also received Buddhism in the early fifth century A. D. As a result Buddhism got a firm footing in the whole of Korea. We are told that in the seventh century A. D. Silla became an important centre of Buddhist culture.[63]

During the reign of the Wang dynasty in the eleventh century A. D. Buddhism reached its acme of influence in Korea. Many monasteries were founded and several scholars were sent to China to study the Buddhist scriptures. A law was also enacted that if a man had three sons, one of them should be dedicated to the Saṅgha. The period covering the tenth to the fourteenth centuries A. D. is an important landmark in the history of Buddhism in Korea. It may be regarded as her golden age. 'At that time a change in dynasty unseated the paramount position of Buddhism, and as in China Buddhism remained the devotional home of the peasantry and the broad mass of the people, being rejected by the aristocracy as a whole'.[64]

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[61] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 125.

[62] C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 336.

[63] Ibid., p. 337.

[64] W. M. Mcgovern, *An Introduction to Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 124.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. the Rhee dynasty of Korea which embraced Confucianism persecuted the Buddhists in various ways. 'The monasteries in the capital and all cities were closed and this is why Korean monasteries are all in the countries and often in almost inaccessible mountains'. Buddhist buildings were also destroyed. Buddhism even then continued to flourish as a religion of people.

JAPAN

Buddhism entered Japan in about the sixth century A.D. It is said that the king of Pakche (of the kingdoms of Korea) sent a mission with an image of Buddha and many Buddhist sacred texts to the king. of Japan. This of course aroused keen interest in the minds of the people of Japan for Buddhism which gained a foothold thereby. Buddhism could make much headway in Japan due to the strenuous efforts of monks and nuns of Korea who went across the sea to Japan and taught the fundamentals of Buddhism to the Japanese. The nuns further went into the inner apartments of the families there and converted them into the new faith. Prince Shotoku Taishi (574-621 A.D.) made Buddhism his state religion. He founded a famous Horyujai, one of the first Buddhist monasteries in Japan and sent Japanese monks to study the Buddhist doctrine to China and Korea. He also invited the distinguished monks of China and Korea to propagate Buddhism in Japan. We are told that 'he did for Buddhism in Japan what king Aśoka had done for it in India, and what Constantine did for Christianity in the Roman Empire'.[65]

After the establishment of Buddhism in Japan Buddhist monks from India, China and other places visited Japan and gave an impetus to the propagation of Buddhism. With the close relationship with China Chinese schools of Buddhist thought were also introduced there. But it is interesting to note that 'they are not merely schools like the religious divisions of India and China, but real sects with divergent doctrines and sometimes antagonistic to one another.'[66] They may better be termed 'Buddhist institu-

[65] P. V. Bapat, *2500 years of Buddhism*, p. 71.

[66] C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. III, p. 403.

tions rather than religious sects'. They are said to be thirteen in number—Kegon (Avataṃsaka school), Ritsu (Vinaya school), Hosso(Dharmalakṣaṇa school), Tendai, Shingon (Tantric Buddhism), Jodo, Jodo-shin, Yuzunenbutsu, Ji, Rinzai, Soto, Obaku and Nichiren.

There were besides three other schools, *viz.*, Samron (Three Śāstra school of Mādhyamika), Kusha (Abhidharmakośa school) and Jojitsu (Satyaṅddhiśāstra school) which 'are more or less extinct and have little independent influence'. Most of these sects were imported from China and hence they correspond very closely with those of China. They may be historically classified into three groups : (i) the ancient or pre-Heian sect, (ii) the mediaeval sect and (iii) the modern sect.

Lastly, the Japanese did not develop any literature of their own. They depended solely on the Chinese literature. The Japanese scholars are now being engaged in rendering Buddhist texts into Japanese.

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