AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF FOUR NIKĀYAS

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In Memory
of my father
Rabindra Lal Barua
FOREWORD

The huge mass of the canonical literature of the Buddhists consists of collections of speeches or conversations, of sayings, songs, narratives and rules of the Saṅgha (Order). This is technically called the Tipiṭaka in the Buddhist literature and consists of the three Piṭakas, viz., Vinayapiṭaka, Suttapiṭaka and Abhidhamma piṭaka. The Vinayapiṭaka 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 bhikkhunīs (nuns). It is thus an account of the Buddhist Saṅgha. 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 literary products of the Buddhist literature. The Suttapiṭaka is thus the most reliable source for the Dhamma, i.e., the religion of Buddha and his earliest disciples. The Abhidhamma piṭaka deals with the same Dhamma as taught in the Suttapiṭaka and differs from the latter in its arrangement and treatment. The difference between them 'is one not of subject-matter, but of treatment.'

The Suttapiṭaka consists of the following parts, viz., the Dīghanikāya, the Majjhimanikāya, the Samyuttanikāya, the Aṅguttaranikāya and the Khuddakanikāya which covers fifteen texts. Opinions differ as to the Khuddakanikāya belonging to the canonocal collection. The Buddhists of Burma include in the Khuddakanikāya four treatises which are not recognised as canonical in Ceylon—the Milindapañha, the Suttasaṅgaho (an anthology from the Suttapiṭaka), the Peṭakopadesa and the Nettipakaraṇa. The Vimāṇavatthu, Petavatthu, Therāgāthā, Therīgāthā, Jātaka, Apadāna, Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, are wanting in the Khuddakanikāya in the Siamese edition of the Pāli Canon. The Paṭisambhidāmagga, the Niddesa and a part of the Jātaka are not, recognised by the Mahāsāṅgītikas. In the Chinese Āgamas the Khuddakanikāya as a whole is also not found, but many of them are, however, found in other collections. It further 'combines books of very different periods, and most probably of different schools also'. Thus the unsteable character of the Ghuddakanikāya in evident.
Apart from the Pāli Tipiṭaka, we have also the Tripiṭaka preserved in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. It also consists of Āgama (corresponding to the Nikāya in Pāli), Vinaya and Abhidhamma. Like the Pāli Nikāya, the Sanskrit Āgama is also divided into four books: Dirghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Samyuktāgama and Ekottarāgama corresponding to the four Pāli Nikāyas, viz., Dighanikāya, Majjhimanikāya, Samyutta-nikāya, and Aṅguttaranikāya. Rahula Sankrityayana in his introduction to the Abhidharmakośa mentions that the Kṣudrakaniṅkāya is also counted as a separate Nikāya in the Sarvāstivāda Canon, although the four Āgamas are very often mentioned. This Kṣudrakāgama corresponds to the Pāli Kuddakanikāya. We are yet in the dark whether all the texts belonging to the Khuddakanikāya, the fifth Nikāya of the Pāli Canon, are included in this Āgama, but we know that in the Sanskrit Canon there are texts like the Udāna, Dharmanipada, Sthāraviragatā, Vimānavastu and Buddhavamsa, corresponding to the Pāli Udāna, Dhammapada, Theragatā, Vimanavatthu and Buddhavamsa. The Divyāvadāna frequently mentions the four Āgamas and the Mahāvyutpatti while mentioning the names of the religious texts refers to the four Āgamas only. The Nāgārjunikōṇḍa Inscriptions also record four Āgamas and not five. The Sumanigalavilāsini, a commentary on the Dighanikāya, while giving an account of the First Buddhist Council records that different persons were entrusted with the preservation of different Nikāyas, or Āgamas, namely, Ānanda with Dighanikāya, Sāriputta's disciples with Majjhimanikāya, Mahākassapa with the Samyutta-nikāya and Anuruddha with the Aṅguttaranikāya. But the name of the monk to whom the Khuddakanikāya was entrusted is wanting there. Further, the account of the First Council, given by Yuan Chhwang omits to mention the Khuddakanikāya as the fifth Nikāya and speaks of the four Nikāyas only. Nanjio's Catalogue records four Āgamas, viz., Dirghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Samyuktāgama and Ekottarāgama—the Kṣudrakāgama as the fifth Āgama is also wanting there. Thus it appears that the Sūtrapiṭaka was divided into four and not five Āgamas.

The present work is an analytical study of the four
Nikāyas—Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta and Aṅguttara. The Khuddakanikāya has not been dealt with herein because of the polemic pertaining to it. The four Nikāyas are indeed the greatest literary works of Buddhism, the Khuddakanikāya, the fifth one being the collection of heterogenous elements. Dr. Dipak Kumar Barua in this work has dealt with the basic and homogeneous texts only and has thus omitted the Khuddakanikāya from the scope of his study.

The work contains five chapters and three appendices. The first chapter entitled “The Four Nikāyas” deals with the probable time of compilation of the texts. The writer maintains herein that “the growth of the four Nikāyas may be ascribed to a period ranging between the fifth and third centuries B.C.” To prove his assumption he has cited evidences from both the internal and external sources. This, however, sounds plausible. The Four Nikāyas have also been compared with the Āgamas. His comparison reveals many points of agreement and divergence too. The great agreement and the divergence prove clearly that the two schools—Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda—while compiling the canons utilised a common stock of materials, but the discourses were differently classified by the different Schools. The author has, however, pointed out that the Chinese Canon contains different translations of the one and the same text included in it—such as those of the Brahmaśāla Sutta and the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīghanikāya, and other sūtras of the Madhyamāgama, Saṃyuktāgama and Ekottarāgama, too numerous to be mentioned here. The language of the Nikāyas has been discussed herein. Pāli which is the language of the Nikāyas contains features peculiar to the Middle Indo-Aryan Language. Phonological and morphological characteristics have also been dealt with. The influence which Pāli has on the latter Prākrit dialects and the Bengali language has also been clearly shown in this chapter. The second chapter provides us with the discourses to the laity containing admonitions by Buddha to the gahapatis, gahapatānis, upāsakas and upāsikās under the general heading ‘Laity’. They are highly important for the lay people in their daily life and conduce to their happiness and well-being. For the convenience of the study they have been
grouped under three categories—ethical, religious and secular. A study of these discourses throws much light on the socio-ethical and religious life of the laity. The life of a Jaina layman compared with that of the Buddhist one has incidentally been discussed here. The writer remarks that the duties of a Buddhist householder are mainly socio-ethical, while those of a Jaina layman are out-and-out religions. The third chapter deals with discourses on śīla, samādhi and paññā. Rightly speaking, it contains moral purification of a disciple. Śīla, samādhi and paññā occupy a considerable portion of the Nikāyas and are very important for the attainment of spiritual perfection and form indeed the corner-stone of Buddhism. The fourth chapter contains discussions on secular matters. It deals with the administrative, social and economic conditions of the then India as revealed in the Nikāyas which form, of course, a part of the sacred canon of the Buddhists. But the Nikāyas still furnish us with ample materials for the study of the secular affairs of the Indians of the ancient days. The author has, as far as practicable, presented a fair picture of the conditions as can be gleaned from the Nikāyas. The fifth chapter, the concluding one, is a study on the historical and geographical materials found in the Nikāyas. It furnishes us useful information for reconstructing the history and geography of ancient India. A systematic account of the sixteen Mahājanapadas, along with the divisions of India, her rivers, mountains, rocks, hills, caves, forests and places has been given from the materials available in the Nikāyas. The description is, indeed, highly informative. The Nikāyas really offer unique features which are of great importance to a serious geographer. The writer has thus made a survey of the Nikāyas in some of their important aspects. He has further utilised materials from Buddhaghosa's Āṭṭhakathās and Upatissa's Vimuttimaggā. The Chinese Āgamās and the epigraphic records have also been taken into account herein. This chapter is followed by three appendices containing discussions on the mutual relation of the four Nikāyas, similes in the Nikāyas and a brief survey of the suttas of the Nikāyas. Regarding the mutual relation of the Nikāyas the author maintains that there is no difference in regard to the doctrine
whatsoever among the four Nikāyas. There is further no essential difference in style and language among the four Nikāyas which contain very ancient as well as more modern elements. The four Nikāyas are further compiled from essentially the same elements. The similes in the Nikāyas ‘are foremost, in investigating the speeches with a literary character and artistic value’. The contents of Dr. Barua’s book, thus, gives us a bird’s eye-view of the materials contained in the Nikāyas. It will indeed be a real help to those who want to be acquainted with the contents of these ancient texts.

The work speaks well of the author’s diligence and deserves commendation. It is, in fact, a creditable contribution to the Buddhist studies in the modern age.

A. C. Banerjee
In the following pages is presented an analytical study of
the first four Nikāyas—Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, and
Aṅguttara—which belong to the Suttapitaka of the Pāli Canon
of the Theravāda School of Buddhism in some important
aspects. The Nikāyas are the collections of Suttas or Dis-
courses of Buddha, or occasionally of his first disciples with
their followers in prose sprinkled with verses. The Suttas are
preceded by only a short introduction stating the place and
occasion of the speeches delivered. They, apart from their
religious importance, are of the utmost significance “from
the point of view of social history, for they often introduce
us into the minds of the daily life of the ancient Indians of
the artisans, agriculturists and merchants, of whom Brahma-
nical literature, which moves almost entirely in the circles of
priests and warriors, has so little to say.” Besides, the “Nikāyas
appear to reflect the first and the earliest period of the history
of Buddhist thought when the Saṅgha was, in appearance at
least, doctrinally one.” Thus the importance of the Nikāyas
can neither be gainsaid nor exaggerated. They are of in-
estimable value representing a vivid picture of the different
aspects of life and thought of the age providing important
materials for studies in the religio-cultural history of that
time. While undertaking this analytical study of the first
four Nikāyas, I cannot resist having the impression of treading
an almost virgin soil, as very few systematic attempts
have been made so far in this field of Pāli canonical literature.
Many erudite scholars have, of course, utilised the materials
contained in the Nikāyas in their fields of study. Thus “Four
Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese” (1908) of M. Anesaki deals
obviously with only the Chinese Āgamas. Hence it is partially
helpful to me. On the other hand, A. F. Rudolf Hoernle
in his “Manuscripts Remains of Buddhist Literature
found in Eastern Turkestan” (1916) has endeavoured
to make a systematic comparative study of the Sanskrit
fragments found in Central Asia with their Pāli correspond-
ing suttas; but as far as the Madhyama Āgama is concerned,
only fragments of two sūtras, the Upāli Sūtra and the Śuka
Sūtra are found and they are too fragmentary and too scanty to allow a comparative evaluation. Chizen Akanuma in his “The Comparative Catalogue of the Chinese Āgamas and the Pāli Nikāyas” (1929) ventures to compare the Chinese Āgamas with the Pāli Nikāyas; but his study although is much interesting and informative, is confined only to cataloguing the titles of corresponding sūtras, and does not go into the details of the work itself. Dr. B. C. Law’s “India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism” (1941) cannot be exhaustive as it deals with a huge volume of sacred texts of two great religious systems. Dr. G. C. Pandé’s book entitled “Studies in the origins of Buddhism” (1957) although obviously voluminous does not contain a systematic study of the four Nikāyas as such. Dr. Thich Minh Chau’s “The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya: a comparative study” (1964) is indeed a meritorious and laborious work, but is concerned with a comparative treatment of only the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya with the Madhyama Āgama, the Canon of the Sarvāstivādins, now preserved in the Chinese translation. Dr. Egaku Mayeda in his “A History of the formation of original Buddhist texts” (1964) does not make any elaborate discussion on the four Nikāyas. Thus a work which deals with a systematic analytical study of the first four Nikāyas as a whole has remained yet a desideratum. My present work is an attempt to fill this lacuna. I have made use of, as far as possible, the results of the researches made in this respect by previous scholars as also have supplemented them by a study of Buddhaghosa’s commendable commentaries. His Visuddhimagga and Upatissa’s Vimuttimagga have taken into account. The Chinese version of the Āgamas as well as the epigraphic records have also been consulted. In short, in preparing the present work I have made use of, as far as practicable, the sources available so far in this regard. In the presentation of the data, I have employed an analytical technique. I have made no primary statements which are not supported by internal evidence and the secondary statements are made on the basis of two or more primary statements and I have consulted directly the sources for my analysis.

As for the Pāli texts I have consulted the Nikāyas published
by the Pāli Text Society, London, although occasional references may also be found from those published by the Pāli Publication Board, Nalanda. My present work is divided into five main chapters and three appendices which deals with the time of compilation of the Nikāyas, comparison between the Āgamas and the Nikāyas, their Language, discourses of Lord Buddha to the laymen and laywomen, tenets of early Buddhism under their divisions into Sila, Samādhi and Paññā, discussions on administrative, social and economic conditions of contemporary India, historical and geographical materials found in the Nikāyas, mutual relations of the four Nikāyas, similes utilised in these texts and brief contents of the suttas collected in the Nikāyas. Thus in this dissertation efforts have been made to introduce the Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas almost in their entirety.

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Dipak Kumar Barua
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CHAPTER ONE

THE FOUR NIKĀYAS

A. Probable time of compilation of the four Nikāyas

The task of compilation of the first four Nikāyas had undoubtedly been carried through several periods. It is utterly impossible to assign a definite date to them. Chronologically they are generally placed at the fourth stage in the history of development of the Pāli canonical literature.

As regards the Dīghanikāya it is said that the concluding verses of the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta describing the redistribution of the sacred relics of

1 The titles of the first four Nikāyas are as follows:
(a) Dīgha—the long Suttas, (b) Majjhima—the Suttas of the medium length, (c) Sānīyutta—Suttas forming connected groups, (d) Aṅguttara—Suttas arranged according to a progressive enumeration (from one to eleven) of the subjects with which they deal.

2 Prof. T. W. Rhys-Davids offers a chronological table of the Buddhist literature from Buddha's time to the time of Asoka in the following manner:
(a) The simple statements of Buddhist doctrine now found, in identical words, in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books.
(b) Episodes found, in identical words, in two or more of the existing books.
(c) The Silaś, the Pārāyana, the Octades, the Pātimokkha.
(d) The Dīgha, Majjhima, Aṅguttara, and Sānīyutta Nikāyas.
(e) The Sutta Nipāta, the Thera- and Therī-Gāthās, the Udānas, and the Khuddaka Pātha.
(f) The Sutta Vibhaṅga and the Khandakas.
(g) The Jātakas and the Dhammapadas.
(h) The Niddesa, the Itivuttakas, and Paṭisambhidā.
(i) The Peta- and Vimāna-Vatthu, the Apadānas, the Cariya Pitaka, and the Buddhavamsa.
(j) The Abhidhamma books; the last of which is the Kāthāvatthu, and the earliest probably the Puggalapāṇīatti. (Rhys-Davids, T. W. Buddhist India, 1955 Indian ed., pp. 102-103).
of Buddha, have originally been composed by the rehearsers of the Third Buddhist Council and added subsequently by the Ceylonese Buddhist monks. The Dīghanikāya is divided into three parts, which differing in contents and character, contain earlier and later strata of tradition. The earliest stratum is mainly represented in the first part, and the later one primarily in the third part, while the second part consists of the longest discourses, some of which are late interpolations. The Suttas in form also are by no means homogeneous. While all the discourses in Part I and a number of Suttas in Parts II and III are in prose, there are many discourses in Parts II and III written in a mixture of prose and verse. Prof. Winternitz thinks that if the Dīghanikāya contains the earlier and later portions, it cannot be the earliest work of the Pāli Canon, and there lies no argument for the attempt of detecting “the doctrine of Buddha in its earliest accessible form” from the Dīghanikāya. In the Majjhimanikāya also we find the early as well as late elements. As for example, the Asaññayanasutta (No. 93) in which the Indian caste-system and the absence of castes among the Greeks are contrasted, may not have been composed

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4 Part I is known as Silakkhandhavagga as it deals with sila or morality, Part II is called Mahāvagga due to its bulk and Part III is designated as Pāṭikavagga, i.e., “the section beginning with the Pāṭika-Sutta”.
5 Watanabe, Baiyu. Thoughts, Literature and Monasteries in earlier Buddhism (Minshukai-honbu, Tokyo, 1948 ed.), pp. 64-66.
7 Saunders, Kenneth J. Epochs in Buddhist History: the Haskell lectures, 1921 (University of Chicago, 1924 ed.), p. 35.
earlier than the third century B.C.; but other Suttas in this Nikāya may be much older. The Saṁyutta-nikāya also includes late as well as comparatively new materials. Thus it is found that the Māra-Saṁyutta and the Bhikkhunī-Saṁyutta are remarkable for the sake of their archaic language. As regards the Aṅguttaranikāya, our observation is that this collection is evidently of a late period, recapitulating matter found in early collections, and artificial and tedious in its arithmetical arrangement. Its structure suggests a later development of the catechetical schools.

The Theravāda Buddhists believe that the Vinaya and some of the texts of the Sutta Piṭaka, were compiled immediately after the great demise of Buddha in circa 483 B.C. and were recited in the First Buddhist Council held at that time at Rājagaha. In the "Points of Controversy" Mrs. Rhys Davids observes that the Nikāyas go back to a period when the sects were, in important doctrinal matters at least, as yet one. The above statement finds also corroboration in Dr. N. Dutt's work.

From external sources, however, it may be said that all the five Nikāyas of the Sutta Piṭaka took the final shape before the composition of the Milinda Pañha, a work of the 1st century A.C., in which

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9 Burnouf, E. Introduction A L'Histoire Du Buddhismme Indien (Maisoncneuve Et c i e, 1876 ed.), p. 31.
10 Vinaya Cullavagga, ch. XI.
12 Dutt, N. Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hinayāna, pp. 146-147.
13 Milinda Pañha, ed. by Trenckner, pp. 13, 18, 21 (tipiṭaka), 190, 341 (Nikāya), 348.
authoritative passages from them with references are found.\textsuperscript{14} It has, further, been shown by certain scholars that as the Kathāvatthu, one of the texts of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, belonged to the 3rd century B.C., the Nikāyas would have to be placed at the latest in the first half of the 4th century B.C. Leaving aside the occasional references in the Kathāvatthu to the Nikāyas, stylistic and doctrinal considerations alone should suffice to place the greater bulk of the Nikāyas prior to the composition of the Kathāvatthu.\textsuperscript{15}

As already observed, the Nikāyas reached the highest culmination before the composition of the Milinda Pañha. The Bhābru Edict\textsuperscript{16} of the Mauryan emperor Asoka, on the other hand, proves that some portions though not the whole set, of the first four Nikāyas had taken the form during the 3rd century B.C.\textsuperscript{17} Thus the Vinaya-Samukasa (‘excellent treatise on Vinaya moral discipline’), according to Dr. B. M. Barua\textsuperscript{18} may be identified with the Siṅgalovāda Suttanta\textsuperscript{19} on the ground that, as stated in the commentary of Buddhaghosa, it applies to the householders (as it is called the Gihīvinaya) and, to all classes—monks, nuns, and the laity, for whose study Asoka recommended it. The Suttanta also deals

\textsuperscript{15} Dialogues of the Buddha, vol. i, pp. xi, xii; Pande, G. C. Studies in the origins of Buddhism, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{17} The Cambridge History of India, vol. i (S. Chand & Co., 1962 ed.), p. 171.
\textsuperscript{18} Barua, Beni Madhav. Asoka and his inscriptions (New Age Publishers Ltd., 1955 ed.), pp. 31-34.
\textsuperscript{19} Dighanikāya, iii, pp. 180-194.
with “Ariyassa Vinaya” which is equivalent to “Vinaya-Samukasa”, “Ideal Discipline”, as stated by Asoka. Sri S. N. Mitra has, however, tried to identify it with Sappurisasutta, which uses the words “Vinayādhāra” and “attān ukkaṁseti-sāmukaṁso”. Scholars may differ in its identification, but they agree as regards the inclusion of the Vinaya-Samukasa in the Nikāyas. Again the word “Aliya-Vasāni” (‘the term of life of the noble one’) of the same edict, perhaps, has its counterpart in the Sāṅgīti Sutta according to Prof. Rhys Davids. “Anāgata-bhayāni” (‘the five future dangers’) of the same inscription, on the other hand, may be identified with a Sutta in the Āṅguttaranikāya. The Munīgāthā is probably the Muni Sutta of the Suttanipāta. “Moneya-Sūte” is the same as the Nālaka Sutta of the Suttanipāta. The “Upatisapase” (‘Question of Upatissa’) may also be identified with the Sāriputta Sutta. But Dr. Rhys Davids traces it in the Vinayapiṭaka. The “Lāghulovāde musāvādam adhigicchya” (‘the exhortations to Rāhula in regard to lying’) may be identified with the Ambalaṭṭhikā Rāhulovāda Sutta. So it is evident that the Nikāya-texts mentioned in Asoka’s

21 Indian Antiquary, xlviii, 1919, pp. 8-11.
22 Majjhimanikāya, iii, pp. 37-45.
23 Dīghanikāya, iii, p. 269.
25 Āṅguttaranikāya, iii, p. 103, Sutta no. 78.
26 Suttanipāta, i, 12, p. 36.
27 Suttanipāta, iii, 11, pp. 131-134.
28 Suttanipāta, iv, 16, pp. 176-179.
30 Vinayapiṭaka, i, 39, 41.
31 Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 414-420.
Bhābru edict were compiled before and well-known during the 3rd century B.C.\textsuperscript{32} Besides, the sayings of king Asoka have verbal similarity with those of the Nikāyas.\textsuperscript{33} Asoka must have been well acquainted with a large number of Buddhist texts or Dhammapariyāyas which contain words of Buddha.\textsuperscript{34} Dr. Bühler\textsuperscript{35} has pointed out that the occurrence of the title ‘Pacanekāyika’ (Pañcanaikāyika) presupposes, the existence of a collection of five Nikāyas. It is, therefore, clear that whatever may be the relative age of the different Suttas or Suttantas in the four Nikāyas, the great bulk of the Nikāyas in substance existed already in the 3rd century B.C.\textsuperscript{36}

A microscopic study of the Bharhut and Sanchi inscriptions will also reveal that “some time before the second century B.C. there was already a collection of Buddhist texts, which was called ‘Piṭakas’ and was divided into five ‘Nikāyas’, that there were ‘Suttas’ in which the ‘Dhamma’, the religion of Buddha, was preached, that some of these Suttas agreed with those contained in our Tipitaka, and that ‘Jātakas’ of exactly the same kind as those contained in the Tipitaka, already belonged to the stock of Buddhist literature—in short, that, at some period prior to the 2nd century B.C., probably as early as at the time of Asoka or a little later, there was a

\textsuperscript{32} cf. Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1896.
\textsuperscript{35} Epigraphia Indica, ii, p. 87.
Buddhist Canon which, if not entirely identical with our Pāli Canon, resembled it very closely.37

Turning to the internal evidences we find that the first four Nikāyas quote one another. Thus, the Aṅguttaranikāya (vol. v., 46) quotes the Saṁyuttanikāya (i, 126). On the other hand the Saṁyuttanikāya38 quotes two discourses in the Dīghanikāya by titles, viz., Sakka-pañha and Brahmajāla Suttantās. Therefore, it is evident that during the period of compilation of the four Nikāyas in their present form, the Suttas or Suttantas called by their existing names were already current, and handed down by memory, in the society. Further, each of the four Nikāyas contains a very large number of stock passages on ethics found in identical words in one or more of the others. Even some of the longer discourses consist entirely of strings of such stock passages.39 Thus these recognised forms of teaching, differing in length from half a page to more than a page probably formed a part of the already existing material out of which the Nikāyas were compiled. We also find some episodes comprising the names of persons and places and accounts of events that occur in identical words in two or more of the Nikāyas showing the manner in which the collections were developed. For instance, about two-thirds of the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta contain the repetitions of such episodes or stock passages.40 It is further observed that some conversations recorded in the first four Nikāyas relate to the event which took place two or three

40 Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, pp. 71-77.
years after Buddha’s great demise; and even a passage describes an event about forty years after it. Besides, the Nikāyas mention “no place on the East of India south of Kalinga, and no place on the West of India, south of Godāvari”. On the other hand, the Asokan Edicts show a much wider knowledge of South India and include even Ceylon. Such an extra information available during the Asokan period is mainly due to a later addition to the geographical knowledge. The four Nikāyas consist approximately of six thousand pages, of which less than two hundred in all only deal with the Buddha-biography. It shows that the Nikāyas being of much earlier period lack a connected account of the life of Buddha as is found in Sanskrit poems and Pāli commentaries of the later age. Thus from the above discussion it may be said that the growth of the four Nikāyas may be ascribed to a period ranging between the fifth and third centuries B.C.\(^4\) Our assumption is also corroborated by T. W. Rhys Davids who thinks that the first four Nikāyas were put together out of the “older material at a period about halfway between the death of the Buddha and the accession of Asoka”.\(^5\) The silence of the Nikāyas over Asoka, which contrasts so strongly with later texts, is also significant in this context and suggests their antiquity.

B. Nikāyas and Āgamas compared

At the outset we may point out that in Buddhism the term ‘Āgama’ stands for ‘Nikāya’. It is said


that ‘Nikāya’ in its sense of “collection (of Buddha Sūtras)” seems very appropriate to Buddhism, while ‘Āgama’ in its sense of “traditional doctrine or precept, collection of such doctrines, sacred work” refers to works probably several centuries earlier than the emergence of Buddhism.\(^{43}\) But the two terms are almost synonymous and the Pāli Canon uses ‘Nikāya’ in the particular sense of collection of suttas, while other canons, Prākrit and Sanskrit, accepted the term ‘Āgama’ for their own texts. One of the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakonda (Pillar C2) relates that the Aparamahāvinaseliya (probably identical with Aparāśaila, Andhraka sect) had Dīgha-, Majihima-, and Samyutta-Nikāyas and not Āgamas. Still the use of the term ‘Āgama’ is found in the Pāli literature. So the terms like “Svāgamo” “versed in the doctrine” and “Āgatāgamo” “one to whom the Āgama or Āgamas have been handed down” may be traced.\(^{44}\) The distinction between the two terms is, therefore, not very clear. But the Theravādins use the term ‘Nikāya’ for their Canon and the term ‘Āgama’\(^{45}\) is taken by the Sarvāstivādins and by some other sects for their texts.

In contents the Pali Nikāyas are almost identical with the Āgamas, but in the arrangement of the discourses they differ.\(^{46}\) That is why Anesaki writes: “The materials of both are pretty much


\(^{45}\) ‘Āgama’ is also used as a collective term meaning the sacred books of the Jainas. (cf. Winternitz, M. A History of Indian Literature, vol. ii, 1935 ed., p. 428).

\(^{46}\) Watanabe, Baiyū. Thoughts, Literature and Monasteries in earlier Buddhism (Minshukaihonbu, Tokyo, 1948 ed.), p. 73.
the same but the order of arrangement is strangely different."  
Yet "the deviations, in matter, though usually inconsiderable, are sometimes interesting".  
It is to be noted that a complete copy of the Āgamas is a long desideratum.  
Manuscript fragments only of some of the Āgamas have been discovered.  
Fortunately the Āgamas are also preserved in Chinese translations.  

We know that the Sarvāstivāda, an offshoot of the Theravāda, which had Buddhist Sanskrit as the medium of instruction possessed the Āgamas of their own corresponding to the Nikāyas of the Theravāda. There are four Āgamas called Dirghāgama (Pāli, Dīghanikāya), Madhyāgama (Pāli, Majjhimanikāya), Saṃyuktāgama (Pāli, Saṃyuttanikāya) and Ekottarāgama (Pāli, Aṅguttaranikāya). From Hiuen-Tsang we learn that the Kṣudraka is the fifth Āgama of the Śrāvakapiṭaka. The Udāna, Dharmapada, Sthaviragathā, Vimānavastu and Buddhavamsa corresponding to the Pāli Udāna, Dhammapada, Theragathā, Vimānavatthu and Buddhavamsa respectively, are found to be included in the fifth Āgama. But we know nothing as

48 Ibid, p. 897.  
50 cf. Hoernle. Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan.  
51 Wassilief, B. Der Buddhismus, seine Dogmen, Geschichte und Literature (1860 ed.), p. 115.  
regards the other texts, belonging to it. We further find that instead of a complete text of the Sūtrani-pāta answering to the Pāli Suttanipāta, some vaggas (chapters), namely, Āṭṭhakavagga and the Pārāyaṇavagga appear in different Āgamas. According to Prof. S. Lévi there is an Āgama named Kṣudrakāgama which consists of the texts like the Sūtrani-pāta, Udāna, Dharmapada, Sthaviragathā, Vīmānavastu and Buddhavaṁsa of the Sarvāstivādins. But the Divyāavadāna and the Mahāvyutpatti mention four Āgamas only. The Nāgārjunakonda inscriptions also refer to the four Āgamas. The Nanjio’s “Catalogue” enlists the four Āgamas, viz, Dirghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Saṃyuktāgama and Ekottarāgama under caption: “Sūtras of the Hīnayāna”. As already observed, the Āgamas are extant in Chinese translations. Below is given a comparative study of the Nikāyas and the Āgamas.

Dirghāgama or the Chinese “Fo-Shwo-Khan-kin” consists of thirty sūtras as against thirty-four in Pāli. The origin of the Dirghāgama is attributed to the Dharmaguptakas. All the Suttas of the Dīghanikāya with the exception of the Mahālisutta (Dīgha, i, pp. 150-158), Jāliyasuttanta (Dīgha, i, 159-160), Subhasutta (Dīgha, i, pp. 204-210), Mahā-

53 Winternitz, Maurice. (A) History of Indian Literature (Calcutta University, 1933 ed.), vol. ii, p. 236.
54 Baudhagranthakośa, ed., by B. M. Barua, pt. i, pp. 6, 9, fn. 1.
sudassanasutta (Dīgha, iii, pp. 169-199), Mahā-satipaṭṭhānasutta (Dīgha, ii, pp. 290-315), Pāṭikasutta (Dīgha, iii, pp. 1-135), Aggaṃñasuttanta (Dīgha, iii, pp. 80-98), Pāsādikasutta (Dīgha, iii, pp. 117-141), Lakkhaṇasuttanta (Dīgha, iii, pp. 142-179), and Āṭānāṭiyasutta (Dīgha, iii, pp. 194-206) are traceable in the Chinese Dīghāgama. But the Dīghāgama extant in Chinese includes also the following six Sūtras, viz, (a) on the four castes, (b) on the Ekottara (-dharma), (c) on the Trirāsi (-dharma), (d) on (the city) O-tho-i (?), (e) on the pureness (of practice) and (f) on the record of the world. But the order of arrangement of the discourses is different in the two versions. The Dīghanikāya, for instance, opens with the Brahmajāla Sutta, while the Dīghāgama begins with the Sūtra on the first great-original-nidāna (i.e. Mahāpadānasutta, no. 14). Again the Sūtra No. 10 (on the Daśottaradharma) in the Dīghāgama comes last being no. 34 (Dasuttara-suttanta) in Pāli Dīghanikāya. Frank suggests that the order of the Dīghāgama almost shows an intentional attempt to give away similar words and thoughts in the corresponding Sūtras. According to him Pāli Suttas bear greater originality than Sanskrit ones. The Mahāparibbāna Suttanta, which is the sixteenth Sutta of

62 This Sutta is, however, found in the Chinese Madhyamāgama. cf. also Sacred Books of the East, vol. xi, pp. 247-289. See Bunyiu Nanjio's A Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, col. 129 (68).
63 Nanjio, Bunyiu. op. cit., cols. 137, 138.
the Pāli Dīghanikāya, is the second in the Chinese, where the title is translated "going around" (probably a rendering of "Vihāra") and the Mahāsudassana is incorporated, entire, in the Mahāparinibbāna a propos of the reference to the Sudassana story in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta. Prof. Nanjio, therefore, says: "It is, however, possible that if No. 545 (Dīrghāgama Sūtra) is compared with the Pāli text minutely, some of these Suttas may still be found".

The Pāli Majjhimanikāya contains in three volumes 152 Suttas in all, as against 222 Sūtras of the Madhyamāgama which on the other hand omits the following nineteen discourses, e.g. Cūlasāropama (no. 30), Mahāsaccaka (no. 36), Sāleyyaka (no. 41), Veraṅjaka (no. 42), Kandaraka (no. 51), Jīvaka (no. 55), Kukkuravatika (no. 57), Abhayarājakumāra (no. 58), Apannaka (no. 60), Tevijja-Vacchagotta (no. 71), Ghoṭamukha (no. 94), Caṅki (no. 95), Vāsetṭha (no. 98), Saṅgārava (no. 100), Pañcattaya (no. 102), Kinti (no. 103), Sunakkhatta (No. 105), Anupada (no. 111) and Bhaddekaratta (no. 131). Although these Pāli Suttas are not traceable in this Āgama, yet a few stray discourses of the Madhyamāgama correspond to passages in the Suttanipāta, Thera-Therī-gāthā and Vinaya (Mahāvagga). Due to such conglomeration of the discourses from different Pāli texts, the agreement in the order of arrangement of the Sūtras in the Madhyamāgama is lost. Thus the Sūtras

Nos. 190 (on the emptiness in short) and 191 (on the emptiness in detail) correspond to Cūlasuññatā and Mahāsuññatā (No. 121) respectively and the Upālisūtra (No. 133) to Upālisutta (No. 56) of the Pali Majjhimanikāya. Many sūtras of the Madhyamāgama, e.g. Nos. 97 and 135 are found in the Pāli Dīghanikāya. Among the 222 Chinese Sūtras, 99 may be traced in their 98 Pāli corresponding Suttas in the Majjhimanikāya, 79 in the Aṅguttaranikāya, 10 in the Saṁyuttanikāya, 9 in the Dīghanikāya, 6 in the Khuddakanikāya, 1 in the Mahāvagga and 18 Sūtras are still unidentified. Some scholars think that the Madhyamāgama originates with the Sarvāstivādins. Below is given a list of Sūtras in the Chinese Madhyamāgama with their corresponding Suttas in the Pāli Majjhimanikāya and in other Nikāyas:

1. Shan Fa ching = Aṅguttara vii. 64 Dhammaṁñu.
2. Chou tu shu ching = Aṅguttara vii. 65 Paricchatkata Sutta.
3. Ch'eng yu ching = Aṅguttara vii. 63 Nāgara Sutta.
4. Shui yu ching = Aṅguttara vii. 15 Udakūpama.

69 Nanjio’s Catalogue, Col. 132.
70 Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, pp. 104-18.
71 Nanjio’s Catalogue, col. 131.
73 Nanjio’s catalogue, col. 130.
74 ibid, col. 131.
75 Thus Nos. 97 and 135 correspond to Pāli Mahāniddānasutta and Siṃgālovādasuttanta (Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, pp. 55-71; iii, pp. 180-93) respectively.
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<td>Ch'i jih ching</td>
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<td>Chi' ch'e ching</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Lou chin ching</td>
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<td>Ho P'o ching</td>
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<td>Ssu ching</td>
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<td>Po Lo lao ching</td>
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<td>Fan chih t'o Jan ching</td>
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<td>Chiao hua ping ching</td>
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31. Fen pieh sheng ti ching = Majjhima 141 Saccavabhanga.
32. Wei ts'eng yu fa ching = Majjhima 123 Acchariya-bhutadhamma.
33. Shih che ching = Therā G. 1018-1050.
34. Po chiu lo ching = Majjhima 124 Bākula.
35. A hsiu lo ching = Āṅguttara viii. 19 Pahārāda.
36. Ti tung ching = Āṅguttara viii. 30 Bhūmicala.
37. Chan po ching = Āṅguttara viii. 20 Upasatha.
38. Yu ch’ieh chiang che ching = Āṅguttara viii. 21 Ugga.
40. Shou chang che ching = Āṅguttara iii. 23 Hatthaka.
41. Shou chang che ching = Āṅguttara X. 1 Kimatthiya.
42. Ho i ching = Āṅguttara X. 2 Cetanā.
43. Pu ssu ching = Āṅguttara viii. 61.
44. Nien ching = Āṅguttara X. 3 Sīla.
45. Ts’an K’uei ching = Āṅguttara XX. 4 Upanisā.
46. Ts’an K’uei ching = Āṅguttara V. 21-22 Gārava.
47. Chien ching = Āṅguttara X. 61-62.
51. Pen chi ching = Āṅguttara IX. 3 Meghiya.
52. Shih ching = Āṅguttara IX. 1 Sambodhi.
53. Shih ching = Saṁyutta 40-42 Cakkavatti.
54. Chin chih ching = Āṅguttara 30 Lakkhana.
55. Nieh P’an ching
56. Mi hai ching
57. Chi wei Pi ch’iu shuo ching
58. Chi pao ching
59. San shih erh hsiang chiang
60. Ssu chou ching = Samyutta 22.96 Gomaya.
61. Niu fen yu ching
63. Pi P'o ling ch'i ching = Majjhima 130 Devadūta.
64. T'ien shih ching = Majjhima 83 Makkhādeva.
66. Shuo pen ching = Dīgha 17 Mahāsudassana.
67. Ta t'ien na lin ching = Dīgha 26 Cakkavatti Sīhanāda.
68. Ta shan chien wang ching = Dīgha 23 Pāyasīrutta.
69. San shi yu ching = Majjhima 128 Upakkilesa.
70. Chuan lun wang ching = Anguttara viii. 64 Gayā.
71. Pai ssu ching = Anguttara viii. 30 Anuruddha.
72. Ch'ang shou wang pench'i ching = Majjhima 106 Arañña-sappāya.
73. T'ien ching = Samyutta 47.3.
74. Pa nien ching = Majjhima 68 Nalakapāna.
75. Ching pu tung tao ching = Majjhima 49 Brahmani-mantaniaka.
76. Yu ch'ieh chih lo ching = Majjhima 127 Anuruddha.
77. So chi ti san tsu hsing tzu ching = Majjhima 119 Kāyagatā-sati.
78. Fan t'ien ch'ing Fo ching = Anguttara VI. 60 Citta.
79. Yu sheng t'ien ching = Anguttara VII. 58 Paçal.
80. Chia Ch'ih na ching = Anguttara X. 72 Kanṭhaka.
81. Nien shen ching = Majjhima 113 Sappurisa.
82. Chih li mi li ching = Majjhima 148 Chachakka.
83. Ch'ang lao shang tsun shui mien ching = Majjhima 5 Anaṅgana.
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136. Sang jen ch’iu ts’ai ching = Jātaka 196 Vahāhassa.
137. Shih chien ching = Aṅguttara IV. 23 Loka.
138. Fu ching = Aṅguttara VII. 58.
139. Hsi chih tao ching = Suttanipāta 11 Vijaya.
140. Chih pien ching = Itivuttaka 91 Jīvita.
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<td>Wen te ching</td>
<td>= Āṅguttara VIX. 52 Khatthiya.</td>
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<td>148</td>
<td>Ho K’u ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 96 Esukāri.</td>
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<td>149</td>
<td>Ho yu ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 98 Assalāyana.</td>
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<td>150</td>
<td>Yu shou ko lo ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 99 Subha.</td>
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<td>151</td>
<td>A she ho ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 75 Māgandīya.</td>
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<td>152</td>
<td>Ying wy ching</td>
<td>= Dīgha 27 Aggañña.</td>
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<td>153</td>
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<td>154</td>
<td>P’o lo p’o t’ang ching</td>
<td>= Suttanipāta 19 Brāhmaṇa-Dhammika.</td>
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<td>155</td>
<td>Hsu ta ch’e ching</td>
<td>= Āṅguttara VIII. 11 Venañja.</td>
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<td>156</td>
<td>Fan po lo yen ching</td>
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<td>157</td>
<td>Huang lu Yuan ching</td>
<td>= Āṅguttara VII. 70 Araha.</td>
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<td>158</td>
<td>T’ou na ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 91 Brahmapu.</td>
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<td>159</td>
<td>A ch’ien lo ho na ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 140 Dhatuvibhanga.</td>
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<td>160</td>
<td>A Lan na ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 137 Saññyatanavibhanga.</td>
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<td>161</td>
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<td>= Majjhima 138 Uddesavibhanga.</td>
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<td>162</td>
<td>Fen pieh liu chieh ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 133 Kaccānabhaddakaratta.</td>
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<td>163</td>
<td>Fen pieh liu ch’u ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 134 Lomasakāngiyabhaddakaratta.</td>
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<td>164</td>
<td>Fen pieh kuan fa ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 132 Ānanda-bhaddekaratta.</td>
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<td>165</td>
<td>Wen ch’u an lin t’ien ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 120 Saṅkharupatti.</td>
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<td>166</td>
<td>Shig chung ch’an shih tsun ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 107 Gañaka Moggallāna.</td>
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<td>167</td>
<td>A Nan shuo ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 108 Gopaka Moggallāna.</td>
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<td>168</td>
<td>Y hsing ching</td>
<td>= Majjhima 27 Cūla Hatthipadopama.</td>
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170. Ying wu ching = Majjhima. 139 Araṇavibhaṅga.
171. Fen pieh ta yeh ching = Majjhima 136 Mahākammavibhaṅga.
172. Hsin ching = Aniguttara IV. 186 Ummagga.
173. Fou mi ching = Majjhima 126 Bhūmija.
174. Shou fa ching = Majjhima 45 Cūḷadhammasamādāna.
175. Shou fa ching = Majjhima 46 Mahādhammasamādāna.
176. Hsing ch'an ching
177. Shuo ching
179. Wu chih wu chu ching = Majjhima 78 Samaṇamandaṇīka.
180. Ch'u t'an mi ching = Majjhima 142 Dakkhīṇavibhaṅga.
181. To chieh ching = Majjhima 115 Bahudhātuka.
182. Ma i ching = Majjhima 39 Mahā Assapura.
183. Ma i ching = Majjhima 40 Cūla Assapura.
185. Niu chiao so lo lin ching = Majjhima 31 Cūḷagosiṅga.
186. Ch'iu chieh ching = Majjhima 47 Viṁsakā.
187. Shuo chih ching = Majjhima 112 Chabbisodhana.
188. A l na ching = Aniguttara X. 116.
189. Sheng tao ching = Majjhima 117 Mahācattārikaṃsaka.
190. Shao K'ung ching = Majjhima 121 Cūḷasuṇñatā.
191. To K'ung ching = Majjhima 122 Mahāsuṇñatā.
192. Chia lou wu t'o i ching = Majjhima 66 Laṭukikopama.
194. Po t’o ho li ching = Majjhima 65 Bhaddāli.
195. Ashih pei ching = Majjhima 70 Kiṭāgiri.
196. Chou na ching = Majjhima 104 Sāmagāma.
198. T’iao yu ti ching = Majjhima 125 Danta-bhūmi.
199. Ch’ih hui ti ching = Majjhima 129 Bālapañḍita.
201. A ti ching = Majjhima 38 Mahātaṇhā-saṅkhaya.
202. Ch’ih chai ching = Aṅguttara VIII. 43 Visākhā.
203. Pu lo to ching = Majjhima 54 Poṭaliya.
204. Lo mo ching = Majjhima 26 Ariyapariyēsana.
205. Wu sh a fen chieh ching = Majjhima 64 Mahā Māluṅkya.
206. Hsin wei ching = Majjhima 16 Cetokhilasutta.
207. Chien mao ching = Majjhima 77 Mahā Sakulūdāyi.
208. Chien mao ching = Majjhima 79 Cūla Sakulūdāyi.
209. Pei mo na hsiu hsing = Majjhima 80 Vekhaṇasa.
210. Fa lo pi ch’iu ni ching = Majjhima 44 Cūlavedalla.
211. Ta chu hsi lo ching = Majjhima 43 Mahāvedalla.
212. I ch’ieh chih ching = Majjhima 90 Kaṇṇaka-khala.
213. Fa chuang yen ching = Majjhima 89 Dhammacetiya.
214. Pei ho t’i ching = Majjhima 88 Bāhitika.
215. Ti i to ching = Aṅguttara X. 29 Kosala.
216. Ai shen ching = Majjhima 87 Piyajātika.
217. Pai ch’eng ching = Majjhima 52 Āṭṭhaka-nagara.

218-219. A na lu t’o ching
The Samyuttanikāya corresponds to the Sanskrit Saṁyuktāgama in as much as the Majjhima-nikāya is similar to the Madhyamāgama. The Saṁyuktāgama is divided into fifty sections and includes a large number of Suttas of the Aṅguttara-nikāya and a few of the other Pāli canonical texts. But in the Chinese Saṁyuktāgama the groups or saṁyuktas are quite different from the Pāli ones. Thus the Saṅghavarga of the Saṁyuktāgama consists of 318 Sūtras, while only 244 are in agreement with the Pāli text. But almost half of the Sūtras of the Saṁyuktāgama agrees with those of the Madhyamāgama and Ekottarāgama. Even some Sūtras in the Saṁyuktāgama find no parallels in Pāli. For instance, in the Nidānavagga (Sec. II), the eighth and ninth chapters of Nidāna, namely, “Saṁmaṇa-brāhmaṇa” and “Antarapeyyāla”, cannot be traced in the Āgama. Even the first and fifth chapters, viz. Buddha and Gahapati, remarkably vary in both the collections. We find in the Nidānavagga some saṁyuttas including Abhisamaya and Dhātu are almost passed over in the Āgama, although

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78 It contains altogether 2941 Suttas classed in fifty-six divisions (called Samyuttas), grouped in five parts (called Vaggas), namely, (a) Saṅgātha Vagga, (b) Nidāna Vagga, (c) Khanda Vagga, (d) Saḷāyatana Vagga and (e) Mahā-Vagga. These are again subdivided into several divisions.

79 Winternitz. (A) History of Indian Literature, vol. ii. p. 225 and also fn. 2.

80 Banerjee, A. C. Sarvāstivāda Literature, p. 25.

much similarity is found in the Anamatagga, Kassapa, Lakkhaṇa, Opanna and Bhikkhu samyuttas. Again the Khandhavagga (sec. III) of the Āgama misses the following samyuttas, namely, Okkantika, Uppāda, Kīlesa, Sārīputta, Nāga, Gandhambakāya, Valāha, Vacchagotta and Jhāna. The Saṃyuktāgama further lacks completely the Mātugāma, Moggaliṇa, Asaṅkhata, Sammappadhāna, Bāla, Iddhipāda and considerable parts of the Magga, Indriya, and Sacca samyuttas of the Saḷāyatana Vagga (Sec. IV.) of the Saṃyuttanīkāya. It is found that the Saṃyuktāgama possesses two main Chinese recensions—a larger and a smaller. The origin of the larger may be ascribed to a section of the Sarvāstivādins and that of the smaller still remains unknown.

But the greatest differences are those which we find in the Ekottarāgama and the Āṅguttaranīkāya. The reason behind of such variations is that quite a number of the Suttas which appear in the Āṅguttaranīkāya are found in the Madhyamāgama and Saṃyuktāgama. The Pāli version, as compared with the Sanskrit one, is much extensive as these two versions grew up independently to each other. Inspite of such differences some portions are similar in both the versions—Pāli and Sanskrit. They are: Samacittta (i, pp. 61-69), Devadatta (i, pp. 132-150), Brāhmaṇa to Lonaphala (i, pp. 155-258), Cakka (ii, pp. 32-44), Muṇḍarāja (iii, pp. 45-62), Nibbāna

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(iii, pp. 63-79), Āghāta (iii, pp. 185-202), Devatā to Mahā (iii, pp. 329-420), Avyākata to Mahā (iv, pp. 67-139), Gahapati (iv, pp. 208-235), Savitta (v, pp. 92-112), Upāsaka (v, pp. 176-210), Jānussoni (v, pp. 249-273), and Anussati (v, pp. 328-358). It is to be noted that Ekottarāgama contains fifty-two chapters, while the Aṅguttaranikāya consists of eleven nipātas or groups containing 169 chapters. Some scholars thought that the Ekottarāgama originated with the Mahāsaṅghika School.

Let us now make a survey of the manuscript fragments of the Āgamas discovered so far. Among the Sūtras of the Dīrghāgama, fragments of the Āṭānātiyasūtra and Saṅgītisūtra have been unearthed in Eastern Turkestan. Saṅgītisūtra corresponds to the thirty-third Sutta of the Dīghanikāya. The text offers an explanation of the Buddhist dharmas—discussions grouped numerically on the lines of the Aṅguttaranikāya. It is the ninth book of the Chinese Dīrghāgama and was rendered by Buddha-

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87 Its very name (i.e. Aṅguttara) reveals that the method of treatment in it is characterised by grouping numerical classifications of principles in the gradual ascending order. The Milindapañha calls it by the name of “Ekottara”. It may be said that Puggalapaññatti is so similar to the Aṅguttara Nikāya that it is even possible to get the entire book assimilated in it without causing any loss either to the contents or the style. Further the Ṭhānaṅga Sutta of the Prākṛta Āgama comes so near to the Aṅguttara Nikāya in spirit, language, style and contents that it would not even be imprudent to call it a Jaina version of it.
89 Hoernle. Manuscript remains of the Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan, pp. 16 ff; Winternitz. (A) History of Indian Literature, vol. ii, p. 234, fn. 3.
yaśa⁹¹ and Dānapāla.⁹² Dr. Hoernle has given a comparative table showing the order of the dharmas as described in this Discourse, in three versions, Sanskrit, Pāli and Chinese.⁹³ The table indicates that the Sanskrit version agrees neither with the Pāli nor with the Chinese. The case of the Āṭānātiyasūtra points to the same direction; for it is entirely absent from the Chinese Dīrghāgama, while the Pāli and Sanskrit versions of it differ considerably. This Sūtra contains charms averting the evil influence of the spirits, namely, gandharvas, yakṣas, etc. Fragments of the Upālisūtra and the Śukasūtra which belong to the Madhyamāgama have also been discovered in Eastern Turkestan. The Upālisūtra is mainly a dialogue between Buddha and Upāli, a follower of Niganṭha Nāṭaputta. Dr. P. V. Bapat opines that the Chinese version of this Sūtra is nearer to the Pāli text than to the Sanskrit one having probably as original source a Prākrit canon.⁹⁴ Thus in this discourse, the Chinese mentions Śākya, the same is with the Pāli version, while the Sanskrit one refers to Śakrasya. Again the whole of the third stanza of it appears to be missed out in the Sanskrit text, possibly by the scribe’s inadverence. But the most striking point of disagreement between the two versions is the absence of the eleventh stanza in the Pāli version, and its existence in the

⁹⁴ Minh Chau, Thích. (The Chinese Madhyama Āgama and the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya, p. 20.
Sanskrit, where it is corroborated by the Chinese translation. That stanza seems to represent the short prose clause which immediately follows the tenth stanza in the Pāli version.95 The Upāli Sūtra is the 56th discourse of the Majjhimanikāya96 and the 133rd book in Nanjio’s Catalogue.97 The Śūka Sūtra, on the other hand, being the 170th Sūtra of the Chinese Madhyamāgama and 135th discourse called the Cūḷakammavibhaṅga of the Majjhima-nikāya deals with the theory of Karma.98 As regards this Sūtra, the Sanskrit version agrees with the Pāli, although the wording is widely different. But in the Chinese version there is an agreement in wording also. We find that there is probably very little common ground between the Sanskrit and the Chinese versions. The Chinese text does not record the ten Dharmas as detailed as those are found in the Sanskrit one.99 A portion of the text of the Sronasūtra of the Saṁyuktāgama, has been unearthed in Eastern Turkestan, while Prof. S. Lévi finds out some quotations from the same Āgama in Asaṅga’s Śūtrālaṅkāra100 and identifies the following fragments from the collection of Grünwedel, viz, Kokanada-sūtra (=Aṅguttara, v. pp. 196-198); Anāthapiṇḍada-sūtra (=Aṅguttara, v. pp. 185-189); Dīrghanakha-sūtra (=Majjhima, i, pp. 497-501); Śarabha-sūtra (=Aṅguttara, i, pp. 185-

95 Hoernle, A. F. Rudolf. Manuscript remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan (O.U.P., 1916 ed.), pp. 31-34.
97 No. 542, col. 131.
99 Hoernle. Manuscript remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan, pp. 48-50.
100 Winternitz. (A) History of Indian Literature, vol. ii, p. 234 fn.
Pravrajaka Sthavirasutra and Brahmanasatyani Sutra (=Aṅguttara, ii, p. 185) which are all now traced in the Chinese rendering of the Samyuktāgama. Fragments of the Pravaraṇa-sūtra, the Candrapamasūtra and the Šaktisūtra of the Samyuktāgama and Ekottarāgama have also been discovered in Central Asia. The Pravaraṇasūtra dealing with a ceremony in which one makes confession of the offences committed by him during the rainy retreat, corresponds to such a ceremony depicted in the Pāli Vinaya Piṭaka. It is the seventh paragraph of the eighth book called the Vanga Thera Samyuttām in Fleet’s edition (P.T.S.). The Sanskrit version generally agrees with the Pāli. The Candrapamasūtra deals with contentment and is identified with the third sutta of the Kassapa section of the Samyuttanikāya. But the Sanskrit version seems to be larger than the Pāli, while the Chinese agrees fairly with the Pāli. The Šaktisūtra, on the other hand, dealing with the friendly heart corresponds to the fifth sutta of the Opanma section of the Samyuttanikāya. Its Sanskrit version differs widely from the Pāli. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the Šrāmanyaphala Sūtra which has also been discovered is found to be a text of the Vinaya, although our Pāli Samaṇṇaphalasutta is a text of the Dīgha-

101 Young, Pao, V. p. 299.
102 Banerjee, A. C. Sarvāstivāda Literature, p. 20.
104 Hoernle. Manuscript Remains of the Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan, pp. 86 ff.
107 Hoernle. op. cit. pp. 44 ff.
Such discrepancy occurs most probably due to lack of proper arrangement.

From the above it is evident that the Nikāyas and the Āgamas bear similarities and dissimilarities in regard to their arrangement, contents and grouping. Thus we may, following Prof. Winternitz, conclude that the compilers of the two versions utilised a common source, “probably the lost Māgadhī Canon, from which first the Pāli Canon branched off in one part of India, and then, later on, the Sanskrit Canon in another district”. Prof. Winternitz also writes: “On the whole it may be said that the points of agreement and the divergences prove that the Sanskrit Āgamas and the Pāli Nikāyas were compiled from the same materials, but were arranged in different ways in different schools”. It is also interesting to note that the quotations from the Āgamas are found in later Buddhist Sanskrit works, which have their parallels in the Pāli Nikāyas. Prof. Poussin has pointed out that the Abhidharmakośa-Vyākhyā of Yaśomitra includes passages quite similar to those of the Saṁyuttanikāya and Āṅguttaranikāya, so also the Mādhyamika-Kārika of Nāgārjuna contains passages parallel to those of the Saṁyutta-

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108 Dighanikāya, vol. i, pp. 47-86.
113 Vol. iii (P.T.S.), 25.
nikāya (iii, p. 142). Moreover the Chinese version consists of different renderings of the one and the same text included in it. For instance, the translations of the Brahmajālasūtra and the Mahāparinirvānasūtra of the Dīrghāgama, the Brahma- caryāsūtra and the Sūtra on Anupā (ta?) and other Sūtras of the Madhyamāgama, Saṃyuktāgama and Ekottarāgama are too numerous. Even the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra has ten independent translations of which three belong to the Hīnayāna and seven to the Mahāyāna School with a common external form and bearing the speeches which Buddha uttered prior to his demise (Parinirvāṇa). It is to be noted that the texts of the Āgamas were all accepted by the different schools differing only in the number of the Sūtras.116 Such a disagreement in the number was mainly due to the acceptance of Sūtras by different schools according to their respective doctrines.

C. Language of the Nikāyas

The language of the Nikāyas is undoubtedly Pāli which bears the characteristics of the Middle Indo-Aryan language.117 It cannot however, be directly derived from Classical Sanskrit as it shows some peculiarities which suggest its closer relation to Vedic.118 In our study we shall try to find out that some words which appear in the Nikāyas have direct connection with the Vedic language and

116 Dutt, N. Early history of the spread of Buddhism and Buddhist schools, pp. 279, 280.
117 Burrow, T. (The) Sanskrit Language (Faber & Faber), p. 58.
not with Classical Sanskrit. We notice that Pāli of the Nikāyas has preserved a few Vedic archaisms, namely, the double plural in -āsas and the middle plural ending -are and other middle forms of the finite verb occur sporadically.\(^{119}\) Not only that, as in Vedic, in the Pāli roots also are added both the -ān and -mān suffixes, e.g. bhuñj—bhuñjāna, bhuñjamān. In Pāli even some words have directly come from the Vedic language, e.g. pāragu\(^{120}\) (gone beyond) =pāraga; thus in the sense of foremost (agra) gū is retained.\(^{121}\) Pāli also preserves Vedic Infinitive in -tave, as netave,\(^{122}\) and Vedic Gerund in -tvāna, as katvāna, sutvāna.\(^{123}\) Likewise the form imassa (Vedic imasya) appears as the genitive and dative from ayaṁ. Similarly gonaṁ, genitive plural from ‘go’ and tinṇaṁ (trīṇaṁ), genitive plural from ‘tayo’ are Vedic. Thus vidū \(^{124}\) (wise) may be identified with the Vedic vidu. In Pāli div (the sky) is masculine as in the Vedas. Again forms like yamāmase,\(^{125}\) kasāmase, retain the Vedic -s- which is softened to -h- in Classical Sanskrit. The imperfect -akā- from karoti is the Vedic -akāt. Pāli of the Nikāyas also possesses the Vedic -l-. It has further retained the Vedic instrumental in -ebhis. Thus the above discussion shows that the Pāli language of the Nikāya-

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\(^{119}\) Sen, Sukumar. (A) Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan, p. 20.

\(^{120}\) Sāṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 195.

\(^{121}\) Bhattacharya, Vidhusekhara. Pāli Prakāśa (1918 ed.), intro., p. 70.

\(^{122}\) Childers, R. G. (A) Dictionary of the Pāli Language (1875) ed.) pp. xii-xiii.


\(^{124}\) Sāṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 62; vol. v, p. 197.

\(^{125}\) Sāṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 217.
texts is intimately related to the Vedic Language.\textsuperscript{126} Pāli really possesses some peculiarities which are traceable only in the Vedic language and not in Classical Sanskrit, a comparatively later language.

Yet if we are to compare Pāli of the Nikāyas with Classical Sanskrit, we find that about two-fifths of the Pāli vocabulary consist of words identical in form with their Classical Sanskrit equipments,\textsuperscript{127} as nāga,\textsuperscript{125} Buddha,\textsuperscript{129} nidāna\textsuperscript{130} etc. Almost all the remaining words show a more or less late or corrupted form. Sometimes the change is slight, e.g. sūtra becomes sutta\textsuperscript{131} (a thread) or prajāpati becomes pajāpati\textsuperscript{132} (lord of all created beings), while in other instances the change is so much that the identity is not occasionally evident, e.g. pārupati\textsuperscript{133} (to cover)=prāvṛṇotī, alla\textsuperscript{134} (wet)=ārdra etc. But it is to be noted that although some words are directly derived from Classical Sanskrit, yet they differ in meanings, e.g. Pāli parikkhāra\textsuperscript{135} (the requisites of a monk)=Skt. pariśkāra (adornment, cleansing); similarly Pāli pajāpati\textsuperscript{136} (one’s own wife)=Skt. prajāvatī (brother’s wife), paṭipada\textsuperscript{137} (path)=pratipad (the

\textsuperscript{127} Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. XVIII, Dec. 1942, No. 4, p. 342. (Chaudhuri, R. P. The Philology of the Pāli language).
\textsuperscript{128} Dighanikāya, vol. i, p. 54; Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. iii, p. 240.
\textsuperscript{129} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. ii, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{130} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 261; Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 134.
\textsuperscript{131} Dighanikāya, vol. i, p. 76; vol. ii, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{132} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 137, line 12; vol. iv, pp. 210, 214.
\textsuperscript{133} Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, p. 94, line 16; Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. ii, p. 281.
\textsuperscript{134} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. v, p. 234.
\textsuperscript{135} Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. ii, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{136} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 137.
\textsuperscript{137} Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. ii, p. 81.
first day of the lunar fortnight), padhāna (exertion) = pradhāna (chief), Pāli bāla (ignorant) = Skt. bāla (boy), and so on. We also find that some Pāli words retain Sanskrit inflectional peculiarities, e.g., rājā, rajānām, ratanām, rajjām, divasaṁ, uyyānāṁ, tam, tassa, atīte, imassīṁ, utṭhitē, vayassa, carati, gacchanti, āha etc. The Sanskrit base also is found in some Pāli compounds, e.g., macchāra (envious) from mat. A Pāli form is sometimes easier to explain by Sanskrit rules, e.g. etad-ahosi=etadahosi in Sanskrit but as in Pāli the final consonant is replaced by -m-, the Pāli form is explained by a special rule that the -m- of tam, etam, yām and sakim, is changed into -d- when followed by a vowel; so the original Sanskrit form is reached. Kṛta is derived from √ kṛ+ta, which is to be explained in Pāli by √ kar+ta, the final -r- being dropped. Again in Sanskrit the consonantal base is -in-, as for example, cārin forms the feminine cārīṇī, but since cārin is regarded as the vowel base of cārī in Pāli this form is explained by -nī- added to the base to form the feminine with the preceding vowel shortened—cārī+nī= cārīnī. Further as regards the conjugational sign in Sanskrit of √ āp we find -nu-, but in Pāli it is the strengthened form -no-, e.g., pa+√ āp+no=pappoti (Skt. prāpnoti, to attain) while the gerundial pappuyya may be explained by pa√ āp+nu+ya. In Sanskrit a

143 Dighanikāya, vol. iii, pp. 159, 165.
number of roots which have the conjugational sign -a- but whose roots do not take guṇa are classified under a separate group, e.g., √ kṛṣ becomes kṛṣati, Pāli kas=kasati\textsuperscript{144} (to plough). As guṇa may take place in √ kṛṣ+aka Sanskrit will have both kṛṣaka and karsaka, but Pāli kars+aka=kassaka\textsuperscript{145} (cultivator) only. It may also be noted that whereas in Sanskrit there are ten conjugations, there are only seven in Pāli. The first conjugation in Pāli contains three conjugations which are lumped together without anything common in them\textsuperscript{146}. In Pāli under the first conjugation are included roots whose vowels are with guṇa and those are without guṇa. But in Sanskrit these two classes of roots are treated separately, and much confusion is thereby avoided. It may be noted that ahosi, passi, pucchi etc. differing a bit in formation are aorist or past forms corresponding to Sanskrit aorists or imperfects, sometimes with but often without the augment. The Sanskrit augment of the preterite, like the perfect is thus on its way to disappear in Pāli. Thus it is evident that the language of the Nikāyas (i.e. Pāli) is not homogeneous. But it is more uniform and homogeneous than the language of the Gāthās, i.e. metrical pieces, which forms the earliest phase of the development of the language\textsuperscript{147}. In Pāli we find the disappearance of the archaic forms in number. The use of new formations in this language is not accidental and arbitrary, but is governed by rigid rules. Numerous

\textsuperscript{144} Samyuttanikāya, vol. i, pp. 172, 173.
\textsuperscript{145} Āṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, pp. 229, 239; Samyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 172.
\textsuperscript{146} cf. Duroiselle, Charles. (A) Practical Grammar of the Pāli Language (1915 ed.), p. 143.
\textsuperscript{147} Mason, Francis. Kachchāyano's Pāli Grāmmār ( Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1868 ed.), p. 10.
double forms also testify to the fact that the Pāli language of the Nikāyas is a mixed dialect.\textsuperscript{148}

We shall in the subsequent pages endeavour to trace some phonological as well as morphological peculiarities of the Pāli language found in the Nikāyas.

**Phonetic Structure**

In phonetics Pāli retains more of the structure of the original Indo Aryan than other Prakrit languages showing that it is the oldest Prakrit.

(a) Sound-system and Accent = Pāli of the Nikāyas preserves a Prākritic sound system. It has dropped the vowels -r-, -l- as well as the diphthongs -ai-, and -au,-\textsuperscript{149} but includes the cerebral consonant -l- and the middle length vowels -e-, -o-. Like most of the Prākrits, Pāli possesses only the dental -s-. We find that the original diphthongical nature of -e- and -o- is obtained through sandhi, e.g., ‘a+i’ becomes ‘e’ and ‘a+u’ becomes ‘o’. A tendency to use -e- and -o- (instead of -ai- and -au-) as vṛddhi-vowels is rather found. So we get forms originated inside Pāli, such as, opadhika\textsuperscript{150} (relating to the substratum of existence) from upadhī. Such strengthening into -e- and -o- may occur even in those cases where originally there are no -i- and -u-. So is obtained pothuṣjianika\textsuperscript{151} (belonging to ordinary man) from puthuṣjana, where the -u- corresponds to Sanskrit -r- (prthaghjana). We further notice that in words like

\textsuperscript{148} Minayeff, Pāli Grāmmār, p. xlii.
\textsuperscript{149} Gune, P. D. (An) Introduction to Comparative Philology (1962 ed.) p. 201.
\textsuperscript{150} Sānyuttaniyikāya, vol. i. (ed. by Feer), p. 233.
\textsuperscript{151} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. v, p. 216.
gelañña\textsuperscript{152} (illness) from gilāna=Sanskrit glāna and veyyākarana\textsuperscript{153} (exposition) from viyākaroti=Sanskrit vyākaroti, -e- and -o- are the strengthened forms of the svarabhakti-vowels and -i-, -u- are originated within Pāli. Likewise -a- has been strengthened into -ā-, e.g., sākhalya\textsuperscript{154} (friendship) from sakhila. Very little is known about the Pāli accent. Jacobi suggested that the Sanskritic accent is common in Pāli\textsuperscript{155} as is found in the weakening of a vowel after the accented syllable or its strengthening in the main tonic syllable.

(b) Treatment of short vowels -a-, -i-, -u- = It is found that sometimes -e- appears for -a- before double-consonant: pheggu\textsuperscript{156} (inferior wood surrounding the pith of a tree)=phalgu. The word ettha\textsuperscript{157} (here) is not possibly atra, but itra. So also heṭṭhā\textsuperscript{158} (underneath) is not derived from adhaṭṭhāt, but from adheṭṭhāt. The vowels -i-, -u- are lengthened in the flexional endings -ihi, -ūhi, -īsu, and -ūsu of -i- and -u- declensions. Sometimes -i- and -u- become -e- and -o- before double consonant, such as, venhu\textsuperscript{159}=viśnu, nekkha\textsuperscript{160} (gold ornament)=niśka, otṭha\textsuperscript{161} (camel)=uṣṭra, vokkamati\textsuperscript{162} (gets

\textsuperscript{153} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 125; vol. v, p. 50 sq.
\textsuperscript{154} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i (ed. by Trencker & Chalmers), p. 446; Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{155} Jacobi. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandi-schen Morgenlandi-schen Gesellschaft, 47.574.
\textsuperscript{156} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 194; Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. iv, p. 168; Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 152.
\textsuperscript{157} Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. v, p. 375.
\textsuperscript{158} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 198.
\textsuperscript{159} Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 52 (should be read venhu instead of vendu).
\textsuperscript{160} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 181.
\textsuperscript{161} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 80.
\textsuperscript{162} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 230; Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, p. 117.
deranged) = vyutkramati. Occasionally the double consonant following after -e-, -o- may be secondarily simplified with concomitant protraction of -e- and -o-: uruvelā\(^{163}\) (a place-name) through vellā, villā=uruvilvā, ojā\(^{164}\) (strength) through ojja, ujjā-ūrjā.

(c) Representation of the diphthongs -e- and -o- are preserved\(^{165}\), but -ai- and -au- have been changed to -e- and -o-: moriya (name of a clan)=maurya, cētiya\(^{166}\) (sepulchral monument)=caitya, Gotama\(^{168}\)=Gautama, Sovīra\(^{169}\)raṭṭha (name of a kingdom)=Souvīra-rāṣṭra. But sometime -e- and -o- are shortened into -i- and -u- before double consonant; the shortening appears even where the double-consonant is of secondary origin: -i- from -e- = original -e- paṭivissaka\(^{170}\) (neighbour) from -vessaka=pratīvesya-ka; -i- from -e- = original -ai-: issariya\(^{171}\) (supremacy)=aiśvarya; -u- from -o- = original -o-: tutta\(^{172}\) (a goad for driving cattle)=totta; -u- from -o- = original -au-: khudda\(^{173}\) (honey)=kṣaudra; ludda\(^{174}\) (horrible)=raudra.

(d) Transformation of the vowels -r-, -l- = The

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\(^{166}\) Wilson Philological lectures on Sanskrit and the derived languages.
\(^{168}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 20.
\(^{169}\) Samyuttanikāya, vol. iv, p. 183.
\(^{172}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 126.
\(^{171}\) Samyuttanikāya, vol. i, pp. 43, 100.
\(^{172}\) Dighanikāya vol. ii, p. 266.
\(^{173}\) Dighanikāya, vol. iii, p. 85.
vowel -r- is represented by -a-, -i-, -u-, -e- and -o- in Pāli. Thus -r- is changed into -a-: hadayā (heart)=hṛdaya, amata (ambrosia)=amṛta; changed into -i-: inā (debt)=ṛṇa, sigāla (jackal)=śṛgāla; changed into -u-: usabha (bull)=ṛṣabha, parivuta (surrounded by)=parivṛṭah; changed into -e-: geha (a dwelling)=ṛgha and changed into -o-: sammōsa (bewilderment)=sammṛṣa. Although such changes of -r- are normally found, yet there are some variations, e.g., maga (animal for hunting) besides miga (antelope)=mṛga, anaṇa (debtless) and sāna (=sa-ana) besides ina, kīṇha (black) besides kanha=krṣṇa. Again -r- is also treated as consonant, e.g., brūheti (devotes himself to a cause)=brmhayati, vrṭhayati. Sometimes -r- is represented by -ru- or -ri-: rukkha (tree)=vrksa, pāruta (covered)=prāvrta, iritvij=ṛtvij, rite=ṛte.

But the vowel -l- is only represented by -u-, e.g., kutta (being made up)=klpta.

175 Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 207.
178 Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 75.
179 Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 177.
181 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 58.
182 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 70; ii, p. 23.
185 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 90; Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. iv, p. 117.
186 Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 198.
(e) Changes due to the Law of Mora—It is found that the Law of Mora plays an important role in the construction of Pāli words. Due to this Law we get in Pāli (i) long vowel before single consonant where Sanskrit maintains short vowel before double-consonant, e.g., sāsapa (mustard seed) = sarṣapa, vāka (bark) = valka; (ii) the short vowel before double-consonant where originally there was long vowel before a single consonant: udukkhala (mortar and pestle) = udūkhala, kubbara (pole of a carriage) = kūbara (kūvara), pettika (fatherly) = paitṛka; (iii) a nasal sometimes appearing instead of a pure long vowel and vice versa as the short nasal vowel possesses two moras like the long, e.g., samvāri (night) = sarvāri, with exceptions like simha and vimśatī which become in Pāli sīha (lion) and vīsati (vīsam) (twenty) respectively; (iv) a long vowel preceding the consonant-group is regularly shortened even in the case of the separation of a consonant-group by a svarabhakti-vowel;—two one-mora syllables represents in these cases one two-mora syllable: suriya (sun) = sūrya, sūriya (heroism) being distinguished from the former one in meaning, pakiriya (loosens the hair)—gerund of pakirati = prakīrya. But the insertion of the svara-

197 Dighanikāya, vol. iii, p. 196.
200 Samyuttanikāya, v, p. 227.
bhakti-vowel naturally does not affect that length of the following vowel, as for example, gilāna\(^{202}\) (sick) = glāna. It is only in the case of the originally monosyllabic words like itthī\(^{203}\) (woman) = strī and sīrī\(^{204}\) (fortune) = sṛī that this law operates to some extent. In compounds, however, these words retain short vowels as in itthiratana\(^{205}\) (jewel of a woman), hirimāna\(^{206}\) (conscientious) and the like. On the whole due to the Law of Mora Pāli maintains either short vowel before double-consonant or long vowel with the following double-consonant simplified.

(f) Changes due to the Law of Quantity = Due to this law the long vowels are sometimes shortened before conjunct consonants, e.g., tittha\(^{207}\) (landing place) = tīrtha, attano\(^{208}\) (as regards himself) = ātmanāḥ, santa\(^{209}\) (calmed) = sānta. Generally the double consonant is simplified and the long vowel is preserved retaining the quantity of the word as a whole, such as, ūmi (ummi)\(^{210}\) = ārmi (wave), ahāsi\(^{211}\) (carried away) = ahārṣit. Occasionally a long vowel is shortened and the following single consonant becomes doubled due to compensation: unhissa (a turban) = usṣīsa, pañcannām (number five) = pañcānām. But, as a corollary, the vowels -e- and -o- are to be regarded as naturally short before a double consonant and long before a single one,
e.g., upekkhā\textsuperscript{212} (neutrality) = upekṣā, mokkha\textsuperscript{213} (emancipation) = mokṣa. Sometimes even long vowels are shortened without any compensation: ācāriya\textsuperscript{214} (a teacher) = ācārya, paññāvā\textsuperscript{215} (wise) = prajñāvān. At the end of the first member of a compound, the short vowel is also shortened: abbhāmattā\textsuperscript{216} (in a verse, but not metri causa). In combination with prepositions, short vowels are lengthened very frequently, viz., pāvacana\textsuperscript{217} (word) = pravacana, pātimokkha\textsuperscript{218} (binding) = pratimokṣa. Gemination of the consonant is found in abhikkanta\textsuperscript{219} (glorious) and pātikkūla\textsuperscript{220} (contrary) = pratikūla. Shortening of the vowel takes place when stems in -ā-, -ī-, -ū- form the first member of the compound: sassudevā\textsuperscript{221} (worshipping the mother-in-law as god) from sassū+d-. Nasalised vowels are often lengthened, when the nasal is dropped, e.g., dāṭha\textsuperscript{222} (a large tooth) = damśṭrā. Cases of the development of a nasal where originally there was none are also found. But in such instances the nasal generally compensates the loss of the consonant: śiṅgālā\textsuperscript{223} = śṛgālā.

\textit{(g) Irregular cases of vocalism=Vocalism of Pāli is more archaic than that of Sanskrit, as for example, garu\textsuperscript{224} (heavy) as opposed to Sanskrit guru and}

\textsuperscript{212} Sarivyuttanikāya, vol. iv, pp. 71, 114 sq.
\textsuperscript{213} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 276.
\textsuperscript{214} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, pp. 103, 116.
\textsuperscript{215} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 292; iii, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{216} Sarivyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 205.
\textsuperscript{217} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 88.
\textsuperscript{218} Sarivyuttanikāya, vol. v, p. 187.
\textsuperscript{219} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 85.
\textsuperscript{220} Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, p. 301.
\textsuperscript{221} Sarivyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{222} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{223} Sarivyuttanikāya, vol. ii, p. 231.
\textsuperscript{224} Sarivyuttanikāya, vol. iii, p. 26.
kilañja\textsuperscript{223} (mat) as opposed to kiliñja. Indeed some Pāli words are derived from basic forms different from those of Sanskrit ones: thus, tipu\textsuperscript{226} (tin) is not trapu but=trpu, and papphasa\textsuperscript{227} (lung) is not pupphusa. Sometimes, parallels to Pāli forms are found in Prākrit, e.g., milakkha\textsuperscript{228} (out-caste)=Ardha-Māgadhī milakkhu as opposed to Sanskrit mleccha=Ardha-Māgadhī meccha, miccha.

(h) Influence of adjoining vowels on the vowels=Vowels are influenced by the adjoining vowels in two ways, namely, (i) influenced by subsequent vowel: -i- becomes -u- before -a- following -u-, e.g., kukku\textsuperscript{229} (a measure of length)=kīsku; -a- becomes -u- before following -u-, e.g., usūyā, usuyya\textsuperscript{230} (envy)=asūyā; -a- becomes -i- before following -i-, viz., sirimsapa\textsuperscript{231} (a reptile)=sarīsṛpa, and (ii) influenced by the former vowel: -a- becomes -u- after preceding -u-, e.g., pukkusa\textsuperscript{232} (designation of a low social class)=pukkuśa.

(i) Influence of accent on vocalism=It is found that the vowel of the second syllable is often reduced to three or four syllabic words having the accent on the first syllable. But in most of such cases -i- appears as the reduced vowel, although after labials -u- appears instead of -i-. Thus after the accent-syllable -a- becomes -i-, e.g., parima\textsuperscript{233} (the most

\textsuperscript{223} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 228.
\textsuperscript{226} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 351.
\textsuperscript{227} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 298.
\textsuperscript{228} Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. v, p. 466.
\textsuperscript{229} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iv, p. 404.
\textsuperscript{231} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 57; Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 154.
\textsuperscript{232} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 162; iii, p. 214.
\textsuperscript{233} Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, p. 112.
excellent) = parama; -a- becomes -u-, e.g., pāpurāṇa (mantle) through pāvuraṇa (Ardha-Māgadhī pāūraṇa) = prāvaraṇa; -i- becomes -u- and -u- becomes -i-, e.g., pasuta (intent on something) = prasita, mūditā (softness) = mṛdutā. It may also be noted that there is a number of onomatopoetic words in which Syncope appears, as for example, ciccītāyatī (rustles) besides cīcītāyatī. Further we notice the weakening of the syllable preceding the accented one in nigrodha (ficus indica) = nyagrodha and in susāna (cemetery) = from śvaśāna — another form of śmaśāna. Occasionally in a series of words even from the inception the long second syllable is shortened, due to the shifting of the accent to the first syllable, e.g., alika (false) = alika, tatiya (third) = tṛtiya. But in other cases, where the vowel of the second syllable is originally short, qualitative change of the vowel takes place as a result of this shifting of accent, e.g., pājjuṇa (rain-god) = parjanya, mutinga (drum) = mṛdaṅga. It should be mentioned here that the effect of the new expiratory accent is manifest also in the occasional lengthening of the vowel of the first syllable: ālinda (terrace or verandah before the

234 Samyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 175 f.
236 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 135.
243 Samyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 29.
244 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 79.
house-door)=alinda. Sometimes gemination of consonants takes the place of lengthening of vowels, e.g., ummāya (flax)=umā, kunnadī (small river)=ku+nadi.

(j) Influence of Samprasāraṇa and the loss of syllable through contraction=Due to Samprasāraṇa -yā- becomes -ī- in stressed syllable as in tīha (period of three days)=tryaha; vā becomes -ū- in sūna (dog) from the stem śvān. But before double consonant -ū- becomes -o- through -u- as in soppa (sleep)=svapna. Sometimes through contraction -aya- becomes -e- while ava- is changed to -o- through the intermediate stages ayi: ai, avu: aū. Thus adhyayana becomes ajjhena (study) and avama becomes=oma (lowly), Further due to contraction -aya- is represented by -ā-, e.g., patisallāna (meditation)=pratisamlayana, sotthāna (welfare)=svastayayana; -aya- becomes -ā-, e.g., vehāsa (atmosphere)=vaihāyasa; -avā- becomes -ā- as in yāgu (rice-gruel)=yavāgū; -apa- become -o- in ottappati (to feel a sense of guilt) from the root -trap- with -apa-, (pacc)osakkati (falls back) from root svask with (prati)apa.

250 Samyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 110.
252 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 359.
255 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 95.
256 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 250.
258 Müller, E. Simplified Grammar of the Pāli language, p. 43.
(k) Inclusion of extra-syllables due to Svara-
bhakti = In the initial position the added vowel is
generally found in itthi\(^{260}\) (woman)=strī. This -i-
of itthi is always metrically justified. But among
the added vowels most frequently -i- (both prothetic
and anaptyctic) is used, e.g., (i) in the group -ry-:
iriyati\(^{261}\) (moves)=āryate, īryā; (ii) in other com-
binations with -y-: jiyā\(^{262}\) (bow-string); (iii) in
combinations with -r-: vajira\(^{263}\) (Indra’s thunder-
bolt)=vajra (Arthá-Māgadhī vaīra). The Svara-
bhakti vowel -a- appears in those cases where the
-a- vowel remains before and after, e.g., garahā\(^{264}\)
(dishonesty)=garhā. The Svarabhakti-vowel -u-
is also found before -m- and -v-: maruvā\(^{265}\) (v.l.
muruvā) (a kind of hemp)=mūrvā. Occasionally
-u- is induced by an -ū- of the following syllable as
in kurūra\(^{266}\) (cruel)=krūra.

(l) Treatment of consonants = In Pāli of the
 Nikāyas we find that all the Sanskrit consonants,
save palatal -ś-, cerebral -ṣ\(^{267}\) and -h-, remain in tact,
such as, gandhabha\(^{268}\) (heavenly musician)=gan-
dharva, Jumbudīpa (India)=Jambudvīpa, thera\(^{269}\)
(a senior Buddhist monk)=sthavira, pañña\(^{270}\)
(wisdom)=prajñā, lakkhana\(^{271}\) (a prognosticative

\(^{260}\) Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, pp. 33, 42, 125.
\(^{262}\) Dighanikāya, vol. ii, p. 334.
\(^{263}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 231.
\(^{264}\) Dighanikāya, vol. i, p. 135.
\(^{265}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 429.
\(^{266}\) Āṇguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 383.
\(^{267}\) Gune, Pandurang Damodar. (An). Introduction to Comparative
\(^{269}\) Dighanikāya, vol. i, p. 78.
\(^{270}\) Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, pp. 78, 191; vol. ii, p. 149 sq.
\(^{271}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 220.
mark) = lakṣaṇa, saṭṭhi²⁷² (sixty) = ṣaṣṭi. It is to be noted that in Pāli as in other Prākrits cerebrals are found much more frequently than in Sanskrit, e.g., jaṭīla²⁷³ (an ascetic) = jaṭīla, canḍa²⁷⁴ (fierce) = canḍa.

(m) Transformation of Sanskrit consonants = Sanskrit consonants are also changed in Pāli due to (i) softening of hard consonants, e.g., pasada²⁷⁵ (a handful) = prṣata; (ii) replacement of -d- by -y-, thus anticipating the Yaśruti of the Ardha-Māgadhī, e.g., goyāna = godāna; (iii) simplification of conjunct consonants as the preceding vowel is lengthened, e.g., vuccati²⁷⁶ (to be called) = ucyate, ekacca²⁷⁷ (certain) = ekatya.

(n) Elision of intervocalic mute = There is occasional elision of an intervocalic mute which is replaced by the hiatus-filler -y- or -v-, e.g., khāyita²⁷⁸ (eaten) = khādita, sāyati²⁷⁹ (tastes) = svādate.

(o) Softening of surds = The softening of surds in intervocalic position is also a feature of Pāli of the Nikāyas. Thus -k- softens into -g-, e.g., elaṁūga²⁸⁰ (deaf and dumb) = edamūka, paṭigaccha²⁸¹ (earlier) = pratikṛtya; -t- softens into -d-, e.g., paṭiyādeti²⁸² (prepares) = pratiyātayati; -p- softens

²⁷³ Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 78.
²⁷⁵ Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 245.
²⁷⁸ Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 83.
²⁷⁹ Dighanikāya, vol. iii, p. 85; Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 163.
²⁸⁰ Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 20.
into -v- very frequently, e.g., pūva$^{283}$ (cake)=pūpa, vyāvāta$^{284}$ (engaged on something)=vyāpṛta.

(p) Representation of sonants by surds=Due to dialectical variations sonants are frequently represented by surds. Thus -t- appears instead of -d-, e.g., kusīta$^{285}$ (slow)=kusida; -th- appears instead of -dh-, e.g., pithīyati$^{286}$ (is covered)=pidhīyate; -p- appears in lieu of -b-, -v-, e.g., opilāpeti$^{287}$ (to immerse)=plāvayati.

(q) Appearance and disappearance of aspiration = As in Prākṛits cases of frequent appearance and disappearance of aspiration are found in Pāli. Thus unetymological aspiration appears in khīla$^{288}$ (same in Ardha-Māgadhī) (post)=kīla, khujja$^{289}$ (humped)=kubja, pharasu$^{290}$ (axe)=paraśu. But the loss of aspiration is rare, e.g., jalla$^{291}$ (dirt), jallika$^{292}$=jhallikā, katikā$^{293}$ (agreement)=kathikā.

(r) Change of place of articulation of consonants=On account of dialectical influences sometimes changes of the place of articulation of the consonants occur. Thus palatal appears for gutteral in as -iṅjī$^{294}$ (root)= -ing; dental appears for a cerebral as in dṃdīma$^{295}$ (a drum)=dṃdīma.

$^{283}$ Aṅguttanikāya, vol. iii, p. 76.
$^{285}$ Aṅguttanikāya, vol. iii, p. 3.
$^{286}$ Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, p. 184.
$^{288}$ Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 141.
$^{290}$ Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 162.
$^{293}$ Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 171.
$^{294}$ Dighanikāya, vol. i, p. 56.
$^{295}$ Dighanikāya, vol. i, p. 79.
Replacement of dentals by cerebrals=Cerebrals appear instead of dentals due to the influence of preceding -r-, -r-, even though they are absent in Pāli\(^{296}\). So we find -t- for -t- as in ambāṭaka (hog-plum)=āmrāṭaka; -ṭh- appears for -th- in pāthama\(^{297}\) (the first)=prathma; -ḍ- appears for -d- in two roots -damś-(to bite) and -dah-(to burn) and their derivatives, e.g., āsati,\(^{298}\) saṃdāṣa\(^{299}\) (pincers)=saṃdamśa, dāhati, dāha\(^{300}\) (burning)=dāha; -ṇ- is replaced by -n- as in sakūṇa\(^{301}\) (bird)=śakūṇa.

Some other changes=(i) Connected with the phenomenon of cerebralisation is the replacement of -d- by -r-, of -n- by -l- or -r- and -ṇ- by -l-. Thus -ḍ- becomes (through -d-) -r- in compound numerals with dasa (ten), e.g., ekārasa (besides ekādasā) (eleven); -t- appears (through d, ḍ) for -r- in sattari (seventy)=saptati\(^{302}\); -l- becomes -n-, e.g., ela (fault) (anelaka\(^{303}\) ‘faultless’)=enas; -ṇ- appears for -l- in velu (also Ardha-Māgadhī velu besides venu ‘bamboo’)=venu. (ii) The representation of -r- by -l- is very common in Pāli of the Nikāyas. This is also a rule for Māgadhī\(^{304}\). So in Pāli we find lujjati\(^{305}\) (falls apart) (palujjati\(^{306}\))=rujyate,

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\(^{297}\) Dighanikāya, vol. ii, p. 14

\(^{298}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 519.

\(^{299}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. ii, p. 75.

\(^{300}\) Dighanikāya, vol. i, p. 10; Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 306.


\(^{303}\) Dighanikāya, vol. iii, p. 85.

\(^{304}\) Pischel, G. der Prākrit-Sprachen (1900 ed. Strassburg), sec. 256.

\(^{305}\) Samyuttanikāya, vol. iv, p. 52.

elaṇḍa\textsuperscript{307} (ricinus)=eraṇḍa, taluṇa\textsuperscript{308} (young)=
taruṇa. (iii) Sanskrit -l- is more rarely represented
by Pāli -r-, e.g., ārammaṇa\textsuperscript{309} (object)=ālambana;
-l- is replaced by -n- probably through dissimilation,
e.g., naṅgala\textsuperscript{310} (plough)=lāṅgala, nalāṭa\textsuperscript{311} (fore-
head)=lalāṭa. (iv) Sometimes -y- and -v- interchange their positions. Thus Pāli -v-
appears for Sanskrit -y-, e.g., āvudha\textsuperscript{312} (weapon)=āyudha,
pīṇḍadāvika\textsuperscript{313} (provision-carrier)=pīṇḍadāyika;
Pāli -y- appears for Sanskrit -v- in dāya\textsuperscript{314} (grove)=
dāva; -l- appears for -y- as in latṭhi(kā)\textsuperscript{315} (staff)=
yāṣṭi. (v) It is found that the liquid -r- is generally
susceptible to metathesis, e.g., ālārika\textsuperscript{316} (cook)=
ārālika. Metathesis may also occur after the inser-
tion of a svarabhakti-vowel, e.g., payirudāharati\textsuperscript{317}
(utters) through paryud=paryud; mākasa\textsuperscript{318} (mos-
quito) through masaka=maśaka. It further takes place
in the case of groups h+nasal, y or v, e.g.,
pubbanha\textsuperscript{319} (forenoon)=pūrvāḥna, jimha\textsuperscript{320}
(false)=jihma. (vi) In various ways Progressive
Assimilation takes place in Pāli words.\textsuperscript{321} Thus it

\textsuperscript{307} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{308} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iv, p. 129.
\textsuperscript{309} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{310} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 353.
\textsuperscript{311} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{312} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iv, p. 107.
\textsuperscript{313} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{316} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{317} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 222.
\textsuperscript{318} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. ii, p. 117.
\textsuperscript{319} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 109.
\textsuperscript{320} Aṅguttaranikāya, v, p. 289.
\textsuperscript{321} Duroiselle, Charles. (A) Practical Grammar of the Pāli Language
(1915 ed.), pp. 22-33.
occurs in the combination of mute with the mute, e.g., chakka\textsuperscript{322} (collection of six)=ṣaṭka, mugga\textsuperscript{323} (kidney-bean)=mudga; in the combination of sibilant with mute, e.g., thaneti\textsuperscript{324} (thunders)=stanayati; in the combination of liquid with mute, sibilant or nasal, e.g., kibbisa\textsuperscript{325} (sin)=kilbiṣa, kammāsa\textsuperscript{326} (spotted)=kalmāṣa; in the combination of nasal with nasal, e.g., ninna\textsuperscript{327} (low)=nimna; in the combination of -r- with -l-, -y-, -v-, e.g., ayya\textsuperscript{328} (venerable)=ārya, samkīyati\textsuperscript{329} (defiled)=saṁkīryate. (vii) The Regressive Assimilation also occurs in various ways. It takes place in the combination of mutes with nasal, e.g., abhimatthati\textsuperscript{330} (grinds)=abhimathnāti; in the combination of mutes with liquids, e.g., sukkka\textsuperscript{331} (white)=sukla; in the combination of mutes with semi-vowels, e.g., kuḍda\textsuperscript{332} (wall)=kuḍya, labbha\textsuperscript{333} (attainable)=labhya; in the combination of sibilant with liquids or semi-vowels, e.g., missa\textsuperscript{334} (mixed)=miṣra; in the combination of nasal or liquid -l- with semi-vowels, e.g., samannesati\textsuperscript{335} (seeks) from root -is- with sam+anu, kalla\textsuperscript{336} (possible)=kalya, billa\textsuperscript{337} (a kind of

\textsuperscript{322} Majjhimanīkāya, vol. iii, p. 280.
\textsuperscript{323} Saṁyuttanīkāya, vol. i, p. 150.
\textsuperscript{324} Dīghanīkāya, vol. ii, p. 260 (verse).
\textsuperscript{325} Majjhimanīkāya, vol. iii, p. 165.
\textsuperscript{326} Aṅguttaranīkāya, vol. ii, p. 187.
\textsuperscript{327} Saṁyuttanīkāya, vol. iv, p. 191.
\textsuperscript{328} Dīghanīkāya, vol. i, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{329} Saṁyuttanīkāya, vol. iii, p. 71.
\textsuperscript{330} Saṁyuttanīkāya, vol. i, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{331} Saṁyuttanīkāya, vol. ii, p. 240; vol. v, pp. 66, 104.
\textsuperscript{332} Dīghanīkāya, vol. i, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{333} Majjhimanīkāya, vol. ii, p. 220.
\textsuperscript{334} Dīghanīkāya, vol. ii, p. 260.
\textsuperscript{335} Saṁyuttanīkāya, vol. i, p. 194.
\textsuperscript{336} Dīghanīkāya, vol. i, p. 157.
\textsuperscript{337} Aṅguttaranīkāya, vol. v, p. 170.
food) = bilva; in the combinations -vy- and -vr- which are changed to -bb- (through vv): tibba\textsuperscript{338} (sharp) = tīvra. (viii) The Mutual Assimilation appears when two contiguous dissimilar sounds are effected yielding a new form as in sacca\textsuperscript{339} (true) = satya, ajja\textsuperscript{340} (today) = adya. (ix) When one of two similar contiguous sounds becomes different from the other, the phenomenon is called Dissimilation, as for example, garu\textsuperscript{341} (heavy) = guru, purusa\textsuperscript{342} (man) = purusa. (x) Sometimes Palatalisation appears in the combination of dentals\textsuperscript{343} (also -n-) with -y- and in the combination of -n- with -y-, e.g., dvejjha\textsuperscript{344} (falsity) = dvaidhya, nāya\textsuperscript{345} (method) = nyāya, kammanāṇa\textsuperscript{346} (ready for use) = kāraṇya, piṇāka\textsuperscript{347} (oil cake) = pinyāka. (xi) In Pāli the Sanskrit sound- group -kṣ- is sometimes changed into -kkh- and -cch-, e.g., dakkhiṇa\textsuperscript{348} (south) = dakkṣiṇa, makkhikā\textsuperscript{349} (fly) = makṣikā, taccati\textsuperscript{350} (to shape) = takṣati. (xii) Generally Sanskrit sounds like -ts- and -ps- have been replaced by -cch- in Pāli, e.g., vacchatarā\textsuperscript{351} (ox) = vatsatara, accharā\textsuperscript{352} (nymph) = apsaraā.

\textsuperscript{338} Samyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 110.
\textsuperscript{339} Majjhimanikāya, vol. ii, p. 169; iii, p. 207.
\textsuperscript{340} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 85.
\textsuperscript{341} Samyuttanikāya, vol. iii, p. 26.
\textsuperscript{342} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 209; vol. iv, p. 197.
\textsuperscript{344} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 403.
\textsuperscript{345} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{346} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{347} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 166.
\textsuperscript{348} Samyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{349} Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, p. 148.
\textsuperscript{350} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 341.
\textsuperscript{351} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iv, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{352} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 253.
Sometimes through dialectical influence -ts- becomes -th- and -ps- becomes -ch- initially as in tharu$^{353}$ (also Ardha-Māgadhī) (handle)=tsaru. (viii) The rules of Guṇa and Vṛddhi also operate in the formation of certain Pāli words, e.g., mṛ+ana, Pāli √mar+ana= marana$^{354}$ (death), √ smr+a+ti =smarati, Pāli sarati$^{355}$ (to remember), √ dṛś+ana =darśana > Pāli dassana$^{356}$ (seeing), √ kļip=kalp > kapp(a) √ kapp(eti)$^{357}$. Likewise √ dṛś, becomes √ dis, and √ dis+ta=diṭṭha, but dassana may not be explained without the help of Sanskrit root √ dṛś, which by Guṇa becomes darś+ana=dassana; from Pāli √ dis or √ das it is not possible to have dassana. Vṛddhi except of -a- is neither recognised nor possible in Pāli, for instance, bhāveti cannot be explained by Guṇa; √ bhū+e by Guṇa=bho+e=bhaveti- (o=av) but the form is bhāveti; whereas the Vṛddhi of -u- being -au-, √bhū becomes bhaug+e=bhāveti- (au=āv). Similarly bhāva is obtained by means of Vṛddhi and bhava by Guṇa of bhū+a. (xiv) Compensation: the loss of a consonant is often compensated by lengthening the preceding vowel, e.g., candimā$^{358}$ (the moon)=candramas, sīha$^{359}$ (a lion)=sīmha. (xv) Analogy: For certain irregular forms of words analogy is also responsible,$^{360}$ e.g., su+gati

$^{353}$ Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 152.
$^{354}$ Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 121.
$^{357}$ Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 162.
$^{358}$ Majjhimanikāya, vol. ii, p. 104.
$^{360}$ Chakravarti, Nilmani & Ghose, Mohendra Kumar. (A) Pāli Grammar, p. 2.
sugati\textsuperscript{361} (happy state) becomes suggati\textsuperscript{362} on the analogy of duggati (dur+gati); likewise subbaca\textsuperscript{363} (su+vacas) (meek) on the analogy of dubbaca, and anuddayā\textsuperscript{364} (compassion) on the analogy of niddaya (cruel). But due to false analogy sometimes new grammatical forms which are not covered by the rules of grammar, are created, e.g., manas and vacas are consonantal bases, and their instrumentive singular forms are manāsā and vacasā respectively, and on their analogy mukha and pada form the instrumental mukhasā, padasā etc. (xvi) Epenthesis: It being the insertion of a vowel between two consonants\textsuperscript{365} occurs invariably in the beginning of a monosyllabic word, e.g., siri\textsuperscript{366} (beauty)=śrī, hiri\textsuperscript{367} (shyness)=hrī, jiyā\textsuperscript{368} (a bow-string)=jyā, supina\textsuperscript{369} (a dream)=svapna. Epenthesis appears particularly in the following combinations: -a- is inserted between the conjunct -rh-, e.g., araham arham, garahati=garhati; -l- following a guttural or a palatal admits an insertion of -i-, e.g., kilesa\textsuperscript{370} (affliction)=kleśa; -i- is also inserted between the conjunct -ry- e.g., kadariya\textsuperscript{371} (miserly) =kadarya, but paryaṅka becomes pallaṅka (r=1); -ya- or -yā- at the end of a word preceded by

\textsuperscript{361} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, pp. 5, 205; v. p. 268.
\textsuperscript{363} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 180.
\textsuperscript{364} Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 204; ii, p. 199.
\textsuperscript{365} Duroiselle, Charles. (A) Practical Grammar of the Pāli Language (1915 ed.), p. 35.
\textsuperscript{366} Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 144.
\textsuperscript{367} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, pp. 51, 95; iii, p. 4 sq.
\textsuperscript{368} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 429.
\textsuperscript{369} Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 198; iv, p. 117.
\textsuperscript{370} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. v, pp. 232, 253.
\textsuperscript{371} Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, pp. 34, 96.
another consonant introduces an -i-, e.g., cariya (conduct)=caryā, sāmatthiya (ability)=sāmarthya, etc. (xvii) Instances of Prothesis which causes the addition of a letter or letters to the beginning of a word, can be found in santika\textsuperscript{372} (vicinity)=antika, itthi, itthi\textsuperscript{373} (woman)=strī. (xviii) Syncope: It being the contraction of a word by the omission or retrenchment of lefters from the middle may also be traced in Pāli, e.g., vehāsa\textsuperscript{374} (sky)=vehāyasa. (xix) Cases of Haplography and loss of syllable are noticed in aḍḍhatiya (for aḍḍhatatiya) (three and a half) and viṇñāṇaṅcāyatana\textsuperscript{375} (for viṇñāṇa- naṅcāy-) (sphere of infinite knowledge).

(u) It is found that the compositional sandhi in Pāli generally follows the rules of Sanskrit, especially in cases of older compounds. Some of the instances of vowel-sandhis may be found in dīpa\textsuperscript{376}=di+āpa, ajelakā\textsuperscript{377} (goats and sheep)=ajā+elakā, akkhaṇjana (an ointment for eye) akkhi+ānjana, rājesi (the royal sage)=rāja+isi, aggyagāra\textsuperscript{378} (a house for keeping fire)=aggi+āgāra, abhantara\textsuperscript{379} (internal)=abhi+antara, anvahām (everyday)=anu+aham, iśvāgata\textsuperscript{380} (welcome)=su+āgata, gavāssā (cattle and horses)=go+assā, aṇnoṅṇa\textsuperscript{381} (each other), cha-l-abhiṅṇa\textsuperscript{382} (endowed with the six

\textsuperscript{372}Dīghanikāya, vol. i, pp. 79, 144.
\textsuperscript{373}Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. ii, pp. 28, 138.
\textsuperscript{374}Dīghanikāya, vol. iii, p. 27; Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. v, p. 283.
\textsuperscript{375}Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{376}Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. v, p. 219.
\textsuperscript{377}Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. ii, pp. 42 sq., 209.
\textsuperscript{378}Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 501.
\textsuperscript{379}Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iv, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{380}Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iv, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{381}Jātaka, vol. v, p. 251.
\textsuperscript{382}Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. v, pp. 282, 290.
Apperceptions) = cha+abhiñña, du-v-aṅgika (two-fold) = du+aṅgika. A few cases of abnormal sandhi are found in attyappa (very few) = ati+appa, atricchā (greed) = ati+icchā etc. As no vocable in Pāli of the Nikāyas ends in consonant, the question of consonantal sandhi does not arise. Even then are found few instances wherein the consonantal sandhi occurs due to their inheritance from Old Indo-Aryan. In a few compounds the final consonant of the initial member simply joins with the initial vowel of the second member, e.g., digambara (a Jaina sect) = dig+ambara. In case of the prefixes -dus- and -nis-the final -s- changes to -r- as in Old Indo-Aryan and subsequently joins with the following vowel, e.g., nirāmaya (healthy) = nis+āmaya, nirujjoga (idle) = nis+ujjoga. Again the final consonant of the initial member can combine with the initial one of the second member in some compounds, which sometimes further undergoes the necessary phonological changes, e.g., vana-ppati (a forest-tree), vaya-ppatta (come of age), vāk-karāṇa (speech). Geiger refers to such sandhis as being formed just as in Sanskrit; but the phenomenon may be explained by saying that these compounds have been inherited from Sanskrit, with normal phonological changes. As regards the confrontation of vowels and consonants (mixed sandhi) we find that frequently an original initial consonant-group at the

Davane, Gulab V. Nominal Composition in Middle Indo-Aryan (Deccan College, 1956 ed.), p. 35.
385 Vinayapitaka, vol. iii, p. 47.
387 Davane, G. V. Nominal Composition in Middle Indo-Aryan, p. 148.
beginning of the second word reappears in sandhi due to exigencies of metre, e.g., tatra-ssu (from su=Sanskrit svid), na-ppajahanti; the ending -o-is occasionally retained in its original form -as- before -s-, e.g., lūkhas-sudām homi; when a nasal, vowel is confronted with a consonant, the Anusvāra before mutes and nasals is often changed into the corresponding nasal, e.g., āsabhaṃ-ṭhānāṃ, cittu-ppādam-pi.

Morphology

The morphology of a language means the constructions in which bound forms appear among the constituents. Thus a morphological study of the language of the first four Nikāyas will reveal some peculiarities of declension and conjugation, which are responsible for the formation of Pāli words and parts of words.

(a) Declension—The Pāli language of the Nikāyas like Sanskrit is rich in declension as in conjugation. It is seen that in Pāli the nominal stems have undergone numerous changes. The peculiar tendency of Pāli is either to drop end-consonants or add an -a- to them. So there lies very little scope in Pāli of consonantal declension. Still some

388 Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 77.
390 Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 77.
391 Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 69.
392 Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 43.
stray forms show their original consonantal nature, e.g., rājānaṁ, taco (nominative plural of tac-tvāc), vācā (instrumental singular of vāc) etc. The manner in which consonantal stems become vowel stems is found in forms like accusative (brightness) from arcis. Sometimes the transfer to vowel-flexion is effected by adding -a- to the consonantal stem. Thus besides vijju we get vjjutā (locative plural vjjutāsu). Similarly sarita (flowing stream) is sarit. Gender in Pāli is generally determined according to the rules of Sanskrit. But Pāli maintains some syntactical irregularities. Neutars in -a- are not seldom treated as masculine and vice versa, e.g., je keci ṛṣu ..., sabbe vat'ete, sabbe te ṛṣu, ime diṭṭhiṭṭhānā. Pāli has given up the dual number which has been replaced by the plural, e.g., ime candimasuriye, candimasuriyānam. As regards the cases in Pāli, the dative is replaced in both the numbers by the genitive. Only the -a- stems have retained in singular a dative in -āya-. The ablative and locative of -a- stems show three forms each, one in keeping with Sanskrit but the other two formed on the analogy of the forms of the pronouns. Thus the nominative plural dhammāse, instrumental ablative plural dhammehi and dhammehi remind us of the Vedic forms devāsah and devebhiḥ. Pāli

398 Dighanikāya, vol. iii, p. 196.
399 Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 67.
400 Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, p. 217.
402 Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 69.
403 Dighanikāya, vol. i, p. 10.
seems to be influenced also by Classical Sanskrit, which possesses the same forms for the ablative and genitive. In the declension of -i- and -u- bases, the -a- declension has influenced the masculine and neuter forms of the dative and genitive and thus we get forms like aggissa⁴⁰⁵ as well as aggino. This is mainly due to the influence of analogy. Likewise the locative is formed on the analogy of pronouns, e.g., aggismim, aggimhi. The form aggino of the dative and genitive appears due to the analogy of the neuter form of -i- and -u- bases which show regular forms like akkhino=Sanskrit akṣṇah. Aggina, for instrumental and ablative of masculine, and rattiyā for the same cases of feminine bases in -i-, show how the ablative is merging into the instrumental. The same tendency is also noticeable in case of the -u-declension. It is to be found that the declension of sakhī is an example of contamination. The accusative sakhāṇam and sakham are made on the analogy of -an- stems. The declension of the pronouns follows the Sanskrit rules on account of phonetic changes, e.g., aham, mam and mamam, maya, mama—mamam and mayham—amham, mayi are forms of the nominative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, dative, genitive and locative respectively of the pronoun of the first person. Similarly tvam-tuvam, tam-tavam-tuvam, tvayā-tayā-te, tava-tavam-tuyham, tayā-tvayā-te, tava-tuyham -te-tavam, tavyi-tayi are corresponding forms of the pronoun of the second person. And as regards the third person, forms of the demonstrative are used and they resemble the Sanskrit forms, e.g., so, tam, tena,

⁴⁰⁵ Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iv, p. 41.
tassa, tasmā-tamhā, tassa, tasmiṃ-tamhi. Pāli adjectives observe the rules of Sanskrit declension and comparison. So also numerals in Pāli follow Sanskrit numerals very closely.

(b) Conjugation—Pāli presents as many classes of roots as are found in Sanskrit. Its verbal system has lost the dual possessing two voices, namely, parassapada and attanopada, four moods, including the subjunctive, and four tenses, the present, aorist-imperfect, future and conditional. Pāli has no perfect. It is interesting to note that many Pāli roots have changed their class, e.g., yāyati from yā (to go), ayāya (which is to be looked upon as a form of the past tense of yā, and not as perfect of -i- or -yā-). Pāli seems to make no distinction between strong and weak terminations. Its imperative shows the same forms as in Sanskrit, excepting -mi- and -nti- of the first singular and third plural, which are due to the analogy of similar forms of the present. The -hi- going back upon old Sanskrit -dhi- may be found while it has become unusual in Sanskrit, e.g., ganhāhi, gachhahi. The -ssu- from -sva- of the second person attanopada is seen even with roots of the parassapada, e.g., bhavassu (Sanskrit bhava). The subjunctive in Pāli like in Sanskrit consists in the lengthening of the -a- before terminations, e.g., hanāsi, dahāti. The optative terminations are eyyāmi, eyyāsi, eyya for singular and eyyāma, ema,

or eyyātha, etha, eyyumu for the plural. But the imperfect and aorist are no longer sharply distinguished in ordinary cases. Both of them have coincided in the preterite which is generally named “aorist.” The terminations of the -s- in aorist are supposed to be due to the root -as-. Thus iṣam- iṣma, iḥ-iṣṭa, īt and iṣuḥ give in Pāli im-imha, i-ittha, i and imsu or isum. In Pāli future is easily formed after Sanskrit, with usual phonetic changes, e.g., dakkhati =draksyati, dassāmi; dakkhissati is evidently a double future. Apart from the ordinary bases, there are in Pāli causatives, desideratives, intensives, denominatives and present, past, future, potential participles as in Sanskrit. The infinitives in tum, tave, taye, tuye show a closer affinity of Pāli with the Vedic language. Besides, Pāli possesses a variety of gerunds like the Vedic language. It has retained the conditional. Various periphrastic formations which are found in Pāli are noteworthy; they are originated by the combination of participles, gerunds or verbal substantives with the verbs “to be” or “to become” or with other verbs of an indefinite meaning. It is interesting to observe that -a- stems predominate in the present system.

So far we have tried to present some peculiarities of the phonetic structure as also morphological formation of the Pāli language of the first four Nikāyas. Indeed early Pāli yields some interesting phenomena which are of utmost significance from the point of view of the history of the Indo-Aryan languages. Now we shall note that Pāli of the Nikāyas has a

410 Rhys Davids, Mrs. To Become or not to become (That is the Question): Episodes in the history of an Indian word (Luzac & co., 1937 ed.), pp. 87-112.
great influence over the formation of the Bengali language. It is found that many phonemes, words, idioms and phrases of Bengali have been derived directly from Pāli, e.g., Pāli amba=Bengali āma (mango), Pāli kammāra=Bengali kāmāra (smith), Pāli bhatta=Bengali bhāta (rice), Pāli hettha=Bengali het (below), Pāli cha=Bengali cha or chay (six) and so on. There are also some Bengali words which come from the Vedic language through Pāli, e.g.,

Vedic karma = Pāli kamma = Bengali kāma (work)
„ matsya = „ maccha = „ mācha (fish)
„ hasta = „ hattha = „ hāta (hand)
„ hastī = „ hatthī = „ hātī (elephant)
„ sapta = „ satta = „ sāta (seven)
„ aṣṭa = „ aṭṭha = „ āṭha (eight)

Further, we find that some Pāli idioms appear in Bengali with a slight phonetic change, e.g., Pāli kaṇṇam datvā=Bengali kān deoyā, Pāli kāle kāle=Bengali kāle kāle, Pāli pade pade=Bengali pade pade, Pāli khaṇe khane=Bengali kṣane kṣane, Pāli (gamanāya) kammam natthi=Bengali giye kām nei etc. There are also some Pāli phrases which appear

414 Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 28.
416 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. ii, p. 3.
418 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 301.
421 Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 61.
422 Dighanikāya, vol. i, p. 76.
in Bengali in their almost original forms, e.g., Pâli piṭṭhito piṭṭhito\(^{423}\)=Bengali pichane pichane, Pâli ekato hutvā=Bengali ek haye, Pâli kinti katvā=Bengali ki kare. It is remarkable in this connection to note that Hiuen-tsang, as he proceeded from west to east, found the Sanskrit-teaching Mahâyâna School diminishing and the Pâli-teaching Theravâda School flourishing. He observed more Theravâda monasteries in Bengal than in other parts of India. It testifies to the fact that Pâli had an intimate connection with the spoken language of Bengal. The Sanskrit influence appeared later, and though it has much influenced modern Bengali life, its basis is still to a great extent, Buddhist and Pâli. Mm. Hara Prasad Shastri cites a few instances of some Bengali words derived from Pâli.\(^{424}\) He states that the term Banerjee pronounced Bânrrurje, if analysed, will be found to contain two parts, Bânrrur and Je. Bânrrur is a contraction of Bânrruri, a village granted to one of the descendants of the five brâhmaṇas, by some Bengalee king. The descendants of that brâhmaṇa, took their family name from the village, and in the works of ghaṭaka genealogists, the entire clan is known as Bânrruri. The -je- is an honorific added to the word by the people who desired to show their respect to the members of the Bânrruri clan. But in Bankura this -je- is still pronounced as jhya, e.g. Bânrrurjhya, being a contraction of the Pâli term Upajjhâya\(^{425}\) (Skt.=Upaddhâya and Prâkrit=Uvajjhâyo, from which the Maithili word Ojhâ or Jhâ is

\(^{423}\) Dighanikâya, i, pp. i, 226.
\(^{425}\) Sahyuttanikâya, vol. i, p. 185.
derived). But the Bankura form of jhya is nearer to Pali than to Prakrit, and the -je- which is a contraction of jhya with a 'y', is more intimately connected with Pali than with Prakrit, or with Sanskrit. Similarly the Bengali form Upoś (Sansk.=Upavāṣ, Pāli=Uposatha, Jaina Prakrit=Upoṣadha or Poṣadha meaning fast) is more intimately related to the Pāli Uposatha than with anything else. Also the Bengali numerals cār, tera, chay, panara, satara, āṭhāra, as we have already observed, are all Pali forms. Although other vernaculars also possess the same forms, yet the Bengali pronunciation which is akin to Pali, is somewhat peculiar, i.e., the Bengalees pronounce the final -a- preceded by a compound consonant -o-, such as, adṛṣṭo, keṣṭo, naṣṭo, kaṣṭo and so on. Besides, according to Mm. H. P. Shastri again, as Pali became the court language for many centuries, many inscriptions from the very early period down to the fourth century A.C. all over India were written either in Pali or in Prakrits. Thus Pali had an opportunity of influencing the vernaculars of India, particularly Bengali.

426 Anguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 205 sq.
CHAPTER TWO

DISCOURSES TO THE LAITY

Buddhism is primarily a monastic religion and so encourages the householders to renounce the mundane life and to adopt the life of a recluse.¹ There is almost no Buddhist ritual or ceremony in which a layman may participate.² Gotama Buddha is conscious about the limitations and drawbacks which may stand on the way to spiritual progress of the lay people.³ His teachings are, therefore, mainly meant for the monks and nuns. Several reasons have prompted Buddha not to make special provisions for a lay-community. He maintains that the life of a monk is pure, open and free, but the life of a householder is impure and full of unavoidable complexities.⁴ Still he believes that it is not wholly impossible for a householder to attain the spiritual perfection. There are really some great men and women who inspite of their worldly difficulties and worry have found out the path of emancipation. But for an ordinary householder it is indeed an arduous task. So Tathāgata insists one and all to renounce the life of a householder and to take to the life of a recluse.⁵

¹Vinayapiṭaka, i, p. 37. (Caratha brahmacariyaṁ sammā dukkhassa antakiriyāyati).
²Conze, Edward. Buddhism: its essence and development, pp. 85-86.
⁴Majjhimanikāya i, p. 344; ii, p. 55. (Sambhādho gharavāso rajāpatho abbhokāso pabbajjā, navidaṁ sukaraṁ agāraṁ ajjhāvasatā ekantarpipunnam ekantaparisuddham sankhalikhitam brahmacariyaṁ carituṁ).
⁵Dutt, N. Early monastic Buddhism, ii, p. 208.
It is curious to note that though Buddhism is out and out a monastic religion, yet few stray discourses in the first four Nikāyas of the Pāli Canon are devoted to the daily life of the householders. The reasons for such occasional references to the lay people and their duties towards the Buddhist Order (Saṅgha) may be sought in the frequent demand of the bhikkhus for bare necessaries of earthly existence. The Buddhist lay worshippers have to provide the monks and nuns with all material needs, including the construction and repair of the monasteries and the more or less regular supply of food. Without such pious activities as enjoined by the Nikāyas, the Saṅgha cannot exist at all, because the bhikkhus themselves are not allowed to take part in the agricultural and commercial pursuits and in manual labour.\(^6\) Though the pious householder takes his refuge even in the Order of monks from whom he learns the Dhamma, yet these monks make no attempt to supervise or even to judge his life. The only punishment which the Saṅgha can inflict, to turn down the bowl and refuse to accept alms from the guilty hands, is reserved for those who have endeavoured to injure it and is not inflicted on notorious evil doers. This shows that “Gotama accorded to the laity a definite and honourable position”.\(^7\) Thus in fulfilling the sundry requirements of Buddha and his innumerable disciples (bhikkhus and samaññas), the householders come into close contact with the monks and subsequently being

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moved by their excellent demeanour and holy conduct are converted to Buddha's Dhamma. These people, thus, after their formal conversion become known as the upāsakas and upāsikās or male and female votaries who are distinguished from the ordinary householders (gahapatis). They take to the proper care of the monks during the retreats (vassāvāsa) having full opportunity of patient hearing to the religious discourses which may show them the path of emancipation. As already observed, Buddha does not chalk out a prescribed course of training for the lay people as he has done for the monks and nuns. Only there are a few directions for the guidance of the laity, which are enumerated below:

(a) a lay-follower of Buddha should take refuge in the holy Triad (Tisaraṇa),

(b) he should lend his ears to the religious discourses on the Uposatha days observed on the 8th, 14th or 15th day of each half-month,

(c) he should follow the first five of the ten Silas (moral rules); in addition to these five he should take three other Silas,

(d) he should offer robes to the monks on certain occasions, specially at the end of the rainy season retreat (vassāvāsa),


(e) he should visit the four places of pilgrimage,\(^\text{12}\) and

(f) he should venerate the stupas or sepulchral monuments, especially those contain the relics of Buddha.\(^\text{13}\)

Thus the institution of the aforesaid ceremonies distinguishes a lay-devotee (upāsaka and upāsikā) from a heretical one. Those rites are, of course, introduced as the occasions arise—the history of Buddhism itself bears testimony to such evolutionary process—regulating the life of the Buddhist householder.\(^\text{14}\) It is said that Tapassu and Bhalluka, the earliest disciples of Buddha, are the first ones to be the Dvevācika-upāsakas\(^\text{15}\) taking refuge in Buddha and Dhamma only, as the Saṅgha (Buddhist Fraternity) has not yet been formed; while Yasa’s father becomes the third Tevācika-upāsaka taking refuge in the holy Triad (Tisaraṇa). In the Majjhimanikāya\(^\text{16}\) we find that Ghaṭikāra, a potter, who cannot attain monkhood only due to a family obligation, observes the layman’s functions by taking threefold refuge following the fivefold principle and having perfect faith in threefold Jewel.\(^\text{17}\) He becomes


\(^{13}\) Ibid, ii, p. 142.


\(^{15}\) Vinaya, i, p. 4.

\(^{16}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 51-52 (Ghaṭikārasuttaṁ).

\(^{17}\) Buddhace aveccappasādāṇa samannāgato, Dhamme -pe- Saṅghe ariyakantehi sīlehi samannāgato.
fearless in misery,\(^{18}\) performs the duties of a saintly man,\(^{19}\) never longs for jewels, gold or silver.\(^{20}\) He does not dig earth by his own hands\(^{21}\) as it is an inanimate object, provides the blind and aged parents\(^{22}\) and attains emancipation.\(^{23}\) These functions and qualifications of Ghaṭikāra may conveniently be taken as those of a good and honest layman.

**Definitions of Gahapati and Upāsaka**

Before we enter into our discussion, let us explain the terms Gahapati (fem. Gahapatānī) and Upāsaka (fem. Upāsikā). In the P.T.S. Dictionary “Gahapati (gaha-pati. Vedic grhapati, where pati is still felt in its original meaning of ‘lord’ ‘master’, implying dignity, power and auspiciousness cp. Sk. dampati=dominus; and pati in P. Senāpati commander-in-chief, Sk. jāspati householder, Lat. hospes, Obulg. gospoda=potestas)” is defined as “the possessor of a house, the head of the household, pater familias (freq.+setṭhi).”\(^{24}\) Pāli ‘Gahapati’ is equivalent in this sense to Grāhastha, a layman, one living in his house (Grñhin, a householder, a layman, a married man).\(^{25}\) Thus Grāhastha (Bud. Skt.

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\(^{18}\) dukkhe nikkaṅkho dukkhasamudaye nikkaṅkho dukkhanirodhe nikkaṅkho dukkhanirodhagāmimiyā paṭipadāya nikkaṅkho.

\(^{19}\) ekabhāttiko brahmañci śīlavā kalyāṇadhāmno.

\(^{20}\) nikkhittamanisuvānno apetajātarūparajato.

\(^{21}\) na musalena na sahatthā paṭhavim khanati.

\(^{22}\) andhe jinne mātāpitaro posati.

\(^{23}\) pañcanam orambahāgiyānāṁ samyojanānāṁ parikkhayā opapātiko tatthā parinibbāyi anavattidhammo tasmā lokā.


gahastha, Pāli gahaṭṭha) means a householder, contrasted with Pravrajita. But F. Edgerton states: "In Pāli a gahapati is, to be sure, often associated with seṭṭhi=śreṣṭhin; the Pāli word is often rendered treasurer, but perhaps capitalist would be better (orig. guild leader)."26 Gahapati is, further, regarded as the "designation of a man of higher rank within the third caste (cp. kuṭumbika), seṭṭhi."27 It is treated as one of the seven 'jewels' of a cakravartin. The function of the grhapati (Pāli gahapati)-ratna is to discern the location of hidden treasures by means of the divyacakṣu which he possesses, and to bring those of them which are ownerless (asvāmika) into the possession of the king.28 So the Gahapati-ratna is called a wizard treasure-finder. The householders (Gahapatis) usually depend on arts and crafts (sippādhiṭṭhāna), and are engaged in their activities (kammantābhinisā) and aim at fruition of their works (nitṭhitā kammatapariyosanā).29 They are keen about accumulation of gold, crops, buildings, lands, wife, and servants—male or female.30 They are satisfied with the possession of worldly objects, with the enjoyment of the same, and also with a debtless and faultless condition.31 They en-

28 Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 229; iii, p. 391.
29 Dighanikāya, ii, 16, 176.
30 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 452.
31 Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 69. (Atthisukha, bhogasukha, anānasukha and anavajjasukha).
joy all sorts of sensual pleasures. In other words, the Gahapatis seek after sons, wife, unguents, garlands, gold, silver and other articles of luxury. They are expected to be energetic in their vocations, to take good care of the wealth earned in a proper manner, to be associated with persons having faith, good morals, charitable disposition and wisdom, and to endeavour to possess their good qualities and be like them. The formalised mode of address for the Blessed One, used by the Gahapatis is Bhante and Buddha addresses them as Gahapati. On meeting Buddha, they salute him. Gahapatis are sometimes afraid of retirement from household life and so are given to worldly enjoyments probably due to their ignorance of the evil consequence of attachment to worldly objects. From the Majjhimanikāya we learn that although many Gahapatis are engrossed in their worldly possessions, yet some are still religious minded and approach even Buddha and his disciples and often lend their ears to the sacred instructions, and thus gradually many of them avow themselves as upāsakas and upāsikās of Buddha.

The term Upāsaka (fem. Upāsikā), on the other hand, literally means ‘sitting close by’, i.e., a lay adherent, a lay devotee, or a lay follower who has deep faith in Buddhism and has also taken refuge in Buddha, his doctrine and his community of noble

32 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 505.
33 Aṅguttaranikāya, i, pp. 281-282; ii, p. 45.
34 Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 438.
35 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 401 (P.T.S.).
36 Frankfurter, O. Handbook of Pāli being an elementary grammar, a chrestomathy, and a glossary (1883 ed.), p. 158.
Sir Charles Eliot writes: “The word (i.e. Upāsaka) may be conveniently rendered by layman although the distinction between clergy and laity, as understood in most parts of Europe, does not quite correspond to the distinction between Bhikkhus and Upāsakas. European clergy are often thought of as interpreters of the Deity, and whenever they have had the power they have usually claimed the right to supervise and control the moral or even the political administration of their country. Something similar may be found in Lamaism, but it forms no part of Gotama’s original institution nor of the Buddhist Church as seen today in Burma, Siam and Ceylon.”

In this connection we may refer here to some of the temple attendants known as upāsakas mentioned in the South Indian Tamil inscriptions. Even today in Buddhist vihāras of Ceylon are found elderly men attending to temple rites and needs of monks, and these attendants are generally known as upāsakas, irrespective of their status in life. But later on the meaning is narrowed down and the term signifies an elderly person who is engaged in religious activities and frequents the Buddhist vihāras. The upāsakas generally address Buddha as Bhante and Bhagavā, salute him, and, before leaving, circumbulate him.

Thus an upāsaka is a pious Buddhist, a de-
vout or faithful layman who is not a member of the Saṅgha. His moral duties should be to observe the five Silas and his aim should be to earn a livelihood righteously and justly, avoiding the five sinful trades, namely, caravan trading, slave dealing, trades of butcher, publican and poison-seller. With affix “tv” (-tt), upāsakattam indicates the state of being a believing layman. Thus Upāsaka, a Buddhist layman approaching to virtue, is equivalent to Tibetan Dge-bsñen (fem. Dge-bsñen-ma) which also means a Buddhist devotee with only eight vows to observe. In Buddhist Sanskrit also the word Upāsaka (fem. Upāsikā, Upāsikī) means the lay-disciple of Buddha. For being an Upāsaka the acceptance of the first five sīkṣāpadas are obligatory. In the Saṃyuttanikāya it is stated that an Upāsaka should be virtuous (sīla-sampanno), faithful (saddhā-sampanno), charitable (cāga-sam-

44 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 208 (sattavanijjā, sattavanijjā, mān savanijjā, mājjanijjā, visavanijjā—imā kho bhikkhave pañca vanijjā upāsakena akaranijjā ti).
49 Saṃyuttanikāya, v, p. 395.
50 Yato kho Mahānāma upāsako pāṇātipātā paṭīvirato hoti, adinnādāna paṭīvirato hoti, kāmesu micchācāra paṭīvirato hoti, musāvādā paṭīvirato hoti, surā-meraya-majja-pamādaṭṭhāna paṭīvirato hoti.
51 Idha Mahānāma upāsako saddho hoti, saddhāti Tathāgata-sambodhim—iti pi so Bhagavā araham sammāsambuddho vijjācaranaṃsappanno.
panno), and wise (pañña-sampanno). Elsewhere also it is said that an upāsaka should have the following attributes, namely, he should be faithful (saddho), virtuous (sīla), indifferent of curious ceremonies (akotuhala-maṅgaliko), a believer not in luck but in deeds (kammaṃ paceti no maṅgalam), not a seeker, outside the Order, for a gift-worthy person and even there not a giver of first service. Thus it is evident that both the Upāsakas and Gaha-patis are laymen, while the Upāsakas have further to take the Tisaraṇa. Indeed there is not so much as any sharply drawn line between the upāsakas, who are to be regarded as adherents of the Order of Buddha, and those who stand aloof therefrom; entry into the circle of “votaries” (upāsakas) is dependent on no qualification but follows regularly upon a form fixed by custom, though not determined by rule. In order to become an upāsaka a person has only to declare in the presence of a monk, either on his own behalf alone, or jointly with wife, children and servants, that he takes his refuge in Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha.

In the Nikāyas, as we have already said, are some sugato lokavidu anuttaro purisa-dammaśārathi satthā devamanussānam Buddhho Bhagavā ti—ettāvatā kho Mahānāma upāsako saddhā-sampanno hoti ti.

52 Idha Mahānāma upāsako vigato-mala-macchareṇa cetasā agāraṃ ajjhāvasati, muttacāgo payatapaññi vossaggarato yācayogo dānasāmvybhāgarato—ettāvatā kho Mahānāma upāsako cāgasampanno hoti ti.
53 Idha Mahānāma upāsako paññāvā hoti udayabbayagāminīya paññāya samannāgato, ariyāya nibbedhikāya saṃmādukkhakhayagāminīya—ettāvatā kho Mahānāma upāsako paññāsampanno hoti ti.

discourses exclusively meant for the lay people. But such discourses dealing with a variety of topics are not many and sufficient and their rarity makes monastic Buddhism quite inadequate for being universal. It may be mentioned here that our present discussion contains Buddha’s discourses both to the Gahapatis (fem. Gahapatānīs) and Upāsakas (fem. Upāsikās) under general heading ‘Laity’. Buddha preaches his doctrines—ethical, religious and secular—to both the classes of people irrespective of any caste, creed, sex or status in the society. As the gahapatis listen to the instructions of Buddha and his disciples, they become in course of time more or less devout followers of the Buddhist principles of ethics and morality. They offer food, clothes, and other bare necessaries of life to the Buddhist monks and nuns. Sometimes, at the end of discourses, they signify their appreciation by expressing their noble wish to take Tīsaraṇa and become upāsakas till the end of their lives without even following actually ‘the moral code’ and observing ‘the duties prescribed for the Upāsakas’.

For the convenience of our study we propose to sum up Buddha’s discourses to the laity under three heads: ethical, religious and secular. These discourses contain teachings which are highly important for the lay people in their daily life. According to Buddha these conduce to their happiness and well-

56 Kindred Sayings, iv, pp. 190-255; Gradual Sayings, i, pp. 185 ff.
60 Lamotte, Étienne. Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, pp. 82-86.
being. A study of Buddha’s discourses to and for his householder-disciples, upāsakas and upāsikās, gahapatis and gahapatānīs, gives us a fair idea of the socio-ethical and religious life of the lay devotees.

**Ethical**

Buddha’s discourses to the laity, which may be grouped under “ethical” contain simple modes of good life and conduct. Ceremony and ritual have hardly any place in Buddhism which enjoins only “good conduct and morality: moderation in pleasures and consideration for others.” The Nikāyas devote many passages encouraging the ethical uplift of the lay people. According to Buddha the four vices of conduct which a householder should put away are: the destruction of life, taking of what is not given, licentiousness, and lying speech. The same has been sated in a versified form:

“Pāṇātipāto adinnādānāṃ musā-vādo ca vuccati, Para-dāra-gammanāṇi c’eva nappasamsati paṇḍitā ti.”

(slaughter of life, theft, lying, adultery—to these no word of praise the wise award)

With these another, i.e., not to drink intoxicants,
may be added. These five moral rules 66 are also the first five of the ten rules taught to the novices, and on the Fast-day the laity should keep them in the strict sense in which they are kept by the monks with the addition of rules six to ten. Sometimes the seventh and eighth of the novices’ rules are combined in one, so that the layman’s Fast-day vows form a list of eight. 67 The layman’s three other moral rules in addition to the five mentioned above are: to use no garlands or perfumes, to sleep not on a bed spread on the floor and to eat not after mid-day. A pious upāsaka should keep all these eight precepts, at least on the uposatha days, and often should make a vow to observe them for a special period. It should be noted in this connection that the layman is not called to celibacy, but is required to be faithful to his wife. In regard to this duty the admonitions of the Nikāyas are quite noteworthy. The husband and wife who live together here in equal faith, conduct, renunciation and knowledge, may hope to be together in the next world. 68 According to Buddhism, thus, a layman should be kind enough, temperate, and prudent. So it is often said that the lay morality is excellent in its own sphere—the good respectable life—and its teaching is most earnest and natural in those departments where the hard unsentimental precepts of the higher code jar on western minds. The right mode of life of a layman is described in several discourses in the four Nikāyas and in all of them, though almsgiving, religious conversation and hearing the

68 Saṁyuttanikāya, i, pp. 6, 18; Aṅguttaranikāya, iv. p. 55.
Dhamma are prescribed, the main emphasis lies on such virtues as pleasant speech, kindness, temper-ance, consideration for others and affection. Moreover a householder should not commit evil deeds out of four motives—partiality, enmity, stupidity and fear. But inasmuch as Buddha’s disciple is not to be led away by these motives, he, therefore, does not commit any evil deed. There are six channels for dissipating wealth. These are: addiction to intoxicating liquors, frequenting the streets at unseemly hours, haunting fairs, gambling, association with evil companies and idleness. Addiction to intoxicating drinks brings six dangers, such as, actual loss of wealth, increase of quarrels, susceptibility to disease, loss of good character, indecent exposure, and impaired intelligence. There are also six perils from frequenting the streets at unseemly hours, namely, such a person who frequents the streets untimely, is himself without guard or protection and so also are his wife and children; so also is his property; he moreover becomes suspected as the doer of undiscovered crimes, and false rumours imputed to him, and he has to undergo many troubles. The haunting of

71 ibid, p. 183. (Cha kho ’me gahapati-putta ādīnāvā surāmerayya-majja-pamāda-ṭhānāṇuyoga: sandiṭṭhikā dhanāṇjāni, kalaha-ppavaddhāni rogānaṁ āyatanaṁ, akitti-saṅjānani, kopīna-ṇiddāṁsāni, paññāya dubbali-kāranī).
72 ibid, p. 183. (Cha kh’me gahapati-putta ādīnāvā vikāla-visikhā-cariyāṇuyoge).
fairs also brings six dangers through thoughts of
dancing, singing, music, recitation, cymbals, or tam-
tams. From gambling the six perils that come out are
hated, loss of wealth, wastage of actual sub-
stance, diminution of worth as witness in a court of
law, contempt from friends and officials and dis-
advantages in marriage affairs.\textsuperscript{73} There are also six
perils from associating with evil companions like a
gambler, a libertine, a tripper, a cheat, a swindler,
and a man of violence.\textsuperscript{74} Lastly, in enumeration of
six perils from idleness it is stated that an idle person
says: ‘it is too cold’ and does no work; he complains:
‘it is too hot’ and does no work; he declares ‘it is too
early’ and does no work; he announces ‘it is too late’
and does no work; he tells that he is too hungry or
too full and does no work. And while all that he
should do remains undone, he does not gain new
wealth, and such wealth as he possesses dwindles
away.\textsuperscript{75}

According to Buddha a wrong-doer sustains five-
fold loss through his want of rectitude. In the first
place the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, falls into
extreme poverty through sloth; in the next place his
evil repute spreads abroad; thirdly, whatever society
he enters—whether of nobles, brāhmaṇas, heads of
houses, or men of a religious order—he enters shyly
and being confused; fourthly, he becomes full of an-

\textsuperscript{73} ibid, p. 183. (Cha kho 'me gahapati-putta ādinavā jūta-ppamāda-
tīhāṇānyuge: jayaṁ veraṁ pasavaṁ, jīno cittaṁ anusocati, sandhiṭṭhikā
dhananījī, sabbhagatassa vacanaṁ na rūhati, mittāmaccānāṁ pāribhuto
hoti, āvāha-vivahakānāṁ apaṭṭhito hoti, akcka-dhutto puriso-puggalo
nālāṁ dārā bharanāyāti. Ime kho gahapati-putta cha ādinavā jūtapp-
pamāda-ṭhāṇānyuge).

\textsuperscript{74} Dīghanikāya, iii, p. 183.

\textsuperscript{75} ibid, p. 184. (Cha kho 'me gahapati-putta ādinavā ālassāṇuyoge).
xity when he dies; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some unhappy state of suffering. A well-doer, on the other hand, through his practice of rectitude obtains fivefold profit, namely, acquirement of great wealth through industry, good name, full confidence and self-possession in entering the society of nobles, brāhmaṇas, heads of houses, or members of a religious order, death without anxiety, and rebirth into some happy state in heaven on the dissolution of the body, after death. Further in an answer to a householder Buddha remarks that a noble adherent worships the six quarters if he puts away the four vices in


conduct, neither performs any evil deed from four motives, nor pursues six channels for dissipating wealth and having avoided these he becomes a cover of the six quarters, practises so as to conquer both the worlds, tastes success both in this world and in the next, and lastly after death is reborn to a happy destiny in heaven. 78

In the Potaliyasutta Buddha has explained the nature of true-giving. 79 It is said that Potaliya, a householder, after giving up his all avocations makes over all his riches to his sons and lives on a minimum of food and covering. Once he approaches Buddha and tells him what he has done. At this Buddha says that the giving up of avocations in the noble doctrine is quite different from Potaliya's conception of the same. In this connection Buddha has elaborated his notion which is ethical in nature. According to Buddha there are eight things that conduce to the giving up of avocations. These are: (i) avoidance of onslaught on creatures through their non-onslaught; (ii) non-acceptance of what is not given; (iii) getting rid of lying speech through speaking the truth; (iv) avoidance of slanderous speech through unslanderous speech; (v) getting rid of covetousness and greed through non-covetousness and non-greed; (vi) getting rid of anger and fault-finding through no anger and no fault-finding; (vii) avoidance of

wrenchful rage through no wrenchful rage; (viii) getting rid of arrogance through no arrogance.\(^{80}\)

Elsewhere in a discourse we find mention of advantages of the giving (dāna) and moral habit (sīla). Giving up of vanity, depravity of pleasures of the senses, and the like have also been pointed out therein.\(^{81}\) For the moral uplift of the lay-devotees Buddha’s exhortation to the Brāhmaṇa householders of Sālā, a Brāhmaṇa village in Kosala, reveals a few ethical principles which are immune from religious sentiment and are applicable to all—a follower of Buddha or an indifferent person alike. We learn that threefold is the faring by not-dhamma, an uneven faring as to body; fourfold is the faring by not-dhamma, an uneven faring as to speech; threefold is the faring by not-dhamma, an uneven faring as to thought.\(^{82}\) If a person kills a being, he is cruel, bloody-handed, intent on injuring and killing, and without mercy to living creatures. He becomes a taker of what is not given; whatever property of another, in village or jungle, is not given to him he takes by theft. He is a wrong goer in regard to pleasures of the senses, if he has intercourse with girls protected by the mother, the father, a brother, a sister, relations, or husband. Thus is the threefold faring by not-dhamma, the uneven faring, in regard to body.\(^{83}\) A person is of lying speech, when

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\(^{80}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, pp. 361-363.

\(^{81}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 379.

\(^{82}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 286. (Tividhaṁ kho gahapatayo kāyena adhammacariyā-visitacariyā hoti, catubbhidham vācaya adhammacariyā-visitacariyā hoti, tividham manasa adhammacariyā-visitacariyā hoti).

\(^{83}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 286. (Idha gahapatayo ekacco pāṇātipāti hoti luddho lohitapāni hatapahata nivīṭho adayāpanno pāṇabhūtesu. Adinnāyā khe pana hoti, yan-taṁ parassà parivittupakaranaṁ gāma-
being cited and asked as a witness before a council or company or amidst his relations, or a guild, or a royal family he tells a lie; his speech becomes intentional lying either for his own sake or for that of another or for the sake of some material gain or other. And he is a slanderer; having heard something at one place, he communicates it elsewhere for causing variance among the people; or having heard something elsewhere he makes it known among them for causing variance among them; in this way he sows the seed of discord among those who are in harmony, foments those who are at variance and finds pleasure, delight and joy in discord; his only motive of speech is discord. And he is one of harsh speech as he utters such speech which is rough, hard, severe to others, abusive to others, bordering on wrath, not conducive to concentration. And he becomes a frivolous chatterer by speaking at a wrong time, uttering not in accordance with fact, telling without aim, speaking not about dhamma and discipline; he utters that speech which is not worth treasuring, is incongruous, which has no purpose, and is profitless. That is the fourfold faring by not-dhamma, the uneven faring in regard to speech. Likewise, a person becomes

gataṁ vā araññagataṁ vā tam adinnanāṁ theyya-sañkhātaṁ ādātā hoti. Kāmesu micchācari kho pana hoti, yā tā māturakkhitā piturakkhitā (mātāpiturakkhitā) bhāturakkhitā bhāginiṁrakkhitā niṁrakkhitā sasāṁikā sapatīyā, antamaṁ mātāgūnaparikkhittā pi, tathā rūpasu cārīttaṁ āpajjitā hoti. Evaṁ kho gahapatayo tividhammaṁ kāyena adhammacariyā visamacariyā hoti).

covetous by coveting the property of others, thinking: “O that what is the other’s might be mine”, he is malevolent in mind, corrupt in thought and purpose, and thinks: “Let these beings be killed or slaughtered or annihilated or destroyed, or may they not exist at all.” Again he is of wrong view, of perverted outlook, thinking: “There is no result of gift, there is no result of offering, no result of sacrifice; there is no fruit or ripening of deeds well done or ill done; there is not this world, there is not a world beyond; there is not a mother, there is not a father, there is no spontaneously uprising beings; there are not in the world recluses and brāhmaṇas who are facing rightly, proceeding rightly, and who proclaim this world and the world beyond, having realised them by their super-knowledge”. Such is the threefold facing in regard to thought. Buddha further states that non-observance of the aforesaid rules will entail merits. So threefold will be the facing by


dhamma, the even faring in regard to body, fourfold will be the faring by dhamma, the even faring in regard to speech and threefold will be the faring by dhamma, the even faring in regard to thought.

It is also mentioned elsewhere that an upāsaka if he observes five rules of immorality is blamed. As already stated, these are: taking life, taking what is not given, engaging oneself in sensual pleasures, telling lie and taking spirituous liquors that cause indolence. Abstaining from all these immoral acts a layman becomes able to attain confidence, heaven and virtue.

At one occasion Buddha addressing the Brāhmaṇa householders of a brāhmaṇa village called Nagara-vinda of Kosala says that those recluses and brāhmaṇas who are not devoid of attachment and confusion in regard to sounds, smells, tastes, touches cognisable by the body, mental states cognisable by the mind, and whose minds are not inwardly tranquillised, and who fare along evenly and unevenly in body, speech and thought, should never be revered or honoured. On the contrary, those recluses and brāhmaṇas who are devoid of attachment, etc.

87 ibid. (Pāṇātipīṭaḥ hoti, adinnādāyī hoti, kāmesu micchācāri hoti, māsāvādī hoti, surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhāyī hoti).
88 ibid. (Pañcahi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato upāsako avisārado agāram ajjāvasati).
89 Yo pānāṁ atimāteti musāvādaṁ ca bhāseti loke adīnnaṁ ādiyati paradāraṁ ca gacchati surāmerayapānaṁ ca yo naro anuyuñjati appahāya pañca verāni dussillo iti vuccati kāyassa bhedā duppaṅño nirayam so uppajjati. Yo pānāṁ nātimāteti musāvādaṁ na bhāsati loke adīnnaṁ nādiyati paradāraṁ na gacchati surāmerayapānaṁ ca yo naro nānuyuñjati pahāya pañca verāni stilvā iti vuccati kāyassa bhedā saarpaṅño sugātiṁ so uppajjati ti.
should be revered, honoured and esteemed. Thus it is categorically said that those persons who have thrown away lust in connection with six domains of sense, should be honoured.

In a discourse delivered by Buddha to the housefathers (gahapatis) and housewives (gahapatānis) we find that there are four ways of living together, viz, association of a vile man with a vile woman; a vile man with a devī; a deva with a vile woman; and lastly a deva with a devī. A man is called wicked and an evil-doer if he does not observe the first five silas or moral principles. He stays at home with a heart soiled by the taint of stinginess, abuses and reviles the recluses and the brāhmaṇas. But a person who is virtuous abstains from all evil activities, is of lovely nature, remains at home with a heart free from the taint of stinginess and is not an abuser or a reviler of the recluses and brāhmaṇas. There are fourfold bliss that a householder must acquire, e.g., the bliss of ownership, the bliss of wealth, the bliss of debtlessness, the bliss of blamelessness.

A peron enjoys the bliss of ownership, if he acquires wealth by energetic striving, possesses wealth amassed by the strength of the arm, and won by his sweat as also by lawful means. By acquiring wealth in such an arduous but noble manner, he enjoys the bliss of wealth and performs meritorious deeds therewith. If a person owes no debt, great or small, to anyone, he

91 Cattāro'me gahapatayo samvāsi.
93 Cattār' imāni gahapati sukhiṇi adhigamaniyāni ghīṇā kāma-bhoginā kālēna kālaṃ samayena samayaṃ upādāya: atthisukham, bhoga-sukham, anānasukham, anavajjasukham.
enjoys the bliss of debtlessness. Lastly, a person becomes blameless and enjoys the bliss of blamelessness by performing blameless deeds of body, speech, and mind\textsuperscript{94}.

Buddha has further explained to Anāthapiṇḍika, the householder, how a Buddhist layman with riches obtained by labour and zeal, gathered by the strength of the arm, earned by the sweat of the brow, and obtained in a lawful way, makes his parents, wife, children, slaves, work-people, friends and companions happy; wards off ill-luck from fire, water, kings, robbers, enemies, and heirs, attends the five oblations; namely, oblations to kin, guests, departed souls (petas), kings and gods; institutes offerings of lofty aim, celestial, ripening to happiness, leading heavenward, for all those recluses and godly men who abstain from pride and indolence, who bear all things in patience and humility, each mastering self, each calming self, and each perfecting self\textsuperscript{95}. So it is always obligatory for a lay-worshipper to refrain from doing evil deeds. Elsewhere the Exalted One has also revealed the causes of doing evil deed as follows: "Lust (lobho) is the reason, lust is the cause of doing an evil deed, of committing an evil deed; malice (doso) is the reason and cause ... delusion (moho) is the reason and cause ... and similarly not paying proper attention (ayonisomanasikāro) ... wrongly directed thought (micchāpanīhitam) are the reasons, are the causes of doing an evil deed, of committing an evil deed". Buddha has also shown the

\textsuperscript{94} Aṅguttaranikāya, pt. ii (P.T.S., 1888 ed.), pp. 69-70.
\textsuperscript{95} Aṅguttaranikāya, pt. iii (P.T.S., 1896 ed.), pp. 45-46.
causes of doing a lovely deed and committing a lovely deed in the following manner: "Not-lusting is the reason, not-lusting is the cause of doing a lovely deed, of committing a lovely deed, not-malice ..., not-delusion ..., paying proper attention ..., and rightly directed thought, are the reasons and the causes of doing a lovely deed, of committing a lovely deed".\(^{96}\)

At another occasion the Exalted One engages himself in a conversation with Anāthapiṇḍika, the housefather, about ten enjoyers of sense-pleasures. He says that (i) a certain enjoyer of sense-pleasures seeking after wealth unlawfully and arbitrarily does not make himself happy and cheerful, does not share with others and does not perform meritorious deeds, (ii) or a certain enjoyer of sense-pleasures seeking after wealth unlawfully and arbitrarily makes himself happy and cheerful but does not share with others and does not perform meritorious deeds, (iii) or a certain enjoyer of sense-pleasures seeking after wealth both lawfully and arbitrarily makes himself happy and cheerful, shares with others, and performs meritorious deeds, (iv) or a certain enjoyer of sense-pleasures seeking after wealth both lawfully and unlawfully, both arbitrarily and not, does not make himself happy and cheerful, nor shares with others, nor does meritorious deeds, (v) or a certain enjoyer of sense-pleasures seeking after wealth both lawfully and unlawfully, both arbitrarily and not, makes himself happy and cheerful, yet does not share with others, and does not perform any meritorious deeds, (vi) or a certain enjoyer of sense-pleasures seeking

after wealth in such manner does as mentioned above, (vii) or a certain enjoyer of sense-pleasures seeking after wealth lawfully but not arbitrarily neither makes himself happy and cheerful nor shares with others, nor performs meritorious deeds, (viii) or a certain enjoyer of sense-pleasures seeking after wealth lawfully, not arbitrarily, though makes himself happy and cheerful, yet neither shares with others nor performs meritorious deeds, (ix) or a certain enjoyer of sense-pleasures seeking after wealth lawfully, not arbitrarily, makes himself happy and cheerful, shares with others and performs meritorious deeds, but makes use of his wealth with greed and longing and becomes infatuated therewith, heedless of the danger, blind to his own salvation, (x) or a certain enjoyer of sense-pleasures seeking after wealth lawfully, not arbitrarily makes himself happy and cheerful, shares with others, performs meritorious deeds, and makes use of his wealth without greed and longing, with infatuation and is neither heedless of the danger nor blind to his own salvation.  

Religious

Evidently the first four Nikāyas contain also some religious discourses describing the strength and weakness of laymen. Such discourses particularly enumerate certain facts about the religious life and activities of the Buddhist laity explaining some doctrines from the Buddhist point of view. But it should be noted that inspite of religious spirit these discourses deal with some universal ideals which are

free from all sectarianism. Thus Buddha by way of his conversation to Kevaḍḍha, the young householder, enumerates certain wonders which may broadly be classified under three heads, namely, the mystic wonder, the wonder of manifestation, and the wonder of education. As regards the first, Buddha states that a bhikkhu enjoys the possession, in various ways, of mystic power (iddhi-vidham): from being one he becomes multiform; from being multiform he becomes one; from being visible he becomes invisible; he passes without hindrance to the other side of a wall or a battlement or a mountain, as if through air; he penetrates up and down through solid ground, as if through water; he walks on water without dividing it, as if on the ground; he travels cross-legged through the sky, like the birds on wing; he touches and feels with the hand even the Moon and the Sun, beings of mystic power and potency; he reaches, even in the body, up to the heaven of Brahmā; and some believers of trusting heart behold him doing so. In connection with the wonder of manifestation Buddha says that a bhikkhu makes manifest the heart and the feelings, the reasonings and the thoughts, of other beings, of other individuals uttering: "So and so is in your mind. You are thinking of such and such a matter. Thus and thus are your emotions". And accordingly someone with a trusting heart observes him doing so. Speaking of the third type of wonder the Exalted One relates that a bhikkhu teaches one to reason or not to reason in this manner or in that manner, to consider thus and

not thus, to get rid of this disposition, to train oneself, and to remain, in that. Buddha being himself endowed with certain miraculous power, bears a great contempt against the display of such wonders as he perceives danger in it. He, at another occasion, says to Jīvaka Komārabhacca, the physician and one of his prominent lay-disciples, that any person who is to kill a living creature for a Tathāgata or his disciples, accumulates demerit in five ways, viz., speaking of fetching such and such living being, as that ill-fated being experiencing pain, ordering to kill that creature, as that living being experiencing pain and distress when it is killed, and proffering it to a Tathāgata or a Tathāgata's disciple. So staying among the Koliyas, the Exalted One speaks to Puṇṇa and Seniya about four kinds of deeds, e.g., the deed that is dark, dark in result; the deed that is bright, bright in result; the deed that is both dark and bright, both dark and bright in result; the deed that is not dark and not bright, neither dark nor bright in result; and the deed that conduces to the destruction of deeds. Further in an answer to a question asked by Abhayaraṇjakumāra, Buddha replies that any speech which is known to be not fact, not true, not connected with the goal, disliked by others and disagreeable to them, is not uttered by the Tathāgata. Likewise a speech that is known to be fact, true, but not connected with the goal, and not liked by others, disagreeable to them, is never

100 Majjhimanikāya; ed. by Trenckner, vol. i, p. 389.
101 Son of king Bimbisāra of Magadha.
uttered by the Tathāgata. But he is aware of the right time for explaining a speech which he considers to be fact, true, connected with the goal; but not liked by others and disagreeable to them. The Tathāgata does not utter a speech which he knows to be not fact, not true, not connected with the goal, but is liked by others and agreeable to them. He does not utter also a speech which is known to be fact, true, but not connected with the goal, yet liked by others and agreeable to them. But the Tathāgata is aware of the right time for explaining a speech that is considered to be fact, true, connected with the goal, and liked by others and agreeable to them. The Tathāgata will act in such a manner out of compassion for creatures.

Once at a brāhmaṇa village named Sāla of the Kosalas, the Exalted One discusses among the brāhmaṇa householders about the sure (certain, true, or absolute) Dhamma which brings welfare and happiness for the householders. According to Buddha there are some recluse and brāhmaṇas who think: “There is no result of gift, of offering, of sacrifice, or of deeds well done or ill done; there is neither this world nor a world beyond; there is no benefit from serving parents; there is no spontaneously uprising being; there are not in the world recluses and brāhmaṇas who are faring rightly, proceeding rightly, and who proclaim this world and a world beyond, having realised them by their own super-knowledge”. On the contrary, there are some other recluses and brāhmaṇas who declare: “There is the result of gift,
offering, or sacrifice; there is the fruit and ripening of deeds well done and ill done; there is this world; there is a world beyond; there is benefit from serving parents; there is spontaneously uprising being; there are in the world recluses and brāhmaṇas who are faring rightly, proceeding rightly, and who proclaim this world and a world beyond, having realised them by their own super-knowledge”. Thus it is evident that the upholders of the former view are not conscious of the right conduct of body, speech, or thought, but follow the wrong conduct of body, speech, or thought, while the propounders of the latter view having laid aside the bad things follow the good things as they see the peril, the vanity, the defilement in wrong things and the advantage, allied to purity, of renouncing them for states which are good.\(^{104}\)

Buddha has further said that a man being lack of faith and morals, divining curious ceremonies, believing in luck, but not in deeds, and giving gifts outside the Order is called the outcaste of laymen (upāsakacandaḷo), the dirt of laymen (upāsakalam), and the offscouring of laymen (upāsakapatiṇṭho)\(^{105}\). Following the opposite ways a person becomes the jewel of laymen (upāsakaratanam), the lily of laymen (upāsakapadumam), and the lotus of laymen (upāsakapūndariko). It is further stated that by achieving faith for self, but striving not to compass it in another, gaining virtue
and renunciation for self, or longing himself to see the marks or to hear Saddhamma, being mindful himself of Dhamma, being mindful but striving not for another to reflect thereon, knowing himself the letter and the spirit of Dhamma and walking in conformity therewith, a lay-disciple helps his own welfare, but not of another. If he does the same for another man, the lay-disciple will cause welfare of his own as well as welfare of another. There are indeed seven activities which hasten the decline of the lay-disciples, namely, failing to look after the monks, being negligent in hearing the noble doctrine, learning not higher morality, having little trust in elder, novice or mid-term monk, seeking faults with the Dhamma with a critical mind, searching a gift-worthy person who does not belong to the Saṅgha, and serving him first.

The Exalted one has further explained how a disciple becomes liberated from fivefold dread and hatred. When the fivefold dread and hatred will cease, the disciple becomes endowed with the four possessions of the Stream-winner and declares the self just by the self: “Destroyed for me is hell; destroyed for me is rebirth in the womb of an animal; destroyed for me is the realm of the Petas; destroyed for me is the untoward way, the ill way, the abyss. I am a Stream-winner, not subject to any falling back, assured and bound for the awakening”. But a lay-

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107 Satt‘ime bhikkhave dhammad upāsakassa parihānāya samvattanti.
108 Aṅguttaranikāya, pt. iv (1899 ed.), p. 25. (Bhikkhu-dassanaṃ, hāpeti, saddhammasavānām pamajjati, adhisilē na sikkhati, appasagadabhalo hoti bhikkhusu thersu c’eva navesu ca majjhimesu ca, upārambhacitto dhammaṃ sunāti randhagavesi, ito bahiddhā dakkhinēyām gavesati, tattha ca pubbakāraṃ karoti).
disciple begets dread and hatred by taking life, by taking what is not given, and the like. On the whole, a faithful layman should have unwavering faith in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. Being endowed with unbroken, untarnished and blameless merits, and highly praised by the wise he directs his attention to concentration.\textsuperscript{109}

Elsewhere in connection with the explanation of Dhamma it has been said by the Exalted One that there are five strands of sense-pleasure, namely, material shapes, sounds, smells, tastes and touches cognisable by the eye, ear, nose, tongue and body respectively, which are agreeable, pleasant, liked, enticing, connected with sensual pleasures, and alluring\textsuperscript{110}. Next Buddha says that the situation may appear when an individual here may be set on the material things of the world, and the talk of the individual who is set on the material things of the world follows a pattern in accordance with which he reflects and ponders, and he associates with that man under whom he finds felicity; but when there is a talk connected with imperturbability he does not lend his ears, does not listen, does not arouse his mind to profound knowledge, and does not associate with that man under whom he does not find felicity. On the contrary, a situation may exist when an individual here may be set on imperturbability and the talk of the individual who is set on imperturbabi-

\textsuperscript{109} Āṅguttaranikāya, pt. iv (1899 ed.), pp. 405-407.

lity follows a pattern in accordance with which he reflects and ponders, and he associates with that man under whom he finds felicity; but when there is a talk connected with the material things of the world he does not listen, does not lend his ears, does not arouse his mind to profound knowledge, and he does not associate with that man under whom he does not find felicity. Thus an individual who is set on imperturbability, like a sere leaf, loosened from its stalk and unable to become green again, loses the fetter of the material things of the world. But such a situation may exist when certain individual here may be set on no-thing, and talk of the individual\textsuperscript{111}, who is set on the plane of no-thing follows a pattern in accordance with which he reflects and ponders, and he associates with that man under whom he finds felicity; but when there is a talk connected with imperturbability he does not listen. Thus an individual, as a rock that is broken in two cannot become whole again, even so, when the fetter of imperturbability is broken by that individual who is set on the plane of no-thing\textsuperscript{112}, should be spoken of as an individual who is set on the plane of no-thing. Further, a situation may arise when an individual here may be set on the plane of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, and the talk of the individual\textsuperscript{113}, who is set on the plane of neither-perception-nor-non-perception follows a pattern in accordance with which he reflects and ponders, but he does not listen the talk connected with the plane.

\textsuperscript{111} purisa-puggalo ākiñcaññasadhimutto assa.
\textsuperscript{112} ākiñcaññāyatanādhimuttassa purisa-puggalassa ye se bhinne.
\textsuperscript{113} purisa-puggalo nevasaññānāsaññāyatanādhimutto.
of no-thing. Thus he becomes like a man who after eating a meal of dainties throws away the remains. When the fetter of the plane of no-thing is laid aside by such an individual, he should be spoken of as an individual who is set on the plane of neither-perception-non-perception. Again a situation may appear when a person here may be set on perfect Nibbāna\textsuperscript{114}, and the talk of that individual follows a pattern in accordance with which he reflects and ponders, but when there is a talk connected with the plane of neither-perception-nor-non-perception he does not listen, as a palm-tree whose crown has been cut off and which cannot grow again. Such a person is not liable to rise up again in the future. But a situation may appear when it occurs to certain monk here that: “Craving has been called a dart and the virus of ignorance by the recluse. It wrecks a man with desire, attachment and ill-will. The dart of craving has been got rid of and the virus of ignorance has been drained off by me. I am set on perfect Nibbāna”. Thinking thus he may be proud of his existence. He may give himself upto deleterious vision of material shapes through the eye, he may give himself upto deleterious sounds through the ear, ... to deleterious smells through the nose, ... to deleterious tastes through the tongue, ... to deleterious touches through the body ... and to deleterious mental states through the mind. As he does so, attachment may assail his thought; with his thought assailed by attachment he may come to death or to suffer much. It is to be noted that the ‘wound’, ‘virus’, ‘arrow’, ‘surgeon’s probe’, ‘knife’;

\textsuperscript{114} sammānibbānādhimutto.
and ‘physician and surgeon’ are synonyms for the six inner sense-fields: ignorance, craving, mindfulness, noble wisdom, and the Tathāgata respectively. Indeed a monk who restrains himself among the six fields of sensory impingement, thinking: “Clinging is the root of anguish”, and having understood it so, becomes free from clinging due to the destruction of clinging. That is why he does not focus his body on clinging or devote his thought to it.\footnote{Majjhimanikāya, vol. ii, p. i (P.T.S.), pp. 252-261 (Sunakkhattasutta).}

In another discourse recorded in the Majjhimanikāya we find that due to excessive love and affection for others, human beings experience much affliction. Thus it is said, for instance, that as a child who is dear, pleasant and the only son of a householder passes away\footnote{aññatarassa gahapatissa ekaputtako piyo manāpo kālakato hoti.}, the father becomes upset and cries for the child at the place of cremation\footnote{Majjhimanikāya, vol. ii, pt. i (P.T.S.), p. 106.}. Buddha so declares that grief, sorrow, suffering, lamentation and despair are born of affection and originate in affection. But bliss and happiness are neither born of affection nor originated in affection. In another illustration it is said that as a certain woman’s mother in Sāvatthi has passed away, that woman being unbalanced and unhinged goes from street to street, from cross-road to cross-road, asking about her deceased mother. Similar is the condition of the woman when her father, brother, sister, son, daughter, or husband passes away. A man also becomes unbalanced when his mother, father, brother, sister, son, daughter, or wife dies. A woman may again suffer from grief etc. as she goes to her relations’
family. Thus it is evident that due to love and affection human beings have to suffer much and cannot attain spiritual salvation. Buddha in this connection says that there are two types of people in the world, namely, those who are not wholly set free and those who are wholly free\(^{118}\). But in another context Buddha states that a discreet layman who is sick, suffering, and very ill, ought to be consoled by another prudent layman with the following consoling words:\(^{119}\)

\((i)\) “Be consoled friend, that you have perfect faith in Buddha who is the Lord, the Arahat, the all enlightened, endowed with knowledge and conduct, the Happy One, knower of the world, unsurpassed charioteer of men, teacher of gods and men ...

\((ii)\) Be consoled, friend, that you have perfect faith in the Doctrine which has been actually seen and well preached by the Lord ...

\((iii)\) Be consoled, friend, that you have perfect faith in the Lord’s Order of disciples who walk rightly, straightly, properly and correctly and are worthy of sacrifices, hospitality, offerings, and of being saluted with clasped hands ...

\((iv)\) Be consoled, friend, that you have perfect faith in the moral rules beloved by the noble ones, which are whole, unbroken, unspotted, unblemished, and tending to concentration”. Next the sick layman should be told that he is subject to death inspite of his longing for his parents, wife, children or five human pleasures of sense and that more excellent and exalted than human pleasures of sense are the divine pleasures. Thus it is well for him to raise his mind above human pleasures and to fix it gradually on the

\(^{118}\) Saṃyuttanikāya ; ed. by Leon Feer, pt. iv, pp. 109, 116.

\(^{119}\) Sappāṇṇena Mahānāma upāsako sappāṇno upāsako ābādhiko dukkhitā bājha-gilāno catūhi assāsaniyehi dhammehi assāsetabbo.
four great kings, in stages to heaven of the Thirty-three gods, the Yama gods, the Tusita gods, the Nimmānarati gods, the Paranimmitavasavatti gods, and the Brahma-world. He should further be instructed that even the Brahma-world is impermanent, unstable, and limited to the individual. So it will be well for him to raise his mind above the Brahma-world and to collect it on the cessation of the individual and at this stage there lies no difference between a lay-disciple who thus avers and the monk whose mind is liberated from the Āsavas. Evidently a pertinent question may thus be raised as to the attainment of the final emancipation by a layman. An examination of the Nikāyas shows that though the layman is declared incompetent by reason of his mental and spiritual outfit to reach the highest stage of spiritual attainment, namely, Arahatthood, yet he can reach the other three stages, e.g., Sotāpanna, Sakadāgāmi and Anāgāmi. Thus a special teaching, as reserved for the religieux, is not given to ordinary lay people—a teaching in which the learner is taught to “train himself not to be the creature of this world or of any other world”. It is said that there is a gulf of difference between the mode of life of a Muni and that of a householder. A Muni always protects living creatures, being himself restrained, while a householder usually maintaining a wife is intent upon the destruction of other living creatures.

121 Dīghanikāya, i, p. 92; Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 462-468.
123 Further Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, p. 303.
being himself unrestrained. Like a crested bird with the blue neck (i.e. the peacock) who never attains the swiftness of the swan, a householder does not equal a bhikkhu, a secluded Muni meditating in the wood\(^ {124}\). Prof. de la Vallée Poussin thinks: "Laymen, however faithful, generous, and virtuous they may be, even if they practice the fortnightly abstinence and continence of the Upavāsa, cannot reach Nirvāṇa"\(^ {125}\). Nāgasena also says that on the very day when a householder attains arahathood, he must either die or take the yellow robe\(^ {126}\). Thus it is evident that no lay-devotee can attain arahathood. We find that any householder without giving up the householder’s life cannot destroy his sufferings even at the time of his death\(^ {127}\). He may at best be an Anāgāmi being born once more as a god to attain the Nibbāna. But Dr. B. C. Law thinks that the householders also can become arahats\(^ {128}\). He draws his support from the Nikāyas\(^ {129}\), in which it is said that gahapatis like Sudatta, Citta, Ugga and a few other lay-devotees realised the immortal (amatadāso), i.e., Nibbāna. To reconcile these two opposite views, we may take resort to Buddhaghosa who thinks that Yasa, Uittiya and Setu are householders mere in name and in external dress; they are free from all worldly bonds though they have not yet discarded the white dress of a lay-devotee\(^ {130}\). It may,

\(^ {124}\) Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 12.
\(^ {125}\) Poussin. (The) Way of Nirvana, pp. 150-151.
\(^ {126}\) Milindapañha, p. 265.
\(^ {127}\) Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 483 (Natthi koci gihī gihisāmyojanaṁ appahaṁ kāyassa bhedā dukkhass' antakaro' ti).
\(^ {128}\) Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, xiv, p. 72.
\(^ {130}\) Papañcasūdani, iii, p. 196.
therefore, be concluded that normally a householder cannot become an arhat, but there are some exceptional householders who become so spiritually advanced that they deserve arhathood. Still the convention is that no householder unless he gives up his household life will be recognised as an arhat. Upāsakas like Citta and Hatthaka, and Upāsikās like Khujjuttarā and Nandamātā are more spiritually advanced than many monks and nuns, but still they are sekhas and not asekhas (= arhats)\textsuperscript{131}. They are said to have destroyed the orambhāgiya impurities\textsuperscript{132}, but not the five uddhambhāgiyas\textsuperscript{133}, viz., rūparāga, arūparāga, māna, uddhacca, and avijjā, and hence, they cannot attain arhathood\textsuperscript{134}.

Turning to the discourses to the laity again we find that Buddha advises the householder to train himself by saying: “Come now, let us, from time to time, enter and abide in the zest that comes of seclusion”\textsuperscript{135}, and suggests him to be endowed with the following eight marvellous and wonderful qualities:\textsuperscript{136} (i) as the householder first sees the Exalted One, even a long way off, his heart at the mere sight of him, should become tranquil\textsuperscript{137}; (ii) when the Exalted One knows that the householder’s heart is clear, malleable, free from hindrance, uplifted, lucid, then he reveals to him the Dhamma-teaching, to wit, ill,

\textsuperscript{131} Visuddhimagga, p. 442.
\textsuperscript{132} Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 467, 490-491.
\textsuperscript{133} Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 456.
\textsuperscript{135} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii (P.T.S.), p. 207. (Kiñcita mayam kālena kālam pavivekaṁ pītiṁ upasampajja vihareyyamāti.)
\textsuperscript{137} yadāhāṁ bhante Bhagavantāṁ paṁthamaṁ dūrato' va addaśam. saha dassanen' eva me bhante Bhagavato cittaṁ pasīdi.
its coming-to-be, its ending and the way and the householder should understand that whatsoever is conditioned by coming-to-be is subject to ending and should see the Dhamma, overcoming doubt and uncertainty, taking refuge in Buddha, Dhamma, and Sāngha, and embracing the five rules of training in godly life\(^\text{138}\); \((\text{iii})\) the householder even having possessed of four wives, young girls\(^\text{139}\), like Uggā the householder, should not be a whit discomfited at parting with his wife\(^\text{140}\); \((\text{iv})\) he should share the wealth of his family impartially\(^\text{141}\); \((\text{v})\) when he waits upon a monk, he should serve him respectfully\(^\text{142}\); \((\text{vi})\) as the venerable monk preaches the Dhamma, the householder should listen attentively and not listlessly, and while the monk does not preclude the Dhamma, he should preach him\(^\text{143}\); \((\text{vii})\) although the Devas come to him, yet the householder should not feel any elation

\(^{138}\) yadā maṃ Bhagavā aṇṇasi kallacittam muducittam vinivaranacittam udaggacittam pasannacittam, atha ya buddhānaṃ sāmukkampikā dhamma-desanā, taṃ pakāsati: dukkhāṃ samudayaṃ nirūduḥ maggam. Seyyathā pi nāma suddhaṃ vattāhāṃ agapatakālakaṃ samm-d-eva rajanaṃ patti-gganheyya, evaṃ va khe me tasmiṃ yeva āsane virajam viṭamalam dhamma-cakkhūṃ udapādi yaṃ kiici samudaya-dhammaṃ sabbāṃ taṃ niruddhadhammaṃ ti. So kho ahaṃ bhante dīṭṭhadhammo pattadhanno viditadhanno pariyojāhadhammo tiṇṇavicikiccho vigatakathamkatho vesārajjasatto aparappaccayo satthu eva bhuddhaṃ ca dhammañ ca saṅghaṃ ca saraṇaṃ agamāsīṃ brahma-macariya-pañcamāni ca sikkhāpadaṇi samādīyati.

\(^{139}\) catasso kumāriya pajāpatayo.

\(^{140}\) kumāriṃ kho panāhaṃ bhante dāraṃ pariccajanto nābhijānāmi cittassā aṇṇathattam.

\(^{141}\) sāravajjanti kho pana me bhante kule bhogā, te ca kho appativibhattā silavantehi kalyāṇadhamehi.

\(^{142}\) yaṃ kho panāhaṃ bhante bhikkhuṃ payirūpāsīṃ sakkaccam yeva payirūpāsīṃ na asakkaccam.

\(^{143}\) so ce me bhante āyasmā dhammaṃ deseti, sakkaccam yeva suṇāmi no asakkaccam, no ce me āyasmā dhammaṃ deseti, ahaṃ assa dhammaṃ desem.
as he talks to the Devas\(^{144}\); (viii) and lastly, the householder should not possess any remnant whatsoever of those five lower fetters declared by Buddha\(^{145}\). Apart from such eight marvellous qualities of the householder, mention may also be made of some other qualities which are as follows: (a) a true householder should consider to give impartially to the Order and should not discriminate in the matter of distribution\(^{146}\); (b) his mind should become tranquil and drunkenness should vanish as he will see the Exalted One a good way off\(^{147}\); (c) as the householder being virtuous passes away, there should remain for him no fetter, fettered by which he will be reborn\(^{148}\). In another context Buddha further reveals the true nature of the sabbath (uposatha)\(^{149}\) which is of three types, namely, the sabbath of the herdsman (gopālakūposatho), the sabbath of the naked ascetics (nigaṇṭhūposatho), and the sabbath of the ariyans (ariyūposatho). As regards the sabbath of the herdsman, it is said that the herdsman at eventide will restore the kine to their owners, reflect over the grazing of the kine at such and such a

\(^{144}\) na ‘kho panāhāṁ bhante abhijānāmi tatonidānaṁ cittaṁ unnatāṁ āmaṁ vā devatā upasamkamanti, āhaṁ vā devatāhi sattāṁ sullāpāmi ti.

\(^{145}\) yān'īmāni bhante Bhagavā bhīṣita dhāmbhāriyāni saṁyojānāni, nāhaṁ tesāṁ kīṇci attani appahināṁ samanupassāmi.


\(^{147}\) yadāhaṁ bhante Nāgavane paricaranto Bhagavantaṁ paṭhamaṁ dūrado 'va addasatā, saha dassane 'eva me bhante paṭhama acchariyo abhutto dhammo samvajjati.

\(^{148}\) sace kho panāhāṁ bhante Bhagavato paṭhamataraṁ kālāṁ kareyyāṁ anacchariyāṁ kho pan'eṭam. yaṁ maṁ Bhagava 'evaṁ vyākareyya 'nattthi taṁ saṁyojanāṁ, yena saṁyojanena saṁyutto ... gahapati ... pana imaṁ lokāṁ āgaccheyyā ti.

\(^{149}\) Aṇguttaranikāya, pt. i, (1885 ed.), pp. 205-212.
spot and drinking at such and such a spot and think over the routine of the next day; similarly it may happen that a sabbath-keeper will reflect over his food, both hard and soft, of the next day and spend the day engrossed in such covetous desire, and in this way he will observe the sabbath of the herdsman. The sabbath of the naked ascetics is so called because some naked ascetics exhort their disciples on the sabbath-day to give up all clothes feeling that they have no interest in anything anywhere, and herein there remains no attachment to anything. Inspite of such behaviour their parents will know them for their sons and they themselves will know the latter for their parents. Their children and wives will know them for fathers and husbands respectively, and they will know them for children and wives. Their slaves and workmen will know them for their masters and they in their turn will know them for their slaves and workmen. Thus at a time when all are exhorted to keep the sabbath, it is under false notions that they will exhort them. Because even on the next day they may resume the use of others' belongings. According to Buddha, such a process is no better than stealing and that is why the naked ascetics' sabbath also is bereft of any fruit or merit. On the other hand, the ariyan sabbath which is probably the best among the three entails the purification of a soiled mind by a proper method which may be described in the following manner: the ariyan disciple should call to mind the Tathāgata as the Exalted One, the Arahant, the Perfectly Enlightened One, a World-knower, Teacher of the Devas and mankind. Thus his mind should become calmed with the disappearance of the impurities of
the mind like the cleansing of the soiled head. The cleansing of the dirty head is made by means of cosmetic paste and clay, with the help of water and the appropriate effort of the persons using them. But the cleansing of the impure mind is done by thinking of Tathāgata with all his merits. In such a manner the ariyan disciple should keep the Brahmā-Sabbath and dwell with Brahmā because it is owing to Brahmā that his mind will become calmed and the defilement of his mind will be avoided. Further the cleansing of the soiled mind is done by recalling in his mind the Dhamma which is well proclaimed by the Exalted One, which is a real thing, which invites one to come and see it and leads one onwards and which is understood by the intelligent for themselves. Thus the ariyan disciple is said to keep the sabbath of Dhamma and dwell with Dhamma, because it is owing to Dhamma that his mind is calmed and free from all dirty elements. The cleansing of the soiled mind is also done by thinking of the Order of disciples who walk uprightly and dutifully. So the ariyan disciple should keep the sabbath of the Order and dwell with the Order. Again the cleansing of the soiled mind is made by recalling to mind the ariyan disciple’s own virtues which are unbroken, whole, unspotted, untarnished, praised by the wise and untainted by craving and lead to concentration of mind. Such a process is just like the cleansing of a mirror by means of oil, ashes and brush of hair, and the necessary endeavour of a person. The ariyan disciple should thus keep the sabbath of the virtues and dwell with virtues and it is owing to virtues that his mind will be calmed. The ariyan disciple’s mind will also be
calmed and become free from any kind of defilement like the process of refining impure gold by means of a furnace, salt-earth, red chalk, a blow-pipe, tongs and the appropriate effort. This happens if he will call to mind the faith, virtue, religious knowledge, liberality and insight of himself and of the gods. So the ariyan disciple should keep the Deva-sabbath, dwell with the Devas, and become free from the pollution of his mind. Being mentally prepared himself the ariyan disciple, therefore, should consider to pass that night and day like the Arahants and observe the sabbath by actualising the eight sīlas mentioned earlier. Thus due to merit gained from the observance of the Ariyan Sabbath men and women may be reborn after death in the company of the gods. In short, the devout lay people who will keep such a sabbath with its eight sīlas surely perform fruitful deed and are born in the heaven without reproach\(^{150}\).

As regards the offering of food, it is stated that by offering food to the Buddhist monks, a lay disciple offers four objects, viz, life, beauty, happiness and strength (āyu ... vaṇṇaṁ ... sukhāṁ ... balaṁ)\(^{151}\). It is indeed a householder’s sacred duty, which brings good repute and leads to heaven, to wait upon the

\(^{150}\) It would be quite interesting if we mention here the short verse which enumerates the Aryan Sabbath. The verse runs as follows:

"Pāṇaṁ na hāne cādinnaṁ ādiye
Musā na bhāse na ca majjapo sīyā
Abrahamacariyā virameyya methunā
Rattiṁ na bhūnjeyya vikālabhojanaṁ
Mālaṁ na dhāraye na ca gandhaṁ ācare
Maṅce chāmāyaṁ vasayetha saṅghate
Etāṁ hi atthaṅgikamahuposathāṁ
Buddhena dukkhantagunāṁ pakāsitāṁ”.

\(^{151}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, pt. ii (1888 ed.), p. 63.
Order of monks, offering them robes, alms-food, lodging, requisites and medicines for use in sickness\textsuperscript{152}, because there are some visible results of offering (sandiṭṭhikam dānaphālam). Due to such offering a householder becomes liberal, good and dear to many folk, is followed by good and wise people, is reported in praising words, enters the company of nobles, brāhmaṇas, householders or recluses with confidence and lastly is reborn in the happy heaven after death\textsuperscript{153}. Thus such a duty—the duty of offering food and requisites to the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs—although has a religious sanction behind it, shows that the Buddhist Saṅgha is economically to some extent dependent upon the laity.

\textit{Secular}

We have summed up in the foregoing pages some ethical as well as religious discourses of Buddha to his lay-worshippers—both male and female. Apart from those discourses there are some others in the Nikāyas, which may be grouped under a separate heading called ‘Secular’\textsuperscript{154}. The Exalted One is quite aware of the limitations of his lay disciples who are more interested in their day-to-day doings than in higher philosophical discussions. That is why whenever occasions appear, he speaks on matters of secular interest—on social harmony, family obligations, corporate activities, better livelihood and the like.

Buddha during his discourses to the laity warns a householder of four persons who should be reckoned as foes in the likeness of friends, namely, a rapa-

\textsuperscript{152} ibid, pt, ii (1888 ed.), p. 65.

\textsuperscript{153} Aṅguttaranikāya, iii (1896 ed.), p. 39.

cious person, a man of words not of deeds, a flatterer, and a fellow waster. A rapacious person is condemned because he is rapacious, gives little and asks much, does his duty out of fear, and pursues his own interest. Similarly a man of words and not of deeds should be avoided because he makes friendly profession as regards the past and the future and tries to win favour by empty words, and when the opportunity of service arises he avows his disability. A flatterer, too, is condemned as he agrees to do wrong and disagrees to do right, praises one at one’s face and speaks ill of one to others. Likewise a fellow-waster is disliked because he accompanies one when one indulges in strong drinks, frequents the streets at untimely hours, haunts shows and fairs, and is infatuated in gambling. But he is the best friend who is a helper, is friendly both in happiness and in adversity, is a good counsel and sympathiser. A helper is reckoned as sound at heart, because he guards one’s property, is a refuge when one is afraid, and co-operates with others in need. But a person who remains indifferent in happiness and adversity may also be accepted as sound at heart. Because such a person tells his secrets, keeps other’s secrets, does not forsake one in troubles and dedicates his life for the sake of others. A good counsel is called a good friend because he restrains one from doing wrong, enjoins on one to do the right, informs one of what one has not heard before, and reveals to one

the way to heaven. And lastly, a sympathetic person is known as a trust-worthy friend because he rejoices only over one’s prosperity and not over one’s misfortunes, restrains those who speak ill, and commends those who praise always.

In the Śīnālovāda Suttanta Buddha states that a householder should worship the six quarters, namely, parents as the east, teachers as the south, wife and children as the west, friends and companions as the north, servants and work-people as the nadir, religious teachers and brāhmaṇas as the zenith. It is further explained that every person should support parents in old age, perform duties incumbent on them, keep up the lineage and tradition of the family and make himself worthy of his heritage. But these are not all. Buddha also reminds us of some duties of the parents towards the son, for example, they should show their love for their son, restrain him from vice, exhort him to virtue, train him to a profession, contract a suitable marriage for him, and in proper time hand over the inheritance to him. The pupils also should minister to their teachers as the southern quarter by rising from the seat in salutation, by waiting upon them, by eagerness to learn, by personal service, and by attention to the lessons. In return the teachers should love their pupils, train them in a proper manner, make them hold fast, instruct them thoroughly in the lore of every art, speak well of them among friends and companions, and provide for their safety in every quarter. Likewise in five ways should a wife as western quarter be ministered to by her husband, namely, by respect,

by courtesy, by faithfulness, by handing over authority to her, and by providing her with adornment. Similarly a wife should also give attentive services to her husband by performing her duties well, by showing hospitality to the kin, by maintaining a faithful relation, by watching over the goods the husband brings, and by exhibiting skill and industry in all her business. A clansman should minister to his friends and companions as the northern quarter by generosity, courtesy and benevolence, by treating them as he treats himself, and by being as good as his words. In return his friends and companions should show their love to him in the following manner: by protecting him and his property when he is without guard, by becoming a refuge in danger, by not forsaking him in his troubles, and by showing sympathy for his family. A master should treat his servants and employees as the nadir by assigning them work according to their ability, by supplying them with food and wages, by tending them in sickness, by sharing with them unusual delicacies, and by granting leave in time. The servants and the employees in return should show their gratitude as follows: by rising before the master, by lying down to rest after him, by being content with what is given to them, by doing their work well and by carrying about his praise and good fame. Lastly, a clansman should minister to recluses and brāhmanas as the zenith by showing affection in act, speech and mind, by keeping open house to them and supplying their temporal needs. The recluses and brāhmanas in return should show their sympathy.

159 Wm. Theodore de Barry & Ors. ed. Sources of Indian Tradition, p. 122. (Basham, A. L. The Ethics of Theravāda Buddhism).
for the clansman by restraining him from evil, exhorting him to good, loving him with kindly thoughts, teaching him what he has not heard, correcting and purifying what he has heard, and revealing to him the way to heaven\textsuperscript{160}. Thus Buddha has stated that the proper way of worshipping the quarters consists of fulfilling certain duties towards parents, teachers, wife, children, friends, companions, servants, work people, religious teachers and brāhmaṇas by a householder. The Exalted One thinks that social harmony cannot be maintained without mutual love and respect. Among the duties mentioned above, however, are especially note-worthy those which are meant for the wife and the servants, as these display certain rights and privileges enjoyed by women and work people in those hoary days.

Buddha, further, at one occasion addresses Pessa, the son of an elephant-trainer (Pesso hatthārohapputta), and mentions four kinds of people, namely, one who torments himself and is given to self-mortification, one who torments others and is given to tormenting others, one who torments both himself and others and is given to tormenting the both, and lastly, one who torments neither himself nor others. Among the four classes of people, however, the last one dwells beyond appetites and in bliss and holiness\textsuperscript{161}. During his conversation with Uggatasarīra,

\textsuperscript{160} Dighanikāya, vol. iii (P.T.S.), pp. 188-191.

\textsuperscript{161} Dighanikāya, vol. iii, p. 234; Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, pp. 339-349, 411; vol. ii, p. 159; Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. ii, p. 205; Puggalapaññāatti, p. 55. (Parantapo hoti paraparitāpananuyogaṁ anuyutto ... attantapo ca hoti attaparitāpananuyogaṁ ... n'evattantapo hoti nātparitāpananuyogaṁ ... attantapo ca ... parantapo ... so anattantapo aparantapo diṭhe va dhamme nicchato nibbuto sitibhūto sukhopaṭīsaṁvedi brahma-bhūtena attanā viharati).
a Brāhmaṇa, Buddha has referred to the term 'gahapatagaggi' which literally means 'the fire of a householder'. Indeed the word implies "the sacred fire to be maintained by a householder, interpreted by the Buddha as the care bestowed on one's children and servants". A person who honours, esteems and reveres the 'gahapatagaggi' attains happiness in life.

There are, as Buddha has in one of his discourses revealed to Sujātā, the daughter-in-law of householder Anāthapiṇḍika, seven types of wives, namely, a wife who is like a slayer, like a robber, like a mistress, like a mother, like a sister, like a companion, or like a handmaid. For instance, a wife who is pitiless, corrupt in mind, unamiable, inflamed by others, a prostitute, inclined to murder and neglects her husband is called a slayer-wife. Similarly a wife who robs her husband of his wealth is known as the robber-wife. A wife who is slothful, bent on doing nothing, but discusses of her husband’s zeal and industry may be called a mistress-wife. Likewise a mother-wife is that woman who with loving sympathy like a mother for her only son keeps a watch on her husband. A wife who holds her husband in the same regard as younger sister holds the elder one, is known as a sister-wife. A companion-wife is one who acts as a companion and helpmate. Lastly, a wife who is fearless of the lash and stick, unmoved, calm, pure in heart, obedient to her husband’s word.

and free from anger is called a handmaid-wife. Thus a wife who is like a slayer, a robber, or a mistress is harsh and immoral and lacking in respect wanders in the miseries of hell after death. On the contrary, a lady who is like a mother, a sister, a companion, or a slave being restrained will be reborn in the heaven after death\(^{164}\). In this connection we may mention here four qualities, as disclosed by Buddha in another context to housewife Visākhā, by which womenfolk may win power in this world. These are: the capability at work (susamvihitakam-manto), management of servants (saṅgahitaparij-jano), ability for being lovely to husband (bhattu manāpam), and protection of wealth (sambhattam anurakkhati). A woman becomes capable at her work by being deft, nimble and gifted with an inquiring turn of mind into all kinds of undertakings. Also a woman wins power managing the slaves, messengers and work folk and by knowing their accomplishment of deeds and strength and weakness of the sick. For being lovely to her husband a woman does not perform that what her husband reckons to be unlovely. Lastly, a woman well protects her husband’s money, corn, silver, or gold by keeping those secure with watch and ward and not being the robber, thief, carouser, or wastrel. A woman, thus being endowed with these four qualities, becomes accomplished in faith, virtue, charity and wisdom (saddhā, sīla, cāga and paññā) and attains peace and prosperity\(^{165}\). It would probably be quite relevant if we enumerate here Buddha’s discourse to the married girls of Uggaha, a householder, as it also

\(^{164}\) Aśguttaranikāya, pt. iv (1899 ed.), pp. 91-94.

lays down certain duties and obligations of a married woman. Thus in course of his lecture Buddha advises the girls to train themselves in attending their husbands' property, to rise up early, to retire last of all, to work willingly, to order sweetly and gently, to honour all whom their husbands revere—whether parents, recluses or godly men, and to offer seats and water to such respected persons. The girls are further admonished to be active and expert at their husbands' homecrafts, to know the work of each servant, to realise the strength and weakness of the sick, to divide the hard and soft food, each according to his or her share, and to keep safe watch over their husbands' wealth. Indeed girls having possessed of such qualities on the breaking up of the body after death will be reborn among the gods of lovely forms. Incidentally it is interesting to note that Kānya, the sage, also delivers almost the same admonition to Śakuntalā, his foster-daughter, on the eve of her departure from the hermitage to her husband's palace. He advises Śakuntalā to pay respectful attention to her superiors, to act the part of a dear friend towards her fellow-wives, not to show a refractory-spirit even though treated harshly by her husband, to be courteous towards her attendants, and not to be puffed up in prosperity. He further adds that in such manner young women attain the station of housewife, but those of an opposite character are house-banes. Thus these two discourses,

recorded in the Aṅguttaranikāya and the Abhijñāna-
śakuntalam, though differ in age, place and situation,
agree in contents which are rather comprehending
and universal in nature.

In a discourse to the laity Buddha speaks of four
conditions that lead to a clansman’s advantage and
happiness here on earth. Those are: alertness,
wariness, good company, and the even life. In
explanation it has further been said that alertness is
found in such a clansman who earns his livelihood
by the plough, trading, cattle-herding, archery, royal
service, or by crafts, becomes deft and tireless, gifted
with an inquiring turn of mind into ways and means,
and is able to arrange and carry out his job. Like-
wise wariness is observed in a clansman who works
with zeal, collects things by the strength of his arm,
earns by the sweat of his brow and justly obtains
whatsoever wealth which he strictly guards thinking
of protecting it from the hands of the king, thieves,
fire, water, or ill-disposed heirs. A clansman also
fulfils the condition of good company by dwelling
at a village or market-town, consorting, conversing,
engaging in talk with householders or householders’
sons, young or old men reared in virtue, emulating
the fullness of faith, virtue, charity, or of wisdom.
Lastly, a clansman observes the condition of the even
life by continuing his business serenely, not being
unduly elated or depressed while experiencing both
gain or loss in wealth and ponders over his income

rūṣaṣava gurunkuru priyasakhīvṛttīṁ sapatniyane, bharturviprakṛtāpi
roṣanatayā mā śma pratīpam gamah. Bhūṣṭham bhava daksinā pariyan
eḥṛgyeśvanutsekiṇi, yāntyevam grhinīpadaṁ yuvatayo vāmāḥ kulasyā-
dhayaḥ). 169

169 uttānasampada ārakkhasampada kalyāṇamittata samajīvitā.
which after deducting the loss at so much that his outgoings do not exceed his income\textsuperscript{170}. Thus, on the whole, a clansman is expected to be endowed with virtue, charity and wisdom\textsuperscript{171}. In the same discourse Buddha warns the lay people of four channels for flowing away of amassed wealth, namely, looseness with women, debauchery in drinking, knavery in dice-play and friendship, companionship and intimacy with evil doers\textsuperscript{172}.

In the above discussion we find that Buddha’s discourses of love and goodwill to the laity reveal domestic and social ethics\textsuperscript{173}. Practically nothing is left unmentioned in these discourses as regards the duties of a houseman. But among them, however, the Siṅgālovāda Suttanta\textsuperscript{174}, as we have already seen, representing the entire domestic and social duties of the Buddhist layman is unique in character\textsuperscript{175}. That is why it is called the Vinaya of the Houseman. In a canon compiled by members of a religious order and largely concerned with the mental experiences and ideals of recluses, and with their outlook, it is of great interest to find in it suttas entirely devoted to the outlook and relations of the layman on and to his surrounds\textsuperscript{176}. It may be incidentally noted in this connection that the code of

\textsuperscript{170} Āguttaranikāya, pt. iv (1899 ed.), pp. 281-283.
\textsuperscript{171} Āguttaranikāya, pt. iv (1899 ed.), p. 284.
\textsuperscript{172} Āguttaranikāya, pt. iv (1899 ed.), p. 283 (bhogānaṃ cattāri apāya-mukhāni honti: itthidhutto hoti, surādhutto, akkhadhutto, pāpamittto pāpasahāyo pāpasampavajjako).
\textsuperscript{173} Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. iii (P.T.S.), p. 168.
\textsuperscript{175} Indian Antiquary, 12, 1883, p. 23 ff; Rhys Davids, Mrs. Gotama the man, pp. 205-206.
\textsuperscript{176} Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. iii (P.T.S.), pp. 168-169.
conduct which we have mentioned above is quite similar to the Minor Rock Edict II of king Asoka who enjoins that father, mother, and superiors should be properly served; likewise, living beings should be kindly treated, and truth should be spoken\textsuperscript{177}. The Mahābhārata is also never tired of repeating the same duties of a householder\textsuperscript{178}. Indeed it is thought that happy would have been the village or the clan, where the people are full of kindly spirit of fellow-feeling and full of noble spirit of justice\textsuperscript{179}.

Lastly, it will not be out of place here to make a passing reference to the Jaina canonical discourses meant for the laity. These discourses show that both the Buddhist and Jaina sermons aim at the moral progress of the common people. The Jaina community is constituted not only of monks and nuns but also of laymen and laywomen who are generally called samānovāsaga and samānovāsiyā, abbreviated uvāsaga and uvāsiyā respectively corresponding to upāsaka and upāsikā of Buddhism. They are also known as sāvaga and sāviyā, saḍḍha and gīhī. A Jaina lay devotee is also designated as the Desa-Viraya, because of his observing a part of the main regulations as opposed to the Savva-Viraya, the monk. Like the Buddhist laity, a Jaina lay worshipper is also to provide the samānas of the Niggaṇṭha faith with pure and acceptable food, drink,

\textsuperscript{177} Basak, Radhagovinda, Asokan Inscriptions (1959 ed.), p. 138; Mookherjee, Radhakumud, Asoka, pp. 117-118 fn.
\textsuperscript{178} Śānti, Rājadh., P., ch. 59, v. 142
\textsuperscript{179} (Vṛddhopasevā dānaśica
śaucaṃmutthānameva ca
Sarvbahūtānukampā ca ...).
\textsuperscript{170} Rhys Davids T. W. Buddhism (SPCK), p. 148.
delicacies, relishes, clothes, blankets, alms-bowls, brooms, stool, plank bedding, spices and medicines. He is further expected to long after truth, righteousness, heaven and salvation, and to hanker after them. A Jaina female lay devotee also like the Buddhist upāsikā should be perfect in every manner, beloved of her husband, devoted, attached, loving and amenable, severally in speech, and should live happily with her husband. But unlike Buddhism, Jainism insists on a rigorous process of self-mortification to be followed by the laity. The duties of a Buddhist householder are mainly socio-ethical, while those of a Jaina layman are out and out religious. A fair picture of the life of a Jaina lay-devotee can be had from the Uvāsagadāsāo which is the seventh Āṅga of the Jaina canon and contains ten chapters (ājjhāyānas). The duties of a Jaina layman may be divided into three groups: (a) the small vows (pañca-āṇuvvāiyām), (b) the additional vows (tinnī guna-vvayāim), and (c) the strengthening vows (cattāri sikkhā-vvayāim). These are twelve in

180 Hoernle, A. F., Rudolf. (The) Uvāsagadāsāo; or the religious profession of an Uvāsaga, vol. ii (Bibliotheca Indica, 1888 ed.), p. 158.
181 ibid, pp. 115-116.
183 It is one of the sacred books of the Svētāmbara or 'white-robed' division of the Jainas. Its title "Uvāsagadāsāo" (the religious profession of an Uvāsaga) suggests some vows and rules of conduct to which a layman of the Jaina community is required to conform. It is, therefore, in a manner, the counterpart to the Ācārāga Sūtra, which sets forth the vows and rules which a Jaina monk is required to take on himself.
184 Kapadia, Hiralal R. (A) History of the canonical literature of the Jainas, p. 132.
185 Both the additional and strengthening vows are further grouped under Sattasikkhā-vaityām, or 'seven disciplinary vows'.
number, and hence called duvālasaviha agāradhamma. The small vows (ānu-vvāya) are so called as compared with the great vows adopted by the monks\textsuperscript{186}. They are: abstaining from (i) gross (thūlaga) offences against live matters leading to death (pañāivāya), (ii) gross untruthfulness (musāvāya), (iii) gross appropriation (adinn'ādāna), (iv) adultery by contenting oneself with one's wife (sa-dārasaṃtosa), and (v) greed by restraining one's striving after possession (icchāparimāṇa)\textsuperscript{187}. Curiously enough these solemn vows remind us of the five moral precepts (pañcasīlas) observed by a Buddhist upāsaka and are even parallel to Christian commandments\textsuperscript{188}. The five small vows are followed by three "additional vows" which are (i) refraining from typical offences against the law of abstinence from unprofitable employment (anāṭṭhādaṇḍa)\textsuperscript{189}, (ii) confining oneself to an area of a certain extension in either direction which one may not leave in his undertakings (disi-vvāya), and (iii) observing moderation in eating and drinking as well as furnishings along with the prohibition of practising certain trades (uvabhoga-paribhoga-parimāṇa). But in comparison with the other two types the "strengthening vows" (sikkhā-vvāya) are of positive nature. By observing these vows a layman temporarily becomes almost a monk. The "strengthening vows" are as follows: (i) sāmāiya which means

\textsuperscript{186} ānuvrata mahāvrata ni apekṣā ānu nānāh.

\textsuperscript{187} cf. Tatvārthādhigama-sūtra, 6. i (Hitṣā anāṭṭasteyābrahma-parīgrahēbhyo viraṭ-vratam) ; Ghosal, Sarat Chandra, ed. (The) Sacred Books of the Jainas, vol. i (Davva-Sāmgha), p. 86.

\textsuperscript{188} cf. Like 'thou shalt not kill', 'thou shalt steal', 'thou shalt not commit adultery', etc.

\textsuperscript{189} Law, B. C. Some Jaina canonical Sūtras, pp. 43-46.
the state of an inward balance without adding that it concerns an act of devotion to be repeated several times every day, (ii) desavagāsiya that stands for the self-limitation of one's dwelling and occupation-area which may not be transgressed by messengers, servants, etc., (iii) posahovavāsa that enjoins to observe certain fasting days combined with night watches, (iv) ahā-or atihi-samvibhāga which means distribution of gifts according to rule or to guests. In addition to the aforesaid twelve vows a Jaina-layman is also enjoined to observe the fasting leading to death. We have already noticed that in Buddhism a lay-devotee is directed to observe the five or eight vows unlike twelve in Jainism. It is also seen that vows in Jainism are more severe than those in Buddhism. Thus even in the life of a Buddhist householder is reflected the middle way avoiding both the extremes. Moreover, in Buddhism the lay members are not organically connected with the Saṅgha as in Jainism. This particular characteristic of Janism has appropriately drawn the following remark from a noted scholar: "Mahāvīra's genius for organisation also stood Jainism in good stead now, for he had made the laity an integral part of the community (i.e. saṅgha) which consisted of the monks, nuns, lay brothers and lay-sisters, whereas in Buddhism they had no part nor lot in the order".

CHAPTER THREE

DISCOURSES ON SīLA, SAMĀDHII AND PANNĀ

The Path leading to the Enlightenment falls into three stages consisting of the practice of morality and avoidance of sin (sīla), practice of concentration (samādhi or citta) and attainment of knowledge (paññā)\(^1\). So the three bodies of doctrine, namely, noble body of doctrine regarding right-conduct (ariyassa sīlakkhandhassa), noble body of doctrine regarding self-concentration (samādhikkhandhassa) and noble body of doctrine regarding insight (paññākkhandhassa), are highly praised by Buddha\(^2\). They occupy a considerable portion of the Nikāyas. Indeed several discourses have been devoted to the discussion on them. These three stages are also mentioned in the Vimuttimagga, Visuddhimagga and Sarvāstivāda Literature\(^3\). But sometimes the path is made four stepped through the addition of vimutti\(^4\), or five stepped through further addition of vimuttiṅnāṇadassana\(^5\). Buddha states that due to lack of knowledge about sīla, samādhi, paññā and vimutti human beings wander in the weary path of transmigration\(^6\). He understands these in succes-

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\(^1\) Dīghanikāya, vol. i, pp. 204-210; Saṁyuttanikāya, i, p. 13; Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 183; iii, 14.15.
\(^2\) Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 206.
\(^3\) Thomas, E. J. (The) Life of Buddha, p. 44 fn.
\(^4\) Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, Suttas 1, 2.
\(^6\) Dīghanikāya, ii (P.T.S.), pp. 122-123. (Ariyassa bhikkhave sīlassa ananubodhā ... Ariyassa bhikkhave samādhissa ananubodhā ... Ariyāya
sion. It is said that a wise man who is firmly established on morality, concentration, and wisdom becomes an ardent bhikkhu overcoming the tangle. A person who is perfect in the practice of sīla may after his death be reborn either as a human being or as a god. But with such perfection he cannot be reborn in the Brahma world, i.e., the Plane of Higher Spiritual Being. For a rebirth in the Brahma world he has to attain perfection in samādhi. Although a person is reborn in the world of human beings or gods and in the world of Brahma as a result of his incessant practice of sīla and samādhi respectively, yet he will be under control of old age, disease and death from which there is no escape for any being, since all constituted objects possess the nature of decay and destruction. Therefore if a person desires to avoid the clutches of old age, disease and death, he must strive for the attainment of paññā, besides sīla and samādhi. More precisely, it may be said that if a person develops sīla more intensely and samādhi and paññā less, he becomes a Sotāpanna (one who has entered the stream of Path, a convert) or a Sakadāgāmi (one who has attained the second stage of the Path and to be reborn on the earth only once);
if he develops both sīla and samādhi more and paññā less, he becomes an Anāgāmī (one who does not return, a Never-Returner, i.e., one who has attained the third Path); but practising all the three in their perfection he becomes an Arahatta (one who has attained the Summum Bonum of religious aspiration, i.e., Nibbāna), Anuttara Vimutta. Buddha, therefore, lays down three forms of training for the monks, namely, the training in the higher morality, in the higher thought and in the higher insight. By training in the higher morality, a monk dwells morally and is restrained with the restraint of the obligations, finds danger in the slightest faults and trains himself in the laws of morality. By training in the higher thought a monk being free from sensual desires practises the four musings (jhāna) and attaining the fourth musing abides therein. By training in the higher insight a monk understands, as it really is, the meaning of ill, arising of ill, ending of ill and finally the practice leading to the ending of ill. It has further been stated that a monk being endowed with morality, concentration and insight attains the freedom from toil, leads a holy life, reaches the goal and becomes the best of gods and

12 Dīghānīkāya, i, p. 156; ii, p. 92; Majjhimanīkāya, vol. ii, p. 146.
13 Majjhimanīkāya, i, p. 245; Sāmyuttanīkāya, i, p. 169.
14 adhisilāsikkhā, adhicittasikkhā, adhipaññasikkhā.
15 bhikkhu silavā hoti ... pe ... samādāya sikkhati sikkhapadesu.
16 bhikkhu vivice'eva kāmehi ... pe ... catutthajjhānaṃ upasampajja viharati.
17 Anguttaranīkāya, i (P.T.S., 1885 ed.), p. 235 (bhikkhu idaṃ dukkham ti yathābhūtām pajānāti ... pe ... ayaṃ dukkhanirodhagāmini paṭipada ti yathābhūtām pajānāti); Woodward. (The) Book of the Gradual Sayings, i, pp. 214-215.
18 Anguttaranīkāya, i (P.T.S., 1885 ed.), p. 291.
mankind. A person is said to prosper even if he hears of and observes the bhikkhus possessed of morality, concentration, insight (paññā), release (vimutti), and release by knowledge and insight (vimuttañānadassana). At one occasion the Exalted One says that such bhikkhus become worthy of offering, worthy of gifts, worthy of oblations, worthy of salutation and an unsurpassed field of merit. In this connection mention has been made of four types of people, namely, (a) a person who is endowed with neither morality nor concentration nor wisdom, (b) a person who is endowed with virtue, but not with concentration and wisdom, (c) a person who is endowed with morality and concentration, but not with wisdom, (d) a person who is endowed with morality, concentration and wisdom. Likewise there are some other persons (a) who do not respect morality, concentration and wisdom and put not them first, (b) who respect virtue and put it first, but neither respect concentration and wisdom nor put them first, (c) who respect and put first virtue and concentration, but not wisdom, and (d) who respect virtue, concentration and wisdom and put them first. Thus it is evident that for the spiritual perfection it is absolutely necessary for a human being to be endowed with sīla, samādhi and paññā.


20 Saṃyuttanikāya, v, p. 67 (bhikkhu silasampanna samādhiisampanna paññāsampanna vimuttisampanna vimuttañānadassanasaṃpannā dassanaṃ . . . savanaṃ pāhaṃ bhikkhave tesaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ bahukāraṃ vadāmi).

Among them, however, sila (morality) which comes first, is the word of “that most perfect of all poems, the holy life; the language which makes intelligible the secrets of spirituality. Meditation and wisdom, the two remaining stages of the Way, are its rhythm and its imagery 24.

Sila

Sila or Morality holds a very important place in every religion. In Buddhism, too, it plays a distinctive role 25. Mrs. Rhys Davids says: “It has now and again been put forward that Buddhism is neither a religion nor philosophy, but only a system of morals or ethics, in so far as it contains anything beyond mere negation” 26. Provided that Christian, especially Protestant, connotations are not superimposed upon the English word, the Pāli term Sila may be rendered as Morality 27 or practice of Moral Virtues 28. Sila in its primary sense denotes ‘nature, character, habit, behaviour’ in general, as when a person of stingy or illiberal character is spoken of as adānasīla 29. Its secondary meaning, doctrinally the more important one, is “the moral habit, or the habitual good, moral conduct—the conduct of one who does not hurt or

24 Sangharakshita, Bhikshu. (A) Survey of Buddhism (Indian Institute of World Culture, 1957 ed.), p. 144.
27 Morality is the Latin moralis, from mos, moris, meaning ‘manner, custom, habit, way of life, conduct’, and is thus in its original classical sense almost identical with the primary denotation of Sila.
29 Humphreys, Christmas. Studies in the Middle way; being thoughts on Buddhism applied (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1959 ed.), p. 93.
rob living things, is sexually straight, truthful, and gentle in speech, and sober as to drinks. That is all. Such conduct is only the essential basis of the higher life.”  

Thus in short “Sīla means those particular volitions and mental states, etc. by which a man who desists from committing sinful actions maintains himself on the right path. Sīla thus means: (1) right volition (cetanā), (2) the associated mental states (cetasika), (3) mental control (saṁvara), and (4) the actual non-transgression (in body and speech) of the course of conduct already in the mind by the preceding three Sīlas called avītakkama.”  

It has been stated in the Paṭisambhidhāmagga that volition is virtue; mental properties are virtue; restraint is virtue; non-transgression is virtue. Now volition is virtue of that person who abstains from life-taking and so forth, or who fulfils his set duties. Similarly mental properties of such a person are virtue, who abstains from taking life and so forth. As regards the proposition ‘restraint is virtue’, it is said that ‘restraint’ should be understood as fivefold, namely, by means of the Pātimokkha (Pātimokkhasaṁvarasīla), of mindfulness, of knowledge, of patience, and of energy. So the fivefold restraint as well as the restraint which the noble ones exercise in regard to anything that falls on their way should be understood as restraint-virtue. Likewise non-

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32 Paṭisambhidāmagga, i. p. 44 (cetanā silām, cetasikām silām, saṁvaro silām, avītakkamo silām ti).
transgression becomes virtue as one does not commit offence physically or vocally. Sila, is thus called virtue in the sense of being virtuous or moral as also "in the sense of being the head (sīra) and being cool (sīta)". Perfect morality, therefore, constitutes the indispensable foundation of further progress on way to emancipation and its essence is to be found in selflessness. Buddhist morality is dogmatically founded on, and referrable to Buddha whose contribution lies in clothing India's moral code in a worthy positive form, showing moral law not merely as a veto for the immoral doer, but also as a guide for the person desiring to do well. He has adopted many provisions of morality and pious customs emanating from the Brāhmanical sources. Buddha declares morality as the first necessity and insisted on man's liberation from sensual thoughts, acts and malevolence and urges his disciples to lead a pure life being possessed of moral habit. Not the Gaṅgā, nor the Yamunā, nor the babbling Sarabhū, nor the Acīrvatī, nor the Mahī's flood can purify on earth the taints of human beings (malām idha pānínam). Morality can alone remove the stain of all living beings (sattānam). The person whose ornament is the morality (silabhūsañabhūsitā) outshines the pomp and pearls of jewelled kings (rājāno muttāmanīvī-

34 sīlanatthena sīlaṃ.
bhūsitā). The virtuous man destroys self-blame (attānuvādādibhayam) begetting always joy and praise. Thus it has been said that morality is knowledge; vice is ignorance, stupidity. There is no force like the moral force which is also the supreme weapon. Morality is the mighty causway (sīlaṃ setu mahesakkho) and a peerless fragrance (sīlaṃ gandho anuttaro).

In Buddhism Sīla consists of perfect speech (sammā vācā), perfect action (sammā kammanta) and perfect way of living (sammā ājīva)—three of the eight divisions of the Path leading to the Perfect Enlightenment. By sammā vācā one refrains oneself from speaking falsehood, malicious words, harsh and frivolous talk. By sammā kammanta one prevents oneself from killing, stealing and misconduct. And by sammā ājīva one is refrained from earning livelihood by improper means. Thus perfect speech, action and thought “practically include the whole code of moral laws that are prescribed for the conduct of the Buddhist monk.”

The moral laws again comprise ten items of good character (dasa-sīla) like abstinence from (a) taking life (pānātipātā veramanī), (b) taking what is not given to one (ad-inn’ādānā), (c) adultery (kāmesu micchā- cārā), (d) telling lies (musāvādā), (e) slander (pisuna-

41 Theragāthā (P.T.S., 1883 ed.), p. 63. (sīlaṃ balaṃ appatīmam, sīlaṃ āvudham uttamaṃ).
42 Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 301. (Yo c’ āuvuso Visākha sammā vācā yo ca sammākammanto yo ca sammā-ājīvo, ime dhammā sīlakkhandhe saṅgahitā).
vācāya), (f) harsh or impolite speech (phurusa-vācāya), (g) frivolous and senseless talk (samphappalāpā), (h) covetousness (abhijjhāya), (i) malevolence (byāpādā) and (j) heretic views (micchādiṭṭhiyā). Of these ten, however, only the first seven may be designated as 'Śīla' per se, or good character generally. Buddha also lays down in a condensed form the five principal moral rules binding on all lay people, which include nos. a-d of the dasa-śīla and (e) abstaining from any state of indolence arising from the use of intoxicants (surā-merayamajja-pamāda-ṭṭhānā veramanī). These five also form the first half of the ten sikkhāpadānī and are a sort of preliminary condition to any higher development after conforming to the teaching of Buddha and as such are often mentioned when a new follower is 'officially' installed. They are often simply called pañcadhammā and mentioned without a special title in connection with the 'saranāṁ gata' formula. They emphasize the need for self-control in five different directions and do not imply abstention from work. Likewise the ten sīlas mentioned above are only called dhammā.

Silas or Moralities in the Dīgha Nikāya have been grouped under three heads: minor, middle and major. It is said that a person observes the minor moralities (cūla-sīlas) by putting away the killing

45 Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. iv, 342.
46 Aṅguttaranikāya, i. p. 269; ii. p. 83 sq.
48 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, pp. 203 sq., 208 sq.
49 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iv, p. 266.
51 Dīghanikāya, vol. i (P.T.S., 1890 ed.), pp. 4-12, 63-70, 206. (Brahma-jāla Sutta, Sāmaññaphala Sutta and Subha Sutta).
of living beings, holding aloof from the destruction of life, laying aside the cudgel and the sword, being ashamed of roughness, being full of mercy, being compassionate and kind to all creatures that have life; putting away the taking of what has not been given and taking only what is given; putting away unchastity and holding himself aloof far off, from the vulgar practice, from the sexual act; putting away lying speech, holding himself aloof from falsehood, speaking the truth, being faithful and trustworthy and breaking not his word to the world; putting away slanderous speech, holding himself aloof from calumny, living as a binder together of those who are divided, an encourager of those who are friends, a peacemaker, a lover of peace, a speaker of words that make for peace; putting away harsh speech, holding himself aloof from harsh language and uttering the words which are blameless, pleasant to the ear, lovely, reaching to the heart, urbane, pleasing to the people, beloved of the people; putting away frivolous talk, holding aloof from vain conversation,
speaking in right time in accordance with the facts, words full of meaning, on religion, on discipline of the Sāṅgha and uttering the words worthy to be laid up in one’s heart, fitly illustrated, clearly divided, to the point; holding himself aloof from causing injury to seeds and plants; taking but one meal a day, not eating at night, refraining from taking food after mid-day; preventing himself from being a spectator at shows, at fairs, with nautch dances, singing, and music; abstaining from wearing, adorning, or ornamenting himself with garlands, scents, and unguents; abstaining from the use of large and lofty beds; preventing himself from the acceptance of silver and gold; abstaining from taking green paddy; preventing himself from taking raw meat; abstaining from accepting women, girls, slaves—male or female; abstaining from accepting sheep, goats, fowls, swine, elephants, cattle, horses, mares; abstaining from accepting cultivated fields and waste; abstaining from the activities of a go-between or messenger; abstaining from buying, selling and cheating with scales or bronzes or

58 samphappalāpam pahāya samphappalāpam paṭīvirato ... kāla-vādi attha-vādi dhamma-vādi vinaya-vādi nidhānavatip vācaṁ bhāsitā kālena śapadesam pariyanatavatip atthasamhitā ti.
59 bijagāma-bhūtagāma-samārambha paṭīvirato.
60 eka-bhattiko ... rattūparato, vikālabhojanā paṭīvirato.
61 nacca-gīta-vādita-visūka-dassanā paṭīvirato.
63 uccāsayaṇa-mahāsayaṇa paṭīvirato.
64 jātāruparajata-patīggaṇanā paṭīvirato.
65 āmaka-dhaññā-patīggaṇanā paṭīvirato.
66 āmaka-māṃsa-patīggaṇanā paṭīvirato.
67 itthi-kumārika ... Dāsi-dāsa patīggaṇanā paṭīvirato.
68 ajelaka ... kukkūta-sūkāra ... Hatthi-gavāsasavālavā-patīggaṇanā paṭīvirato.
69 khetta-vatthu-patīggaṇanā paṭīvirato.
70 dūteyya-pahīṇa-gaman-ānuyoga paṭīvirato.
measures\textsuperscript{71}; abstaining from the crooked ways of bribery, deceit, fraud\textsuperscript{72}; and lastly abstaining from maiming, murder, menacing, highway robbery, dacoity and violence\textsuperscript{73}. Thus the minor moralities consist first of the items a-g of the dasa-sīlas and then are followed by special injunctions as to practices of daily living and special conduct, of which the first five (excepting the introductory item of bijagāma-bhūtagāma-samārambha) form the second five sikkhāpadāni. It is said that any person being endowed with such moralities which are grouped under ‘cūla sīlas’, does not face any danger from any corner like a monarch who is duly crowned and whose enemies have been beaten down. Thus he becomes worthy of honour. Likewise a person observes the middle moralities (majjhima sīlas) by holding aloof from injury to the seedlings and growing plants whether propagated from roots or cuttings or joints or buddings or seeds\textsuperscript{74}; refraining from using the stored up things, to wit, foods, drinks, clothing, equipages, bedding, perfumes, and curry-stuffs\textsuperscript{75}; preventing himself from visiting shows\textsuperscript{76}; holding aloof from games and recreations\textsuperscript{77}; refraining from using the high and large couches\textsuperscript{78}; preventing him-

\textsuperscript{71} kaya-vikkayā \ldots Tulākūṭā-kaṇḍakūṭa-mānakūṭa paṭīvirato.
\textsuperscript{72} ukkotana-vanīcana-nikatisīci-yoga paṭīvirato.
\textsuperscript{73} chedana-vadhābandhana-vipāramosa-ālopasa-sādikāra paṭīvirato.
\textsuperscript{74} bijagāma-bhūtagāma-samārambha \ldots seyyathidām mūla-bijām khandabijām phalu-bijām aggabijām bijabijām eva pañcamaṃ \ldots paṭīvirato.
\textsuperscript{75} sannidhiṅkāra-paribhogā \ldots seyyathidām annasannidhiṃ pāna-sannidhiṃ vattha-sannidhiṃ yāna-sannidhiṃ sayana-sannidhiṃ gandha-sannidhiṃ āmisa-sannidhiṃ \ldots paṭīvirato.
\textsuperscript{76} visūka-dassaṇā.
\textsuperscript{77} jūta-pamādaṭṭhatānānuyogā.
\textsuperscript{78} uccāsayaṇa-mahāsayanā.
self from adorning and beautifying\textsuperscript{79}; holding aloof
from low conversations\textsuperscript{80}; refraining himself aloof
from wrangling phrases\textsuperscript{81}; abstaining from taking
messages, going on errands, and acting as go-
between\textsuperscript{82}; and lastly holding aloof from deception
and patter\textsuperscript{83}. Similarly a person further follows the
major moralities (mahā sīlas) which lead him to-
wards the perfect bliss, i.e., Nibbāna, by avoiding
carefully for livelihood low arts\textsuperscript{84} and abstaining
from foretellings. Buddha says that even a truth-
finder who has gone forth and is endowed with the
training and the way of living of monks, observes
these moral principles (sīlas) which are divided into
minor, middle and major, and becomes accordingly
a master of the noble codes of morality\textsuperscript{85}. The whole
of these three sets of sīlas is called Silakkhandha and
is grouped with Samādhi and Paññākkhandha\textsuperscript{86}.

As regards the characteristic of sīla (morality)
Buddhaghosa, the celebrated commentator, states
that as visibility is the characteristic mark of the
different varieties of form such like indigo, yellow,
etc., so what has been told about being virtuous by
way of the right placing of bodily actions and the
like, and of the establishment of moral states, is the
characteristic mark of the different varieties, such
as, volition, etc.\textsuperscript{87} He further says that morality

\textsuperscript{79} maṇḍana-vibhūsana-ṭṭhānānuyogā.
\textsuperscript{80} tiracchāna-kathā.
\textsuperscript{81} viggāhika-kathāya paṭivirato.
\textsuperscript{82} dūtcyya-pahiṇa-gamanānuyoga paṭivirato.
\textsuperscript{83} kuhana-lapanā paṭivirato.
\textsuperscript{84} tiracchāna-vijjāya paṭivirato.
\textsuperscript{85} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i (P.T.S.), pp. 179-180.
\textsuperscript{86} Dighanikāya, i, p. 206.
\textsuperscript{87} Visuddhimagga, vol. i (P.T.S., 1920 ed.), p. 8. (Yathā hi nilapi-
tādibhedena anekadhā bhinnassāpi rūpāyatanassa sanidassanattām lakkha-
(sīlaṁ) has, as its manifestation, purity—purity of body, speech and mind. But Upatissa, the author of the Vimuttimagga, opines that non-repentance is the manifestation of morality.

Regarding the advantages of morality it has been said that the absence of remorse (avippaṭīsārādī) and the like may be called its advantages. A person being virtuous and endowed with morality acquires much wealth mainly due to the effect of non-negligence, gains a good report abroad, enters boldly and being unpururbed the assemblies of princes, brāhmaṇas, laymen and monks, dies undeluded and lastly on the dissolution of the body after death attains a happy destiny. Even in death he becomes self-possessed. Thus a wise man enjoys various advantages of morality, beginning with loveableness and preciousness and ending in the destruction of the intoxicants of the mind. That is why at one occasion Buddha enjoins on his disciples to fulfil virtues, to be dear, precious to, respected and honoured by the fellow-monks. But it may be noted that there lies a difference between morality (sīla) and mode of life (ācāra). When a man works diligently and shakes off either evil disposition (kilesa) or obstacles to spiritual progress, he adopts ācāra and not sīla.

naṁ niḷadibhedena bhinnassāpi sanidassanabhavantikkamanato, tathā sīlassā cetanādibhedena anekadhā bhinnassāpi. Yad etam kāyakammādīnaṁ samādhānavañca dhammānaṁ patiṭṭhāna vasena vuttam sīlānaṁ, tad eva lakkhaṇaṁ, cetanādibhedena bhinnassāpi samādhānapatīṭhāna—bhāvanatikkamananto).

91 Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 86 (sīlavā sīlasampanno asammutho kālam karoti).
92 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 33.
On the other hand, morality, may also be called the mode of life and samvara as it becomes bereft of ascetic practices (dhutas). It is also said that a monk who observes morality will cultivate the noble eightfold path. Just as the dawn is the fore-runner of the Sun, so possession of virtue (sila-sampadā) is the harbinger of the origin of the noble eightfold way. The virtuous habits (kusalanī silāni), as the Exalted One observes, are those which appear through the cultivation of four stations of mindfulness. Thus a monk dwells in body when he contemplates body as transient, ardent, composed and mindful, and restrains the dejection in the world arising from coveting. He does the same as regards feelings, mind and mind-states. Further a virtuous person should consider the five grasping groups (pañcupādānakkhandā) as the conditions, which are impermanent (aniccato), suffering (dukkhato), sick (rogato), transitory (palokato), empty (suññato) and soulless (anattato). These five groups are called the group of body-grasping (rupupādakkhando) and the group of consciousness-grasping (vīññānupādānakkhando). Thus a virtuous monk thinking of these five groups of grasping realizes the fruits of stream-winner. Even a monk who is a stream-

95 yāvad eva catunnaṁ satipaṭṭhānānaṁ bhāvanāya.
96 Saṃyuttanikāya, v. (1898 ed.), p. 171 (bhikkhu kāye viñeyya loke abhijjhādomanassam Vedanāsu ... Citte ... Dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati, atāpi sampajāno satimā viñeyya loke abhijjhādomanassam. Yānimāṇi āvuso Bhadda kusalāni silāni vuttāni Bhagavata).
97 sotāpattiphalam sacchikareyyāti.
winner should think over these five groups of grasping because such a monk thinking thus over the groups attains the fruits of once-returning. Even a monk who is an once-returner will have to think over the same five groups because by doing so he realizes the fruits of never-returning. That is not all. Even a bhikkhu who has attained the stage of never-returning should think over the five groups of grasping and realizes the fruits of Arahatship. An Arahant also should think that these are impermanent, suffering, sick, transitory, void and soulless. But for him there lies no possibility of rebirth. Nevertheless, having practised in such a manner a monk becomes worthy of a happy existence and self possession even in this present life. Elsewhere it is stated that if a person lacks morals or fails in morals, he will have to face certain disadvantages. The Aṅguttaranikāya enumerates five such disadvantages, e.g., (a) suffering from the loss of wealth through neglect, (b) hearing own's evil rumour, (c) approaching nobles, brāhmaṇas, householders or recluses being confused and without confidence, (d) dying muddled in thought (sammūlho) and (e) taking birth in the hell at the breaking up of the body after death. But a person who follows the moralities strictly has not to suffer such disadvantages and on the contrary may easily overcome all unfavourable circumstances.

Incidentally we also find in the Upaniṣads that a
great emphasis is laid on the cultivation of moral virtues as a preparation for the divine life. Morality is, according to the Upaniṣads, an indispensable means for the realisation of spiritual ideal. Among the chief moral principles which are mostly identical with those described in the Nikāyas, reference has been made to self-restraint, charity, uprightness, non-violence and truthfulness. Further mention is found of self-control (dama), charity (dāna) and compassion (dayā) as the three cardinal virtues. In the Taittirīya Upaniṣad we are told that truth, self-restraint, hospitality, daily sacrifice, kindness, charity and a regular study of the holy scriptures are some moral principles. Thus whatever morality we find in the Upaniṣads and in the Nikāyas is directed towards one goal—the goal of attaining the highest perfection. Both in the Upaniṣads and in the Nikāyas the moral activity is not an end in itself, but a means for attaining the sumnum bonum of life. The moral life in both the texts is one of understanding and reason, and not of mere sense and instinct. So in the Kaṭha Upaniṣad it is said that “he who is without understanding, who is thoughtless and impure, never reaches the immortal, immaterial state, but enters into the round

104 Hopkins, E. Washburn. Ethics of India (Yale University Press, 1924 ed.), pp. 63-86.
105 Chāndogya Upaniṣad, iii, 17.4.
107 Taittirīya Upaniṣad, i, 9.
of birth. But he who has understanding, and he who is thoughtful and pure, reaches the state from which there is no return"110. It shows that the Upanisads as also the Pāli Nikāyas emphasize the inwardness of morality and attach great importance to the motive in conduct, because the inner purity is more necessary than the outer conformity. Both the Upanisads and the Nikāyas not only declare: 'do not steal', or 'do not kill', but also proclaim: 'do not covet' or 'do not hate or yield to anger, malice and greed'. The mind, therefore, requires purification.

"The Indian sages, as the Upanisads speak of them, seek for participation in divine life, not by pure feeling, high thought, and strenuous endeavour, not by unceasing effort to learn the true and do the right, but by the crushing out of every feeling and every thought, by vacuity, apathy, inertia and ecstasy"111. But it should be noted that the Nikāyas lay a greater emphasis on morality than the Upanisads. Indeed in no other early Indian texts except the Nikāyas morality has got so much prominence112. That is why Mrs. Rhys Davids has said: "If we compare (early) Upanishad teaching with that in the Suttas on the moral life, we can hardly fail to be struck with the relative coolness, the relatively slight attention paid in the Upanishads to its religious importance. Let me not be misunderstood: this is a matter of, I repeat, relative insistence. And though the insistence is relatively slight, the teaching is good.

111 Gough. Philosophy of the Upanisads, pp. 266-267.
112 Barua, B. M. Prolegomena to a History of Buddhist Philosophy (Calcutta University, 1918 ed.), pp. 25-26.
The teacher bids the students—in one Upanishad only—'become one who has mother as divine, father \[ \ldots \] teacher \ldots guest as divine; walk according to dharma, be 'not negligent of truth', 'a giver in faith and sympathy (to Brahmans)'. And there is very little more. But as to the Suttas, they not only teem with moral exhortation, but the end and reward hereafter (as well as on earth) of the moral life is never lost to view. This comes also into Upanishads, but it is relatively very seldom\(^{13}\). Instead of merely giving an intellectual formulation of the one-ness of life, Buddha has made active love and benevolence a corner-stone of his teachings. He has advised us to show our feeling of one-ness with other living beings by acts of mercy.

Turning to the Jaina ethics we find that morality in Jainism consists in the fivefold conduct of one who has knowledge and faith\(^{14}\), namely, innocence or ahimsā, which is not merely negative abstention, but positive kindness to all creation; charity and truth speaking; honourable conduct, such as, not-stealing; chastity in word, thought and deed; and renunciation of all worldly interests. Although the fivefold conduct prescribed for a Jaina is to some extent similar to the Buddhist silas, yet it may be noted that the ethical system of the Jainas is more rigorous than that of the Buddhists\(^{15}\). It looks upon patience as the highest good and pleasure as a source

\(^{13}\) Rhys Davids, Mrs. Buddhism : its birth and dispersal (Thorton Butterworth Ltd., 1934 ed.), pp. 139-140.
\(^{15}\) Barua, Benimadhhab. (A) History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy (University of Cal., 1921 ed.), pp. 385-400.
of sin. Like Buddhism, Jainism also does not believe in divine interference. So the monks are blessed not because of the uncertain whims of a capricious God, but by the order of the universe of which they themselves form a part. The chief morality in Jainism is of course ahimsā or respect for and abstinence from destroying everything that has life. This is again practically the first sīla of Buddhism. Further like Buddhism, Jainism speaks of the possibility of reaching the goal by the non-believers. Ratnasėkhara in the opening lines of his “Sambo-dhasattari” relates: “No matter whether he is a Śvetāmbara or a Digambara, or a Buddhist or a follower of any other creed, one who has realised the self-sameness of the soul, i.e., looks on all creatures as his own self, attains salvation.” The Jainas also, therefore, make conduct as important as faith and knowledge, and their conception of the goal of existence, though it differs from that of Buddhism in stressing escape from the evils of life rather than from conscious existence and in giving a high place to asceticism, is similar in that it is attained by the same ethical road as that blazed by the Brāhmaṇas and followed by the Buddhists. The Brāhmaṇa ascetic is the model from which both the Buddhists and the Jainas borrow many important practices and institutions of the ascetic life. But the Buddhists attach to such moral principles the highest importance and the Jainas also are careful to observe them more rigidly.

116 Sacred Books of the East, XXII, p. 48 (Ācāra-ṇgasūtra).
118 Sacred Books of the East, XXII, p. xxiv.
Lastly, in comparison with the Buddhist silas, it is seen that the Christian morality has been influenced by the total conditions—economic, social and political. But unlike the Buddhists, the Christians take human beings as children of God, and thus have one duty—absolute love to God, and an equal love to self and neighbour who is not merely fellow-countryman, but fellow-man. Thus in both Buddhism and Christianity morality is universal surpassing all the tribal or national distinctions. The contribution of Christianity is one of prophetic concern for, and involvement in, practical human life emphasizing truth, justice and mercy. In the early Apostolic Church we find that the spirit of brotherhood prevails; even towards the hostile world there is the spirit of patience and forgiveness. Thus Christian morality is somewhat social, while the Buddhist morality is individual. But in Christianity, as in Buddhism, the ethical system lays down the duty of practising the four cardinal virtues, namely, universal love towards all living beings, compassion, joy, and serenity. Morality, as described in the Nikāyas, aims at the escape from the pervasive evil of existence. The essence of Sila may be found in Buddha’s admonition to his only son. The Exalted One says: “Is there a deed, Rāhula, thou dost

120 King, Winston L. Buddhism and Christianity: some bridges of understanding (1962 ed.), p. 25.
wish to do, then bethink thee thus—Is this deed conducive to my own harm, or to other’s harm, or to that of both, then is this a bad deed entailing suffering? Such a deed must thou surely not do”\textsuperscript{124}. But one should do such deeds which are conducive to human welfare. In this sense, however, Buddhist morality is somewhat practical\textsuperscript{125}.

\textit{Samādhi}

Samādhi or concentration also plays an important role in Buddhism. Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Pāli commentator, uses the two terms Citta and Samādhi synonymously\textsuperscript{126}. In Buddhism Citta is conceived “as a stream or a series of momentary mental states without any abiding stratum. In the Sāṅkhya, it is the intellect (buddhi) which is an abiding substance modified from time to time into the several mental states (vṛttis)”\textsuperscript{127}.

Samādhi from the root “saṃ-ā-dhā”, “to put together”, “to concentrate”, refers to a certain state of mind. In a technical sense it signifies both the state of mind and the method designed to induce that state\textsuperscript{128}. It has been said that “he who is concentrated sees things as they really are”\textsuperscript{129}. With these words does Buddhism points out not only the essence of concentration and the essence of understanding,

\textsuperscript{124} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 415.
\textsuperscript{125} Tachibana, S. (The) Ethics of Buddhism (Oxford University Press, 1926 ed.), pp. 92-93.
\textsuperscript{126} Dighanikāya, i, p. 209 sq. (Subha Suttanta).
\textsuperscript{129} Samyuttanikāya, xxii, 5.
but also the nature of the relation between the two. Samādhi means fixing the mind, which is constant flux, on an object of thought, without distraction. There are forty methods of making the mind calm and steadfast, by concentrating it on a single object of thought. These forty methods may be classified under seven heads, namely, Kasiṇa, Asubha, Anussati, Appamāṇḍa, Sañña, Vavatthāna and Ārupa. As in Christian prayer, so in Buddhist concentration (Samādhi) the initial step is withdrawal, both physical and spiritual-mental. Obviously the mental withdrawal is more essential than physical. Samādhi comprises (i) the guarding of the sense (indriyesu guttadvāratā), (ii) self-possession (satisampajāṇa), (iii) contentment (santuṭṭhi), (iv) emancipation from the five hindrances (nivaraṇāni), and (v) the four jhānas. Dr. Rhys Davids states that “from the negative point of view it is said to include emancipation from ill-temper, inertness of mind and body, worry, and perplexity; from the positive point of view it is said to include a constant state of joy and peace.” As regards the definition of Samādhi the Majjhimanikāya relates that the one-pointedness of mind (cittassa ekaggatā) is called the concentration (samādhi), distinguishing marks of which are the four arousings of mindfulness (cattāro satipaṭṭhānā). The four right efforts (cattāro sammappadhānā) are the requisites for the attainments of Samādhi (samādhhiparikkhārā).

130 Majjhimanikāya, i, 301.
133 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 301.
But in the Dīghanikāya are mentioned the seven requisites for intellectual concentration (samādhi-parikkhārā). They are: right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort and right mindfulness\(^\text{134}\). That concentration of thought which is prepared by these seven factors, is called the Noble Right Rapture together with its bases, together with its requisites. Right intention suffices to maintain right views, right speech suffices to maintain right intention, right action suffices to maintain right speech, right livelihood suffices to maintain right action, right effort suffices to maintain right livelihood, right mindfulness suffices to maintain right effort, right rapture suffices to maintain right mindfulness, right knowledge suffices to maintain right rapture, and right freedom suffices to maintain right knowledge.

Buddhaghoṣa defines Samādhi as the collectedness of moral thought. It is concentration in the sense of placing well (samā-ādhāna) and “is said to be the placing, setting (ādhāna, ṭhapanā) of mind and mental properties fittingly and well in a single object. Therefore that state, by the strength of which mind and mental properties are placed in one object fittingly and well, without wavering, without scattering, may be known as concentration”\(^\text{135}\). Upatissa, the author of the Vimuttimagga, offers an alterna-

\(^{134}\) Dīghanikāya, ii, pp. 216-217; iii, 252 (satta samādhi-parikkhārā ... seyyathīdām sammā-diṣṭhi, sammā-sāṅkappo, sammā-vācā, sammā-kamman-to, sammā-ājīvo, sammā-vāyāmo, sammā-sati. Yā kho bho imehi satta angehi cittaṁ ekaggata parikkhatā, ayaṁ vuccati bho ariyo sammāsamādhi u- upaniso iti pi saparikkhāro iti pi).

\(^{135}\) (The) Path of Purity, pt. ii, trans. by Pe Maung Tin, p. 98. (Sāmādhanatthena samādhi, ekārammaṇe citta-cetasikānaṁ sānāṁ sammā ca ādhāraṁ ṭhapani ti vuttaṁ hoti).
tive definition supporting himself by a quotation from the Abhidhammapitaka, which according to Dr. P. V. Bapat\textsuperscript{136} appears in the Vibhanga\textsuperscript{137}. He writes: "What fixes the mind aright, causes it to be not dependent on any, causes it to be unmoved, undisturbed, tranquilized and non-attached, and rightens the faculty of concentration and the power of concentration is called concentration"\textsuperscript{138}. It is said that concentration (samādhi) is the object and the profit of happiness. But knowing and seeing things as they really are, may be called the object and profit of concentration\textsuperscript{139}. The characteristic of samādhi is non-wavering, its essence is to destroy wavering, and its manifestation is non-shaking\textsuperscript{140}. But Upatissa relates that dwelling of mind is the salient characteristic of concentration; overcoming of hatred is its function; tranquility is its manifestation; non-association with defilement and the mind obtaining freedom are its near causes\textsuperscript{141}. It is further stated that a person who can hold his thoughts in a perfect and balanced state may be compared with a man who keeps himself well-balanced while carrying the bowl of oil, or with the four horses that pull the chariot with equal vigour\textsuperscript{142}. We find that right en-


\textsuperscript{137} Vibhanga, 217 (P.T.S.). (Vā cittassa thiti saṇṭhiti avaṭṭhiti avisāhāro avikkhepo avisāhāta-mānasata samatho samādhindiyaṃ samādhibalāṃ sammāsamādhi : ayāṃ vuccati samādhi).


\textsuperscript{139} Āṅguttaranikāya, v. (P.T.S., 1958 ed.), pp. 1-2. (Sukham kho pana ānando samādhatthāṃ samādhanisāsan' ti ... samādhi kho ānando yathābhūtaññadassanattho yathābhūtaññadassanisāsano' ti).

\textsuperscript{140} (The) Path of Purity, pt. ii, p. 98.


deavour (samma-vayama), right mindfulness (samma-sati) and right concentration (samma-samadhi) have been arranged in the class of samadhi. The Samyuttanikaya records that right concentration is associated with right view, right aim, right speech, right action, right living, right effort and right mindfulness. The one-pointedness of mind which is equipped with these seven limbs is called the noble right concentration. Samadhi in its narrowest and most exclusive sense is essentially the wholesome concentration of the mind on a single object. But in its widest sense samadhi traditionally includes mindfulness and self-possession, emancipation from the hindrances, preliminary exercises for the development of one-pointedness of mind, the degrees and kinds of concentration, the various ascending states of superconsciousness to which concentration is capable of leading, and the different super-normal powers for the development of which these states are the basis. Mindfulness and self-possession, with the practice of which the second stage of the Way begins are ex-

145 Dighanikaya, i. (P.T.S., 1890 ed.), pp. 70-76, 207-208.
146 Majhimanikaya, vol. i (P.T.S.), p. 301. (Yo ca samma-vayamo ya ca sammasati yo ca sammasaamadhi, ime dhamma samadhikkhandhe saugahita).
147 Samyuttanikaya, vol. v (P.T.S.), p. 21. (samma-ditthi, samma-sankappo ... vaca ... kammanto ... ajivo ... vayamo ... sati. Ya kho bhikkhave imehi sattaanghehi cittassa ekaggrata s aparikkhara ayaam vuccati bhikkhave ariyo sammasaamadhi saupaniso iti pi s aparikkharo iti pi ti).
plained by Buddha to king Ajātasattu in the following manner: "And how, O King, is a monk endowed with mindfulness and self-possession? In this case a monk is self-possessed in advancing or withdrawing, in looking forward or looking round, in bending, or stretching his limbs, in wearing his inner and outer robes and bowl, in eating, drinking, masticating, and tasting, in answering the calls of nature, in walking, standing, sitting, sleeping, waking, speaking and keeping silence. Thus, O King, is a monk endowed with mindfulness and self-possession."  

Buddha encourages repeatedly his disciples to practice concentration. He further proclaims that a monk who is concentrated knows the real nature of an object. The Exalted One at one occasion advises his disciples to be wise and mindful, to think over the immeasurable concentration for the attainment of fivefold knowledge (pañca ūpāna) 151. He says: "what fivefold knowledge? 'This concentration is verily a present ease and a source of ease for the future'—even in each this knowledge arises; 'this concentration is Aryan, not of the flesh'—even in each this . . .; 'this concentration is not the practice of base of men'—even in each this; 'this concentration is the peace, the excellent thing, the winning of calm, the attainment of one-pointedness, and the restraint that prevails is not a conscious restraint'—even in each this; 'self-possessed, I verily enter upon this concentration, self-possessed, I verily emerge

149 Dīghanikāya, vol. i (P.T.S., 1890 ed.), pp. 70-71 (Sāmaññaphala Sutta).
150 Samyuttanikāya, iii, p. 13. (samādhiṁ bhikkhave, bhāvetha; samāhito, bhikkhave, bhikkhu yathābhūtaṁ pajānāti ti).
151 samādhiṁ bhikkhave bhāvetha appamānaṁ nipakā patissatā.
from this concentration”—even in each this knowledge arises”\textsuperscript{152}.

Elsewhere Buddha states that a monk possessed of five qualities cannot enter and abide in right concentration. “What five? Herein ... a monk cannot endure sights, sounds, smell, tastes and touches. Possessed of these five qualities a monk cannot enter and abide in right concentration”\textsuperscript{153}. But having possessed of the opposite five he can enter and abide in right concentration. Further a monk perceives that the calming of all activities, the rejection of substrate, the ending of craving, the dispassionateness, stopping, and Nibbāna, may be considered as the real, as the best\textsuperscript{154}. As he thus attains concentration he becomes unaware of earth, of water, of air, of the sphere of infinite intellection, or of the sphere of nothingness, of the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, of this world, of the world beyond and yet at the same time he possesses the power of perception\textsuperscript{155}.

Venerable Sāriputta has said to


\textsuperscript{154} Idha ... bhikkhu evam saññī hoti: etam sattaṁ etam pañītām. Yad idam sabba saṅkkhāra-samatho sabbupadhipatinissaggo tathakkhaya virāgo nirodho nibbānaṁ ti.

\textsuperscript{155} Aṅguttaranikāya, pt. v (P.T.S., 1900 ed.), p. 8 (Evam kho ... siyā
Ananda that once while he (i.e. Sāriputta) stays at the Andha Forest near Sāvatthī he attains to concentration of such sort. Being further questioned by Ananda, Sāriputta narrates his experience and says that destruction of becoming is Nibbāna. In another context Buddha addressing his disciples has said that there are persons who practice meditation (jhāyī), who are skilful in concentration and the attainments thereof, or skilful in concentration and steadfastness, or skilful in concentration and in emerging from the jhāna or breaking it up at will, or skilful in concentration and is fully expert, or skilful in concentration and in the object, or skilful in concentration and in the range, or skilful in concentration and in resolve, or skilful in concentration and in zeal, or skilful in concentration and in perseverance, or skilful in concentration and in bhikkhuno yathārūpo samādhi—paṭilābho, yathā neva paṭhaviyaṁ paṭhavisaññi assa, na āpasmīṁ āpasaññi assa, na tejasmiṁ tejosaññi assa, na vāyasiṁ vayoosaññi assa, na ākāsanaṁcāyatane ākāsanaṁcāyatanaṁsaññi assa, na viññānaṁcāyatane viññānaṁcāyatanaṁsaññi assa, na akiñcānaṁcāyatane akiñcānaṁcāyatanaṁsaññi assa, na nevasaññānaṁcāyatane nevasaññānaṁcāyatanaṁsaññi assa, na idhaloke idhalokasaññi assa, na para-loke paralokasaññi assa, saññī ca pana assa’ ti).

156 cf. Kindred Sayings, i, 160 n; Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, p. 359.
157 Aṅguttaranikāya, pt. v. (P.T.S., 1900 ed.), p. 9 (Bhavanirodho nibbānām, bhavanirodho nibbānan ti khe me āvuso aññā’ va saññā upparajati, aññā’ va saññā nirujjhati).

158 Yvāyaṁ jhāyī samādhismiṁ samādhikusalo ca samādhismiṁ samā-pattikusalo ca.
159 Yvāyaṁ jhāyī samādhismiṁ samādhikusalo ca hoti samādhismiṁ thittikusalo ca.
160 ca hoti samādhismiṁ vutthānakusalo ca.
161 ca hoti samādhismiṁ kallakusalo.
162 ca hoti samādhismiṁ ārammaṇakusalo.
163 ca hoti samādhismiṁ gocarakusalo.
164 ca hoti samādhismiṁ abhinīhārakusalo.
165 ca hoti samādhismiṁ sakkaccakāri.
166 ca hoti samādhismiṁ sataccakāri.
fitness, or skilful in attainment in concentration and in the attainment in steadfastness, or skilful in attainment in concentration and in emerging from attainment, or skilful in attainment in concentration and in ease of attainment, or skilful in attainment in concentration and in the object of attainment, or skilful in attainment in concentration and in the range of attainment, or skilful in attainment in concentration and in resolve for attainment, or skilful in attainment in concentration and in zeal for attainment, or skilful in concentration and in perseverance in attainment. Thus such persons become the topmost, best, pre-eminent, supreme and most excellent. Buddha also mentions four ways of making-concentration-to-become (samādhi-bhāvanā), namely, the way which conduces to happy living in this very life, the way which conduces to winning knowledge-and-insight, the way which conduces to mindfulness and well-awareness, and the way which conduces to the destruction of the āsavas.

167 ca hoti samādhiṣeṣaṃ sappayākāra.
168 samādhiṣeṣaṃ samāpattikusalo ca hoti samādhiṣeṣaṃ thitikusalo.
169 samādhiṣeṣaṃ samāpattikusalo ca hoti samādhiṣeṣaṃ vuttañānakusalo.
170 ca hoti samādhiṣeṣaṃ kallitakusalo.
171 samādhiṣeṣaṃ samāpattikusalo ca hoti samādhiṣeṣaṃ ārammanakusalo ca.
172 samāpattikusalo ca hoti samādhiṣeṣaṃ gocarakusalo ca.
173 ca hoti samādhiṣeṣaṃ abhinīhārakusalo ca.
174 ca hoti samādhiṣeṣaṃ sākaccakāra ca.
175 ca hoti samādhiṣeṣaṃ sākaccakāra ca.
176 aggo ca seṭṭho ca mokkho ca uttamo ca pavo ca.
178 dīptādhammasukkhavihārāya saṁvattati.
179 fānaddassanapaṭṭilābhaṭṭha saṁvattati.
180 satisamajāṭṭhāya saṁvattati.
A detailed study on the noble body of doctrine regarding concentration (samādhi) has been made in the Digha Nikāya. It is stated that a monk becomes guarded as to the doors of his senses being not entranced in the general appearance or the details of it when he observes an object with his eyes. He sets himself to restrain that which may give occasion for evil states, covetousness and dejection. He keeps watch upon his faculty of sight and attains to mastery over it. Likewise as he hears a sound with his ear, or smells an odour with his nose, or tastes a flavour with his tongue, or feels a touch with his body, or when he cognises a phenomenon with his mind he is not entranced in the general appearance or the details thereof. He keeps watch upon his representative faculty, and attains to mastery over it. And being endowed with this self-restraint, so worthy of honour, as regards the senses, he experiences, within himself, a sense of ease into which no evil state can enter. Next the monk becomes mindful and self-possessed in the aforesaid manner. Similarly he becomes content (santuṭṭho) as he is satisfied with sufficient robes to cover his body, and with reasonable food for his stomach. Wherever he goes, he takes the same with him as a bird carries his wings with him. He, therefore, having mastered such unique body of moral precepts, being endowed with so excellent self-restraint as to the senses, mindfulness and self-possession and being content, he selects a lonely spot to rest at on his way—in the forest, at

182 Dighanikāya, i. (P.T.S., 1890 ed.), pp. 70-76; 207-208.
183 indriyesu guttadvāro hoti.
184 cakkhumā rūpaṁ disvā na nīmattaggāhi hoti nānuvyañjanaggāhi.
the foot of a tree, on a hill side, in a mountain glen, in a rocky cave, in a charnel place, or on a heap of straw in the open field. And having returned there after his round for alms he sits, when his meal is done, cross-legged, keeping his body erect, and his intelligence alert, intent. Thus having put away the hankering after the world he remains with a heart that does not hanker and purifies his mind of lusts. Giving up the corruption of the wish to injure he remains with a heart free from ill-temper and purifies his mind of malevolence. Further having put away torpor of heart and mind and kept his ideas aright, being mindful and self-possessed he purifies his mind of weakness and of sloth. Next having given up flurry and worry he remains free from fretfulness and with heart serene within he purifies himself of irritability and vexation of spirit. Then putting away waverings he remains as one passed beyond perplexity; and being no longer in suspense as to what is good he purifies his mind of doubt. Again when the five hindrances (pañca nīvaraṇe), viz., debt (inanī), disease (rogo), prison (bandhanāgāram), slavery (dāsavyaṁ), and desert road (kantāraddhāna-maggam), have been put away within him he looks upon himself as freed from debt, rid of disease, out of jail, a free man and secure and so gladness springs up within him on his realising that, and joy arises to him thus gladdened, and so rejoicing all his frame becomes at ease, and being thus at ease he is filled with a sense of peace, and in that peace his heart is stayed (sukhino cittam samādhīyati). Then being liberated from lusts, aloof from evil dispositions he enters into and remains in the First Rapture—a state of joy and ease born of de-
tachment, reasoning and investigation. Next the monk suppressing reasoning and investigation enters into and abides in the Second Rapture, a state of joy and ease, born of the serenity of concentration, when no reasoning or investigation goes on. Further the monk holding aloof from joy, becomes equable and mindful and self-possessed, experiences in his body that ease which the Arahats talk of as they say: ‘the man serene and self-possessed is well at ease’, and so he enters into and abides in the Third Rapture (tatīyajjhānam). Lastly, having put away ease and pain, passed away any elation and any dejection he enters into and abides in the Fourth Rapture, a state of pure self-possession and equanimity, without pain and without ease. Thus this state is characterised by supreme and absolute indifference (upekkhā) which is slowly growing in all the various stages of the Jhānas. The characteristics of the fourth rapture are, therefore, upekkhā and ekaggatā. With the mastery of this rapture appear the final perfection and total extinction of the citta called cetovimutti, and the monks thereby becomes an arahat who has overcome rebirth, sorrows and sufferings.

The following numerical method of classification may be adopted to find out various characteristics of Samādhi:

185 savitakkāṃ savicāraṃ vivekajāṃ pītisukham pathamajjhānam upasampajja viharati.
186 Dighanikāya, ii. p. 186; Anguttaranikāya, i. p. 115.
187 avitakkāṃ avicāraṃ samādhijāṃ pītisukham dutīyajjhānam upasampajja viharati.
188 adukkhāṃ asukham upekkhā-sati-pārisuddhiṃ catutthajjhānam upasampajja viharati.
189 Majjhimanikāya, i. p. 296.
I. Concentration (Samādhi) is of two kinds, viz., (a) mundane (lokiyo) concentration which is accompanied by corruption, fetters, bond\textsuperscript{190} and supra-mundane (lokuttaro) concentration that is connected with the acquisition of the noble fruit;\textsuperscript{191} (b) wrong concentration (micchā-samādhi) and right concentration (sammā-samādhi)—the unskilful unification of mind (akusala-cittekaggatā) is called the micchā-samādhi, while the skilful unification of mind (kusala-cittekaggatā) is known as the sammā-samādhi; (c) access concentration (upacāra-samādhi) and ecstatic concentration (appanā-samādhi).

II. There are also three kinds of concentration, namely, (a) samādhi with initial and sustained application of thought, without initial and only with sustained application of thought and with neither initial nor sustained application of thought\textsuperscript{192}—the first meditation (pathhamam jhānam) is ‘with initial and sustained application of thought’, the second meditation (dutīyajjhānam) is ‘without initial application of thought and only with the sustained application of thought’, other meditations (sesajjhānāni) are with ‘neither initial nor sustained application of thought’; (b) the concentration which is produced together with joy (pītiyā saha uppanno), the concentration which is produced together with bliss (sukhena saha uppanno) and the concentration which is produced together with indifference (upekkhāya saha uppanno)—the first and second

\textsuperscript{190} sāsavo, samyojaniyo, ganthaniko.
\textsuperscript{191} ariyaphalena samādhigato.
\textsuperscript{192} Dīghanikāya, vol. iii, (P.T.S., 1911 ed.), p. 219 (Tayo samādhi, savitakko savicāro samādhi, avitakko vicāra-matto samādhi, avitakko avicāro samādhi).
meditations (pañhamam jhānaṁ ca dutiyajjhānaṁ ca) are 'produced together with joy', the third meditation (tatīyajjhānam) is 'produced together with bliss' and the fourth meditation (catutthajjhānam) is 'produced together with equanimity'; (c) the skilful concentration (kusalo) which is pertaining to the form and the formless practised by the learner of the Noble Path (ariyamaggo) and the commoner,\textsuperscript{193} the skilful producing concentration (vipāko) which is known as the concentration of the learner who is established in the Noble Fruit (ariyaphalam) and of the commoner who is reborn in the spheres of the form and the formless,\textsuperscript{194} and the real concentration (kiriyā) which is called the concentration of the form and the formless practised by an asekha;\textsuperscript{195} (d) lower (hīna), middle (majjhima) and higher (pañita) samādhis; (e) small (paritta—in the upacara-bhūmi), large (mahaggata—while in the rūpāvacarakusala and the arūpāvaca rakusala bhūmis) and measureless (appamāna—while ariyamagga-sampayutta); (f) suññatā or empty, appanihita or aimless, and animitta or signless samādhis\textsuperscript{196}.

III. There are further four kinds of Samādhis, viz., (a) the sense plane concentration (kāmāvacara samādhi), the form plane concentration (rūpāvacara samādhi), the formless plane concentration (arūpāvacara samādhi) and the unincluded concentration (apariyāpanna samādhi)—the putting away of each of

\textsuperscript{193} sekhehi ca puthujjanchi ca bhāvito rūpāvacara-arūpāvacara-samādhi ca.

\textsuperscript{194} sekhehi ca puthujjanchi ca uppaḍitā rūpārūpāvacara dhātu ca.

\textsuperscript{195} aschkena samāpanno rūpārūpāvacara samādhi.

\textsuperscript{196} Sānyuttanikāya, iv, p. 360; Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 299.
the five hindrances by its opposite and the maintaining of it is known as the kāmāvacara samādhi, the four meditations (cattāri jhānāni) are called the rūpāvacara samādhi, the four formless plane meditations, and the result of good action are called the arūpāvacara samādhi, and the concentration of the four paths (cattāro magga) and the four fruits (cattāri phalāni) is called the aparīyāpanna samādhi; (b) samādhis of four practices—painful practice of a man of slow wit (dukkha paṭipadā dandhābhīnīṇā), painful practice of a person of quick wit (khippābhīnīṇā), pleasant practice of a person of slow wit (sukha paṭipadā dandhābhīnīṇā) and the pleasant practice of a man of quick wit (khippābhīnīṇā). It is further said that the first of these four types of human beings has dense passion; and the second, rare passion; the third has keen faculties, and the fourth, dull faculties; (c) restricted concentration with restricted object (paritto samādhi parittārammaṇo), restricted concentration with immeasurable object (paritto samādhi appamāṇārammaṇo), immeasurable concentration with restricted object (appamāṇo samādhi parittārammaṇo) and the immeasurable concentration with immeasurable object (appamāṇo samādhi appamāṇārammaṇo); (d) concentration by means of strong will (chanda samādhi), concentration by means of energy (viriya samādhi), concentration by means of mind-control (citta samādhi) and lastly, the concentration by means of examination (vīmāṇasamādhi); 197 (e) the concentration to which the

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Enlightened One attains but not the hearer, the concentration to which the hearer attains but not the Enlightened One, the concentration to which both the Enlightened One and the hearer attain, and the concentration to which neither the Enlightened One nor the hearer attains; (f) the concentration that is a cause of origination and not of cessation—skilful and unskilful samādhīs of the sense plane, the concentration which is a cause of cessation and not of origination—the concentration of the fourfold Noble Path, the concentration which is a cause of both origination and cessation—skilful concentration of the learner and the commoner pertaining to the form and formless planes, and the concentration which is a cause of neither origination nor cessation—the concentration of the Noble Fruit and the object-concentration, (g) the first meditation (paṭhamam jhānam), the second meditation (dutiyaṃ jhānam), the third meditation (tatiyaṃ jhānam), and the fourth meditation (catuttham jhānam); (h) samādhīs are of discursive thoughts (vitakka), of discriminatory thoughts (vīcāra), of joy (pīti), and of happy state of mind (sukha)—four

198 atthi samādhi Buddhhehi samādhigato na sāvakehi: Mahākarunā samādhi, Yamaka-pāṭihāriya-samādhi ca.
199 atthi samādhi sāvakehi samādhigato na Buddhhehi: sekhaphala-samādhi.
200 atthi samādhi sāvakehi samādhigato, Buddhhehi ca: na va anupubha-samādhi, asekha-phalasamādhi ca.
201 atthi samādhi neva Buddhhehi samādhigato no sāvakehi ca: asaññī samādhi.
202 atthi samādhi uppaḍāya, na nirodhāya: kāmāvacare kusalo samādhi.
203 atthi samādhi nirodhāya na uppaḍāya: catu-ariyamagga-samādhi.
204 atthi samādhi uppaḍāya: ceva nirodhāya ca: sekha-putthuṇjanānaṃ rūpārūpāvacara-kusala-samādhi.
combinations of any two or more of them; (i) concentration belonging to a lower category (hānabhāgiyo), belonging to steadying category (ṭhiti-bhāgiyo), belonging to a higher category (visesa-bhāgiyo), and belonging to the highest (nibbendha-bhāgiyo)\textsuperscript{206}.

IV. Samādhis have also been classified into five kinds, viz., (a) the first meditation, the second meditation, the third meditation, the fourth meditation and the fifth meditation; (b) complete fixed meditation in the five factors, pañcaṅga-samāpatti), viz., joyfulness (pīti-pharanatā),\textsuperscript{207} blissfulness (sukha-pharanatā), mindfulness (ceto-pharanatā), luminousness (āloka-pharanatā) and the perception of steadily moving thought (paccavekkhanāsañña); and (c) right concentration related to the fivefold knowledge\textsuperscript{208}.

V. Concentration is also of six types, namely, the concentration together with thought directed and sustained (savitaṅko savicāro samādhi), the concentration without thought directed and sustained, but with thought sustained only (avitaṅko vicāramatto samādhi), the concentration without thought either directed or sustained (avitaṅko avicāro samādhi), the concentration that is empty (suññāto samādhi), the concentration which is signless (animitto samādhi) and lastly the concentration which is aimless (apaññihito samādhi)\textsuperscript{209}.

Samādhi, thus, emphasises the physical and hygienic conditions necessary for mental training. By it

\textsuperscript{206} Dīghanikāya, vol. iii, p. 277.
\textsuperscript{207} Mahāvyutpatti, ed. by Sakaki, 4304, 6334, 6491.
\textsuperscript{208} pañcaṅga-samā-samādhi.
a Buddhist evidently withdraws his powers from the external world and realises the stillness. So in the four states of meditation we find a progressive and methodical abstraction from the plurality of the phenomenal world. Concentration, therefore, is not a desultory reverie, but a set exercise to heighten the powers of mind by closing the avenues of sense. Mr. M. Poussin writes: "The mind once concentrated and strengthened by exercise with the clay disk, or any other exercise of the same kind, is successively to abandon its contents and its category. The ecstatic starts from a state of contemplation, coupled with reasoning and reflection; he abandons desires, sin, distractions, discursiveness, joy, hedonic feeling; he goes beyond any notion of matter, of contact, of difference; through meditation on void space, knowledge without object, contemplation of nothingness, he passes into the stage where there is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness, and finally he realises the actual disappearance of feeling and notion" 210.

Pañña

Pañña is the insight-knowledge associated with moral thought which helps one to penetrate into the characteristics and manifestation of the Path through endeavour. It, thus, occupies the most important place in Buddhism211. It is often said that in pañña "Buddhism offered its own solution of the highest riddle of the universe and wanted its

followers to comprehend its new view-point. Therefore in the class known as Intuitive Wisdom (paññā) are included whatever is perfect view (sammā-diṭṭhi) and whatever is perfect thought (sammā-saṅkappa). Paññā or Wisdom has often been praised as follows: chief among all is morality, but the person who has attained wisdom is supreme, because among gods and human beings he is regarded as both good and wise. It is stated that the seeing by the mind of objects, as they are, is known as wisdom (yathābhūtaññāñadassana). Paññā comprises the highest and last stage as third division in the standard ‘code of religious practice’ which leads to Arahantship or Final Emancipation. But without samādhi no development of paññā is possible. So in the Nikāyas, Vimuttimagga, Visuddhimagga and elsewhere discussions on sīla, samādhi (or citta) and paññā have been made in gradation. The Aṅguttaranikāya relates that “when mindfulness and self-possession are lacking, conscientiousness and fear of blame are perforce destroyed in one who lacks mindfulness and self-possession. When conscientiousness and fear of blame are lacking, the control of the senses is perforce destroyed in one who lacks conscientiousness and the fear of blame.

212 Dutt, N. Early Monastic Buddhism, vol. i (1941 ed.), p. 201.
216 Dīghanikāya, i, pp. 62-85; ii, pp. 81, 84, 91; Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, p. 106.
217 Saṇyuttanikāya, vol. ii, pp. 31-32; Aṅguttaranikāya, i, pp. 61, 216.
218 Itivuttaka (P.T.S., 1890 ed.), p. 51.
When the control of the senses is lacking, moral practice is perforce destroyed in one who lacks control of the senses. When moral practice is lacking, right concentration is perforce destroyed in one who lacks moral practice. When right concentration is lacking, true knowledge and vision are perforce destroyed in one who lacks right concentration. When true knowledge and vision are lacking, aversion and dispassion are perforce destroyed in one who lacks knowledge and vision. When aversion and dispassion are lacking, emancipated knowledge and vision are perforce destroyed in one who lacks aversion and dispassion ... (But) when mindfulness and self-possession are present, conscientiousness and fear of blame are the efficient causes of possession of mindfulness and self-possession. When conscientiousness and fear of blame are present, the control of the senses is the efficient cause of possession of conscientiousness and fear of blame. When the control of the senses is present, moral practice is the efficient cause of possession of the control of the senses. When moral practice is present, right concentration is the efficient cause of possession of moral practice. When right concentration is present, true knowledge and vision are the efficient causes of possession of right concentration. When true knowledge and vision are present, aversion and dispassion are the efficient causes of possession of true knowledge and vision. When aversion and dispassion are present, emancipated knowledge and vision are the efficient causes of possession of aversion and dispassion.”

Pañña is the understanding which comprises the investigation of the truth. The attainment of the truth, therefore, is its salient characteristic. Investigation is its function. Non-delusion is its manifestation. The four truths are its near causes. But Buddhaghosa thinks that understanding (pañña) possesses the characteristic of penetrating into the true nature of states; it has the function of dispelling the darkness of bewilderment which covers the true nature of states; it has the manifestation of not being bewildered, while concentration is its proximate cause. As regards the benefits of pañña we find that (i) it makes prominent the morals, (ii) it leads to the jhāna-heights, (iii) it helps one to attain the Holy Path, (iv) it shows the great fruition of sanctity, (v) it is the eye of things being supreme, (vi) it breaks heresy, (vii) it offers excellence to a person, (viii) it roots out the brood evils which are known as craving, hatred, ignorance, birth and death.

There are various kinds of understanding (pañña). It is found that understanding is of one kind through its characteristic of penetrating into the true nature of states. It is again of two kinds, namely, (a) worldly (lokiyā) and transcendental (lokuttara), (b) accompanied by cankers, and without cankers (sāsavānāsavā), (c) by way of fixing mental and material qualities, (d) connected with joy and with even-mindedness, (e) belonging to the planes of discernment and of culture. Further pañña

220 Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, p. 68.
is of three types, namely, (a) understanding based on thinking (cintāmayā paññā), on learning (suta-
mayā paññā), and on 'mental development' (bhāva-
nāmayā paññā)\textsuperscript{223}—'based on thinking' is that
knowledge or understanding which one has acquired
by one's own cognition, without having learned it
from others, 'based on learning' (literally 'hearing')
is that understanding which one has learned ('heard')
from others, 'based on mental development' is that
knowledge which one has acquired through 'mental
development' in this or that way, and which has
reached the stage of attainment-concentration
(appaṇa-samādhi),\textsuperscript{224} (b) paññā which is skill in
profit (āyako-sallāṃ), skill in loss (apāyako-
sallāṃ) and skill in means (upāyako-sallāṃ)\textsuperscript{225}—the
understanding of putting away the demeritorious
states and cultivating the meritorious states is called
skill in profit, understanding of increasing the deme-
ritorious states and putting away of meritorious
states is known as skill in loss, and the paññā of all
means of success is known as skill in means,\textsuperscript{226} (c)

\textsuperscript{223} Dīghanikāya, vol. iii, p. 219; cf. Sumaṅgalavilāsīni, vol. iii, 1002
\textsuperscript{224} (=cintāmayādisu ayaṃ vitthāro. Tattha katamā cintāmayā paññā? Yo-
 ga-vihitesu va kamm' āyatanesu yoga-vihitesu va sipp āyatanesu yoga-
 vihitesu va vijñāyatamesu kammassakatam va saccānulomikām va rūpas-
aniccā ti va ... pe ... viññānam aniccām ti va yam evarūpas anulom-
ikām khantiṁ ditthiṁ ruciṁ muniṁ pekkhāṁ dhamma-nijjhāna-
khatim parato asutvā paṭilabhati, ayaṁ vuccati cintāmayā paññā. Yo-
gā-vihītesu va kamm' āyatanesu ... pe ... dhamma-nijjhāna-khatim parato
suttvā paṭilabhati, ayaṁ vuccati sutamayā paññā. Tattha katamā bhāva-
nāmayā panna? Sabbā pi sammāpannassa paññā bhāvanāmayā paññā).

\textsuperscript{225} Visuddhimagga, XIV.

\textsuperscript{226} Dīghanikāya, iii, p. 220.

\textsuperscript{226} Sumaṅgalavilāsīni, iii, 1005. (Kosallesu āyo ti vaddehi, apāyo ti
avaddehi. Tassa tassa kāraṇām upāyo. Tesam pañjanaṁ kosallām. Vi-
thāro pana Vibhaṅge vutto yeva. Vuttaṁ hi etam: Tattha katamāṃ
āyakossaḷām? Ime dhamme manasikaro anupannā c'eva akusalā
dhammā na uppajjanti, uppannā ca akusalā dhammā nirujjhanti. Ime
paññā that accumulates (acaya), that does not accumulate (apacaya) and that neither accumulates nor does not accumulate (neva acaya na apacaya)—the wisdom of the Fourfold Path is called the wisdom which does not accumulate, while the wisdom that neither accumulates nor does not accumulate is the neither describable nor non-describable wisdom of the Fruit of the Four Stages and the object of three stages, (d) sekhapaññā, asekhapaññā and n'eva sekh na sekh paññā. Wisdom is also of four types, namely, (a) knowledge which is produced by one's own kamma (kammassakatam ūnanam), knowledge that conforms to the truth (saccanulomikaññañam), knowledge which is connected with the four Paths (maggasamañgissa ūnanam) and knowledge which is connected with Four Fruits (phalasamañgissa ūnanam)—right view concerning the ten bases is the knowledge produced by one's own kamma, while the adaptable patience in one who regards the aggregates as impermanent, ill, and not-self is known as the knowledge which conforms to the truth, but the wisdom of the Four Paths is called knowledge connected with the Four Paths and the wisdom of the Four Fruits is called knowledge connected with the


Four Fruits;\(^{228}\) (b) the wisdom of the sensuous element (kāmāvacara-paññā), wisdom of the form element (rūpāvacara-paññā), wisdom of the formless element (arūpāvacara-paññā), and the wisdom of the unfettered (aparīṭāpanna-paññā)—the meritorious wisdom of the sensuous element which is neither characterizable nor non-characterizable is wisdom of the sensuous element, meritorious wisdom of the form element that is neither characterizable nor non-characterizable is known as the wisdom of the form element, meritorious wisdom of the formless element that is neither characterizable nor non-characterizable is called wisdom of the formless element, while wisdom of the Paths and the Fruits is called unfettered wisdom;\(^{229}\) (c) knowledge of the Law (dhamme ūṇām), knowledge of succession (anvaye ūṇām), knowledge of discrimination (paricce ūṇām) and general knowledge (sammuti ūṇām)\(^{230}\)—an ascetic knows the past, the future,

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\(^{230}\) Dīghanikāya, vol. iii, p. 226.
the present, distant past and the distant future through knowledge of the Law, but the knowledge of the four truths is the knowledge of succession, the knowledge of others’ minds is called the knowledge of discrimination and other types of wisdom may be called the general knowledge; 231 (d) wisdom that is due to combination and not due to non-combination (atthi paññā ācayāya no apacayāya), wisdom that is due to non-combination and not to combination (atthi paññā apacayāya no ācayāya), wisdom that is due to combination and also to non-combination (atthi paññā ācayāya ceva apacayāya ca), and wisdom that is due to neither combination nor to non-combination (atthi paññā neva ācayāya no apacayāya); (e) wisdom that is due to aversion and not to penetration (atthi paññā nibbidāya no paṭivedhāya), wisdom that is due to penetration and not to aversion (atthi paññā paṭivedhāya no nibbidāya), wisdom that is due to aversion and also to penetration (atthi paññā nibbidāya ca paṭivedhāya ca), and wisdom which is due neither to aversion nor to penetration (atthi paññā neva nibbidāya no paṭi-

vedhāya); (f) analysis of meaning (atthapaṭisambhidā), analysis of the Law (dhammapaṭisambhidā), analysis of interpretation (niruttipaṭisambhidā) and analysis of argument (paṭibhāṇapaṭisambhidā)—knowledge in regard to meaning is analysis of meaning, knowledge in regard to doctrine is analysis of the Law, knowledge in regard to etymological interpretation is analysis of interpretation, knowledge in regard to knowledge is analysis of argument; (g) wisdom in regard to result of cause being the analysis of meaning (atthapaṭisambhidā: hetuphala ṇāṇam), wisdom in regard to cause being the analysis of the Law (dhammapaṭisambhidā: hetumhi ṇāṇam), knowledge in regard to the analysis of the Law being the analysis of interpretation (niruttipaṭisambhidā: dhammaniruttābhilāpe ṇāṇam), and lastly wisdom in regard to knowledge being the analysis of argument (paṭibhāṇa-paṭisambhidā: ṇāṇesu ṇāṇam); (h) wisdom of misery and cessation being analysis of meaning (atthapaṭisambhidā: dukkhe ca nirodhe ca ṇāṇam), the knowledge of the origin of misery and the Path called the analysis of the Law (dhammapaṭisambhidā: samudaye ca magge ca ṇāṇam), the knowledge as regards the etymological interpretation of the Law called analysis of interpretation (niruttipaṭisambhidā: dhammaniruttābhilāpe ṇāṇam), and wisdom in regard to knowledge known as the analysis of argument (paṭibhāṇapaṭisambhidā: ṇāṇesu ṇāṇam); (i) knowledge of the Law, namely, Sutta, Geyya, Veyyākaraṇa, Gāthā, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abbhutadhamma, Vepulla (Vedalla), known as the analysis of the

232 Vibhaṅga, p. 293.
Law, wisdom of the meaning of what is spoken called the analysis of meaning, knowledge of the meaning of what has been preached called the analysis of interpretation, wisdom in regard to knowledge known as the analysis of argument; (j) wisdom in respect of the eye called the analysis of the Law, eye-wisdom in respect of views called the analysis of meaning, wisdom in interpreting what has been preached called the analysis of interpretation, and wisdom in regard to knowledge called the analysis of argument, knowledge of misery, of the origin of misery, of the cessation of misery and of the Path—knowledge in regard to misery is knowledge of misery (dukkhe ṇāṇām: dukkhasampayuttam ṇāṇām), knowledge in regard to the origin of misery is knowledge of the origin of misery (dukkhasamudaye ṇāṇām: dukkhasamudayasaṃpayuttam ṇāṇām), wisdom in regard to the cessation of misery is the wisdom of the cessation of misery (dukkhaniruddhe ṇāṇām: bhāvanāsampayuttam ṇāṇām), and wisdom which practises to completion is the wisdom of the Path (maggasamamgissa ṇāṇām: paṭipadāṅāṇām).²³³

It is said that for the attainment the diṭṭhivisuddhi, one has to understand the nature of khandhas (constituents of a being), āyatanas (sense-organs), indriyas (faculties) and dhātus (spheres of existence). The Exalted One praises the noble doctrine regarding intellect, which is well-rounded (paripuṇno), and not incomplete (no aparipuṇno)²³⁴. As regards knowledge it is said that with one’s heart

²³³ Dīghanikāya, vol. iii, p. 237.
serene, made pure, translucent, cultured, devoid of evil, supple, ready to act, firm, and imperturbable through the meditational process mentioned earlier, one applies mind to that insight which comes from knowledge (ñāṇa-dassanāya cittam abhiniharati), grasping the fact regarding one’s body which has form, is built up of the four elements, springs from father and mother, is continually renewed by so much boiled rice and juicy food, is impermanent, subject to erosion, abrasion, dissolution and disintegration. Thus in the above process one’s power of calling up mental images emanates by calling up from this body another body, having form, made of mind, having one’s own body’s limbs and parts, not deprived of any organ. He then directs his mind to the knowledge of the destruction of the ‘Deadly Floods’ knowing about misery (dukkha), origin of misery (dukkha-samudayo), cessation of misery (dukkha-nirodho) and the Path leading to the cessation of misery (dukkha-nirodha-gāminī-paṭipadā)—in short the Four Truths (ariyasaccas), about the Deadly Floods (āsavā), origin of the Deadly Floods (āsava-samudayo), cessation of the Deadly Floods (āsavanirodho), and the Path leading to the cessation of the Deadly Floods (āsava-nirodha-gāminī-paṭipadā). To the same person, knowing thus, seeing thus, the heart is set free from the


236 so evaṁ samāhite citte parisuddhe pariyoḍate anaṅgane vigatūpakkilese mudu-bhūte kammanīye thite anejjappatte mano-mayaṁ kāyaṁ abhinimminnaṁ cittam abhiniharati abhininnāmeti. So imamha kāya aṅṅaṁ kāyaṁ abhinimminnati rūpiṁ manomayaṁ sabbaṅga-paccaṅgim abhinindriyaṁ.

237 āsavānaṁ khaya-ñāṇaṁ cittam abhiniharati.
‘Deadly Taint of Lusts’ (kāmāsava), from the ‘Deadly Taint of Becomings’ (bhavāsava), and from the ‘Deadly Taint of Ignorance’ (avijjāsava). In that person, thus being free, there arises the knowledge of his emancipation (‘vimuttasmiṃ vimuttaṃ ti ṇānāṃ hoti) and knows that rebirth has been destroyed, the higher life has been fulfilled, what has to be done has been accomplished, so after this present life there will be no beyond.\(^{238}\)

In the Samyutta Nikāya\(^{239}\) we further find that if a monk remembers the teaching of the Norm (Dhamma) then the limb of wisdom which is mindfulness (satisambojjhāgo) is established in that monk and when he cultivates the limb of wisdom, then through that culture it comes to perfection. Now at such a time as a monk, dwelling thus in mindfulness, with full recognition investigates and applies insight to that teaching of the Norm, then the Norm-investigation (dhammaviccayasambojjhāgo) is established in that monk. It is when he cultivates this limb of wisdom, as he comes to close scrutiny of it, by his culture of it, it comes to perfection. As with full recognition he investigates and applies insight to that Norm-teaching, then unshaken energy (asallīnam) is established. At such a time as unshaken energy is established in a monk who with full recognition is investigating, applying insight and coming to close scrutiny of that Norm-teaching, then the limb of wisdom known as energy (viriya-sambojjhāngo) is established in him. As he cultivates this limb of wisdom, it becomes perfect in that monk. Now in him who has energy established there

\(^{238}\)“Khīnā jāti vusitaṃ brahmācariyaṃ katam karanīyaṃ nāparam itthattāyat” pajānāti.

arises zeal, which is free from carnal taint (pīti nirāmisā)⁴⁴⁰. Then as such zest arises in a monk who has energy established, it is that limb of wisdom called zest (pītisambojjhāṅgo) is established in him. This limb of wisdom also becomes perfect by its continuous cultivation. It is said that zestful person’s body and mind become tranquil. Next when a zestful monk has body and mind tranquilized, then it is the limb of wisdom known as tranquility (passaddhisambojjhāṅgo) is established in him. This limb of wisdom attains perfection by its culture. Indeed a person whose body is tranquilized is happy and his mind is concentrated. Now as the mind is concentrated (cittam samādhiyati) in a monk whose body is tranquilized, at such time the limb of wisdom called concentration (samādhisambojjhāṅgo) appears in that monk. As he cultivates it, it becomes perfect. So he becomes now a thorough overseer of his mind. Next when he becomes a careful looker-on of his mind thus calmed, then it is the limb of wisdom known as equanimity (upekkhāsambojjhāṅgo) is established in a monk. This limb of wisdom also becomes perfect through cultivation. The Exalted One further states that when these seven limbs of wisdom (sattasu bojjhāṅgesu) are thus cultivated, seven fruits, seven advantages may be looked for, namely, (i) in this very life, beforehand, the monk establishes realization; and if he does not so beforehand, in this very life, at any rate he establishes realization (aññāṁ ārādheti) at the time of his death; (ii) and if in this very life, beforehand, he does not establish realization, nor does so at the time of death, then through

having worn down the five fetters, of the lower sort, he wins release midway;\(^{241}\) (iii) but if he does not establish perfect insight, beforehand, in this very life, nor yet at the time of death, and if he, by wearing down the five fetters of the lower sort, wins not release midway—then at any rate, after having worn down the five fetters of the lower sort, he wins release by reduction of his alloted time (upahacca parinibbāyi hoti); (iv) but if he does none of these ... at any rate, by having worn down the five fetters of the lower sort, he wins release without much trouble (asaṅkhāraparinibbāyi); (v) and if he does none of these ... at any rate, by having worn done the five fetters of the lower sort, then he wins release with some trouble (sasaṅkhāraparinibbāyi); (vi) again if he does none of these ... at any rate, by having worn down the five fetters of the lower sort, then he is ‘one who goes upstream’ (uddhamsoto); and lastly (vii) he goes to the Pure Abodes (akaṇiṭṭhagāmī).

In the foregoing pages we have summarised the discourses on sīla, samādhi and paññā which lead towards the goal of spiritual perfection. The discourses, as we have already seen, are simple, but direct and thought-provocative. It is also seen that without training in morality, in concentration and in insight, it is absolutely impossible for a human being to attain the summum bonum. In several discourses of the Nikāyas Buddha declares that an ardent disciple must possess sīla, samādhi and paññā for his own benefit\(^{242}\). According to the Visuddhi-

\(^{241}\) sāyojanānāṃ parikkhaya antarāparinibbāyi hoti.

\(^{242}\) Dīghaniṃkāya, i, p. 206; Majjhimaṇiṃkāya, ii, pp. 9-22; Saṃyutta-niṃkāya, i, p. 13; Aṅguttaraṇiṃkāya, ii, p. 2.
magga the moral purification (sīlavisuddhi) and perfection in mental exercises (cittavisuddhi) form the two legs of Buddhism, its body being the true view about the nature of the reality (diṭṭhivisuddhi). Indeed sīla, samādhi and pañña occupy a very important place in primitive Buddhism. It is said that “according to the traditional method of exposition, the whole of the Buddhist discipline ... is divided into three sections, which in English phraseology may be put as physical, mental and intellectual, in Pāli sīla, citta (or samādhi) and pañña”\(^{243}\). Indeed if the suttas of the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas are scrutinised carefully, it will be evident that the compilers had always kept such a division at the back of their mind.

### TABLE No. 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sīla</th>
<th>Citta or Samādhi</th>
<th>Pañña</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>samā-vacā (perfect speech)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[musāvāda veramani (refraining from speaking falsehood), pisunāya vācāya v. (malicious words), pharusāya vācāya v. (harsh talk), samhappalāpā v. (frivolous discussion)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SILA</td>
<td>samā kammanta (perfect action)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(MORALITY)</td>
<td>[adinnādāna veramani (thief), pānātipāta v. (slaughter of life), kāmesu micchācāra v. (adultery), abrahmacariya v. (unchastity)]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>samā ājīva (perfect way of living)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>[enumerated in the Vinaya Piṭaka]</td>
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### TABLE No. 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sāmādhi or Citta (CONCENTRATION)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>samā vāyāma (perfect endeavour)</td>
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PANNĀ (WISDOM)

samma diṭṭhi (perfect view)
\[\rightarrow\]
(a) dukkhe ūṇām (knowledge of suffering)
(b) dukkhasamudaye ūṇām (origin of suffering)
(c) dukkha-nirodhe ūṇām (destruction of suffering)
(d) dukkha-nirodha-ghāminīyā paṭṭipadāya ūṇām (the practice leading to the extinction of suffering)
≡ atthangika-magge ūṇām (noble eightfold path)
\[\rightarrow\]
(i) samma vācā—to speak perfect words
(ii) samma kammanta—to do perfect action
(iii) samma ājīva—to get daily necessities in a perfect way
(iv) samma vāyāma—to make constant efforts for perfect things
(v) samma sati—to have a continuous perfect mind
(vi) samma samādhi—to endeavour constantly for the true law and to be fixed and settled in it.
(vii) samma diṭṭhi—to see all things perfectly
(viii) samma saṅkappa—to do perfect thinking
CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSIONS ON SECULAR MATTERS
ADMINISTRATIVE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

The first four Nikāyas devote a considerable portion to the discussions on the administrative, social and economic conditions of contemporary India. Though they form a part of the sacred texts of Theravāda Buddhism, they do not altogether neglect some secular matters effecting the everyday life of the Indians of ancient days. We shall in the subsequent pages try to conglomerate and arrange such information relating to the secular affairs of the Indians to make our study methodical and informative.

A. Administrative

The material for the study of the administrative machinery, furnished by the Nikāyas, though meagre in quantity is nonetheless very rich in quality. The Nikāyas, as we all know, are not administrative manuals which may offer us a full connected and systematic account of the various aspects of administration like the Arthaśāstra or the Dharmasūtras¹. Naturally we shall, therefore, be disappointed if we want to have a comprehensive picture of the administrative machinery with all its intricacies, either in

¹ Aiyangar, K. V. Rangaswami. Considerations of some aspects of ancient Indian Polity (Madras University, 2nd ed.), p. 9.
practice or in theory, in these texts. But the discourses (suttas) of the Nikāyas, as they flow on, give us details here and there, quite in an off-hand manner, a true picture of the normal life of the day describing such great and powerful kingdoms as Kāśi, Kosala and Magadha which were probably divided into villages (gāma), market-towns (nigama), and capital cities (rājadhānī) for administrative purposes.

During the period of the compilation of the Nikāyas we find that a number of well-formed independent states, normally at peace but occasionally at war with one another, existed in India. At the head of each state was the elected or hereditary (crowned) monarch who dwelt at the metropolis and was the acknowledged head of the state watching and warding his kingdom. Generally each state enjoyed peaceful independence. But very often this peace was threatened by aggressive monarchs who aspired to universal sovereignty. It should be noted that these disturbances could not affect the deeper strata of the invaded kingdom, but only offered an ephemeral disturbance over the surface, particularly to the metropolis which was de facto entrance to victory over a kingdom. Generally political development in one kingdom was keenly observed by its neighbours who became alert of taking every advan-

3 Āṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 213; iv, p. 252.
4 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 127.
5 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 469.
7 Āṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 159; ii, p. 33; iii, p. 108.
8 Dīghanikāya, vol. iii, p. 93.
tage from the situation. Sometimes the dismissed servants of the states “proved to be a source of incalculable mischief and injury to the kingdoms which they had once served”. Often secret agencies (upanikkhittapurisā) were posted in distant countries to report the military preparations carried on there\textsuperscript{10}. It was generally on the basis of such reports that the enemy planned of his attack with care and dexterity. Yet peaceful relations between kings, were established by dynastic and matrimonial connections. Between the two, however, matrimony being sometimes of much political significance was the most effective bond of alliance between different ruling houses. We have already said that the kings of those days were sometimes after the universal conquest and so they were never satisfied with victories. But during these conquests the common people unlike the present day remained undisturbed. The peaceful and day-to-day routine administration of the different kingdoms was hardly affected under such political affairs\textsuperscript{11}. In the following space our aim should be to draw, as far as practicable, an account of the administrative organisation as revealed in the Nikāyas.

*Origin of State*

Before dealing with the question of the origin of State as described in the first four Nikāyas we should define, first of all, the term ‘State’. It is curious to note that the modern sense of the term was not quite unknown to the Indians of the ancient period. By

\textsuperscript{10} Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. v, p. 457.

\textsuperscript{11} Visvanatha, S. International Law in ancient India, pp. 16-19.
the term "State" is meant today a numerous assemblage of human beings generally occupying a certain territory, independent of external control and possessing an organised government to which a greater body of citizens render habitual obedience. Among the old political thinkers, Aristotle, the father of Political Science, defined a state as "a union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self-sufficing life, by which we mean a happy and honourable life." Cicero, on the other hand, defined the State (republica) as "a numerous society united by a common sense of right and a mutual participation in advantages." Bodin in 1576, said that the state (la république) was "an association of families and their common possessions, governed by a supreme power and by reason." But the English writer Holland defined a State as a "numerous assemblage of human beings, generally occupying a certain territory, among whom the will of the majority or of an ascertainable class of persons is by the strength of such a majority or class made to prevail against any of their number who oppose it." Thus the main factors which form a state are generally territory, population, unity and organisation. In ancient India, too, these factors used to constitute a state. So when we are to discuss about a state of ancient India, we should consider these four factors.

13 Aristotle's Politics; trans. by Jewett, p. 120.
14 De Republica, bk. i, p. 25.
15 Six livres de la république, bk. i, ch. i.
As regards the origin of state, we have occasional speculations in the Nikāyas\(^{18}\) which aver that for a long time there prevailed a golden age of harmony and happiness in the earth and people led a happy and peaceful life due to their innate virtuous disposition, though there existed no government for the maintenance of the laws of nature. In the Mahābhārata\(^{19}\) also we find similar speculation on the origin of state. Even Plato’s “Republic” records idealisation of such a Golden Age\(^{20}\). Thus a social-compact theory for society and a correlative governmental-contract theory for the origin, establishment and location of political authority are described in the Nikāyas.

The Dīghanikāya\(^{21}\) records that there came a time when after the lapse of a long period, the ideal world described above, passed away. As this happened, beings had mostly been reborn in the World of Radiance\(^{22}\) and there they dwelt being made of mind, feeding on rapture, being self-luminous, and traversing the air, continuing in glory for a long time. Again there came a moment when sooner or later this world began to re-evolve and beings who had deceased from the World of Radiance, usually came to life as those who were made of mind, feeding on rapture, self-luminous, traversing the air, continuing in glory, and remained thus for a long period\(^{23}\). Now at that time, all had become one

\(^{18}\) Dīghanikāya, vol. iii, pp. 84-96.

\(^{19}\) Sāntiparvan, chap. 58.


\(^{21}\) Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 30; vol. iii, pp. 84-96.

\(^{22}\) sattā ābhassara-sāṃvattāṇikā honti.

\(^{23}\) te ca honti manomaya piti-bhakkha, sayam-pabhā antalikkhacarā subhāṭṭhā-yino, caṭrī mādghāṃ adhānaṃ tiṣṭhanti.
world of water and of darkness. Neither Moon nor Sun appeared, neither stars nor constellations were seen, neither night nor day was manifest, neither months nor half-months, neither years nor seasons, neither female nor male could be distinguished. Beings were reckoned just as beings only. And to those beings earth with its colour, savour and odour was spread out in the waters. Then a being of greedy disposition (lola-jātiko) tasted the savoury earth with his finger. He, thus, tasting, became suffused with the savour, and craving (tāṇhā) entered into him. Other beings also tasted the savoury earth in the like manner with their fingers. They, thus, tasting, became suffused with the savour and thirst appeared in them. So those beings began to feast on the savoury earth, breaking off lumps of it with their hands. And due to such deed their self-luminosity faded away and consequently the Moon, the Sun, the stars and constellations became visible. The night, day, months, half-months, seasons and years became manifest. Thereafter the world evolved again. Now those beings feasting on the savoury earth, feeding on it, nourished by it, continued thus for a long while and as a result their bodies became solid and variety in their comeliness became apparent. Some beings were well favoured, some were ill favoured. The well favoured persons began to look down upon with contempt the ill favoured ones and thought that they were more comely than others. Thus while they became proud of their

24 yathā yathā kho te Vāsettha sattā rasapaṭhaviṁ paribhuñjantā tam-bhakkhā tad-āhārā ciraṁ digham addhānaṁ atṭhamsu, tathā tathā tesam sattānaṁ kharattāni c'eva kāyaṁ okkami, vanṇa-vevaṇṇatā ca paññāyittha. Ek'ıdam sattā vanṇavanto honti, ek'ıdam dubbanṇā.
beauty, the savoury earth disappeared and they gathered themselves together to bewail. Meanwhile the outgrowths having colour, odour and taste appeared on the soil. The manner of the rising up thereof was as the springing up of the mushroom. Then those beings began to feast on these outgrowths and found food and nourishment in them. As a result their bodies grew ever more solid, and the difference in their comeliness became more manifest, some being well favoured, some ill favoured. Then those persons who were well favoured despised those who became ill favoured and thought that they were more comely than the ill favoured ones. And due to their pride these outgrowths of the soil disappeared. Thereupon creeping plants (badālatā) with colour and taste appeared like the bamboos. So those beings began to feast on the creepers and feeding on them, nourished by them for a long time, their bodies became more solid, and the divergence in their comeliness increased, so that, as before, the better favoured despised the worst favoured and consequently the creepers vanished. At their disappearance the people began to lament. But fragrant and clean rice appeared ripening on open space. In the evening they gathered and carried away the rice for supper and to their surprise they found in the next morning that the rice grew again there. Similarly in the morning they collected rice for breakfast and in the evening it appeared again. Then those beings

25 atha kho te Vāsetṭha sattā bhūmi-pappatakaṁ upakkamimṣu pari-bhuṣñjitum. Te taṁ paribhuṣñjanta taṁ-bhakkhā tad-āhārā ciraṁ dīgham addhānaṁ atṭhamṣu.

26 atha kho tesāṁ Vāsetṭha sattānaṁ badālatāya antararitiya akaṭṭha-pāko sāli pātur ahosi, aṅkho athuso sugandho taṇḍulapphalo.
feasted on this rice for a long period. Their bodies became more solid, and the divergence in their comeliness became more pronounced. In the female appeared the distinctive features of the female, in the male those of the male. Then a woman began to desire man too closely, and man woman. In their desire, passion arose and so they satisfied their lust. And others seeing them so doing threw sand, ashes, cowdung at them. It is to be noted that even during Buddha's time men, in certain districts, when a bride was led away, used to throw those materials without understanding the significance thereof. Now those beings who submitted to their lust were not allowed to enter the village and town either for a whole month or even for two months. They at that time quickly incurred blame for immorality and thus engaged themselves in building huts to conceal that immorality. So some lazy fellows gradually thought of collecting enough rice at one journey for two meals (i.e. supper and breakfast) together and following them others also considered in the like manner. They began to fetch and store rice for even two or four or eight days. Now as those beings began to feed on hoarded rice, powder enveloped the clean grain, husk enveloped the grain, and the reaped or cut stems did not grow again; a break became visible; the rice-stubble stood in clumps. Those beings, therefore, gathered themselves and bewailed for such a misfortune. They gradually began to

27 ye kho pana Vāsetṭha tena samayena sattā methumam dharmam paṭisevanti, te-māsām pi dve-māsām pi na labhanti gāmām vā nigamām vā pavisitum. Yato kho Vāsetṭha te sattā tasmiṃ samaye asaddhamme ativelam pātabbatam apājīṃsu, atha agārāṇi upakkāmīṃsu kātuṃ tass' eva asaddhammassa paṭicchādanattham.
divide off the rice-fields and set boundaries thereto. Again a certain person of greedy disposition watching over his own plot, stole another plot and made use of it. Other persons seized and punished him for such an offence. He did so even for a second or third time. So they again took him and admonished him. Some smote him with the hand, some with clods, some with sticks. With such a beginning stealing appeared and censure, lying and punishment became known. Now these beings again gathered themselves together and expressed grief in outcries saying: “From our evil deeds, sirs, stealing, censure, lying, punishment have become known. What if we were to select a certain being, who should be wrathful when indignation is right, who should censure that which should rightly be censured and should banish him who deserves to be banished? But we will give him in return a proportion of the rice”. Then those beings went to a person among them, who was the handsomest, the best favoured, the most attractive, the most capable and said to him: “Come now, good being, be indignant, censure that which should rightly be censured, banish him who deserves to be banished. And we will offer you a proportion of our rice”. And he consented, and did so, and they gave him a proportion of their rice. Chosen by the whole people is what is meant by Mahā Sammata; so Mahā Sammata (the Great Elect) was the first standing phrase attributed to that worthiest person. Lord of the Fields is what is meant by Khattiya; so Khattiya (Noble) was the next term to appear. The king used to charm others by the Dhamma and so he was called the Rājā, hence Rājā (King) was the third standing phrase to ap-
pear. In the Mahāvastu also we find that the king was styled as Mahā Sammata (the person elected by the great mass of the people), and as Rājā who deserved to have a rice-portion from the rice-fields. But according to the Brahmanical literature the term ‘Khattiya’ covered the whole class of nobles. The slight twist which the Buddhists gave to the word ‘Khattiya’ was to make it applicable to lords of all fields, presumably as owners of land.

We have seen in the foregoing pages that the worthiest member of a group of people out of a social necessity gradually turned to an elected ruler being responsible for the origin of the ideas of state and kingship. While considering such a Buddhist theory regarding the origin of state we shall find that it had some parallels with the similar theories advanced by the western scholars like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.

The episode of Mahā Sammata presents one of the world’s earliest versions of the widespread contractual theory of the state, which in Europe is especially linked up with the names of Locke and Rousseau.


Discussions on Secular Matters

It emphasises that the main purpose of government is to maintain order, and that the king, as the head of the government, is the first social servant, and ultimately dependent on the will of the people of the country. So on the question of the origin of state two points are evident in the Nikāyas, namely, the mystical and the contractual, often rather incongruously combined. The Nikāyas relate, as we have already observed, that in the distant past there was a golden age when men lived in virtue and happiness. But somehow there was a fall from such an ideal life and people being disappointed by anarchy and chaos asked a wise and virtuous person to be their king presenting a portion of rice in lieu of his services. Thus, according to the Buddhist tradition, government came into existence as a result of some implied contract between the community and its worthiest member. Such an idea seems to have been also in the mind of the Dharmasūtra writers, when they thought that the king was a servant of the people charged with the duty of protection, sixteen per cent tax being his wage. A slightly different view, presented in the Cakkavattī-Sīhanāda Sutta of the Dīghanikāya, envisages a former ideal state of the society with the just government. But such a situation gradually deteriorated due largely to the inept administration and lack of consideration for public welfare among subsequent kings. So anarchy followed. Peace was restored ultimately through a moral social compact by the people and a new righteous king called Saṅkha arose accidentally with the appearance of the Future Buddha, Metteya.

30 Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, i, 10, 6.
31 Dīghanikāya, vol. iii, pp. 75-76.
Thus the government and the society came into existence out of conditions primarily arising from the sociability inherent in human nature.

Hobbes, unlike the Buddhists, thought that there was a state of anarchy \textsuperscript{32} in the very inception, the hand of each being against all. As a result moral condition of mankind was held to be that of unceasing strife. Such a condition had three chief immediate sources, namely, the competition between man and man for the means to gratify identical appetites, the fear in each lest another would surpass him in power, and the craving for administration and for recognition as superior. To sum up all these, the natural relation of each individual to every other was determined by motives of competition, distrust and love of glory \textsuperscript{33}. These were the characteristics of actual or potential war; and such was the condition of man in his natural state. Human life became “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short”. Being ashamed for such a state of affairs, people eventually agreed to surrender a part of their rights to the sovereign. It was not a contract between the sovereign and the people—but merely an agreement among the people, which imposed no obligation upon the sovereign, who however got unlimited and irrevocable rights under it. The Buddhists also presupposed a “contractual relation” which had come to be generally recognised as the ultimate basis of state. But this contract did not impose obligations only on the people. The first king ‘Mahājana-sammata’ had no unlimited rights under it, his powers were restricted to some extent. Thus it is evident

\textsuperscript{32} Gettell, R. G. History of Political Thought (1951 ed.), p. 218.

\textsuperscript{33} Hobbes, T. Leviathan; ed. by H. Morley (3rd ed.), chap. xiii.
that the king who came into power after the agreement among the people and at the intervention of divine power, was not a law unto himself, unlike the sovereign as idealised by Hobbes who also thought that all power rested upon the original consent of the governed\textsuperscript{34}.

On the other hand, Locke's idea of the state of nature in the pre-governemental period was more or less analogous to the Golden Period as depicted in the Nikāyas. But the state of nature as conceived by Locke was a pre-political rather than a pre-social condition\textsuperscript{35}. It was not a state in which men lived in brutish reciprocal hostility, but one in which peace and reason prevailed\textsuperscript{36}. It was evidently not a lawless state. Locke followed the Grotian doctrine, declared the law of nature to be a determining body of rules for the conduct of men in their natural condition and rejected the incisive distinction proposed by Hobbes between the law of nature and the real law. Thus Locke's state of nature was characterised by the consciousness of and respect for those natural rights which were the substantial elements of the law of nature. Locke wrote: "The State of Nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one; and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possession"\textsuperscript{37}. Thus he held that the state of nature was one of "peace, goodwill,

\textsuperscript{34}Dunning, W. A. (A) History of Political Theories: from Luther to Montesquieu, p. 281.
\textsuperscript{35}Gettell, Raymond G. History of Political Thought (1951 ed.), p. 225.
\textsuperscript{36}Willoughby, W. W. (An) Examination of the nature of the State: a study of political philosophy (1911 ed.), p. 75.
\textsuperscript{37}Two Treatises of Government, Bk. ii, chap. ii.
mutual assistance and preservation". When, however, occasional breaches of law occurred, each individual could act both as a judge and executor of his own decrees, which created inconvenience. Moreover, on account of personal interest and difference of intelligence, disputes arose as to the method of enforcement of the law of nature and so human life became uncertain. Naturally to put an end to it people entered into a covenant, surrendered their right to enforce the law of nature and organised a government which was also bound by the terms of the original contract. This "original compact" by which men were incorporated into one society was a bare agreement "to unite into one political society, which is all the compact that is, or needs be, between the individuals, that enter into, or make up a common-wealth".

Rousseau thought that the natural man appeared first "as the solitary savage, living the happy, care-free life of the brute, without fixed abode, without articulate speech", with no needs or desires that could not be satisfied through instinct. Thus in Rousseau's natural man, like the primitive virtuous and happy beings of the Nikāyas, are to be found the elements of perfect happiness. That man was independent, contended, and self-sufficing. The natural state was thus, according to Rousseau, a state of substantial equality. No distinction was, however,

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40 Of Civil Government, Book ii, Sec. 3.
made among individuals. But such an affair could not last long. Rousseau assumed that the human race became increasingly numerous; divergencies of soil, climate and season then caused differences in manner of life among human beings. With the appearance of fixed residences, family and property naturally the knell of human equality was sounded. Social organisation had begun. Intercourse of individuals and families became common and through it the ideas of competition and preference were developed. Evils followed in their train. But Rousseau supposed that this primitive society was not an intolerable state and that man’s emergence from the primitive social condition must have been due to a fatal chance. He observed that the stronger man did the greater amount of work and the craftier got more of the product. So difference between the rich and the poor became visible. The climax was reached with the diabolical device of landed property. So Rousseau wrote: "The first man who, after enclosing a piece of ground, bethought himself to say ‘this is mine’, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society." Such a fatal happening was followed by war, murder, wretchedness and horror without end. The rich and the poor entered into a bitter hostility. Evils which were unknown in the savage state, and slighted manifested in the primitive society, became then universal. To escape this unfavourable situation, the civil society was instituted. Thus Rousseau's state of nature described in the "Discourse on Inequality" was as happy and idealistic as that of the

World of Radiance (Ābßassaraloka) of the Buddhist tradition; but he differed from it in postulating that the political organisation was introduced not as a means of escape from an intolerable condition, but as a means of conserving rights which were naturally enjoyed by men in the State of Nature\(^{43}\). Rousseau's primitive men were savage\(^{44}\), brute, but happy, while those of the Nikāyas were super-human beings with high moral accomplishment. Hence Rousseau was confined to mundane events, while the Nikāyas deal with the supra-mundane affairs. But the idealistic state of nature was the same in both the cases, differing slightly on treatment. Further both Rousseau and the compilers of the Nikāyas believed that the origin of state was due mainly to the general will of the people, quite unlike the description of the Mahābhārata wherein it is found that the origin of state was due to the Code of Brāhmaṇa and the people and the king were to follow it. The Nikāyas relate that somehow there was a fall from the Ideal Age of the primeval period, owing to the greed getting upper-hand in human nature. But it is not clear how the greed absent from human nature began to warp it. Rousseau thought that the state was an evil made necessary by the rise of inequalities among men, while the Nikāyas record that the state came into existence due to moral evils which had crept into human character. These “moral evils” might have created inequalities among human beings and as a result a political society was created through a social contract. In such a society both Rousseau and the compilers of the Nikāyas presumed that only by

\(^{43}\) Cocker. Readings in Political Philosophy, p. 478.

\(^{44}\) Gelett, R. G. History of Political Thought, p. 257.
agreement, general will (volonté générale)⁴⁵ and consent authority could be justified and liberty retained.

The main difference between the thinking of the Buddhists and that of the western scholars lies in the fact that the westerners looked at the problem of the origin of state purely from a secular standpoint, whereas the Buddhists maintained a religious outlook throughout. That is why the western theories were greatly influenced by the people's struggle against autocracy which was then in vogue. The modern scholars endeavoured to define the power of the sovereign and introduce certain conditions under which people would pay their obedience to him. But the early Buddhists, as they did not live in an age of rationalism like Locke and Rousseau, thought of the question mainly from a religious point of view. That is why they did not feel any urge to go through the fundamentals of the problem and thought only that people used to offer obedience and taxation in return for the protection and services they expected from the king. If the king would fail in his duties, they allowed the people to remove the king, and even to kill him. So the Buddhist theory of origin of state and social institutions being different from other similar theories occupies a distinctive place in the history of ancient Indian political thought⁴⁶. It justifies by a reference to historical processes the necessity of the king's office in the interest of private property in particular and the public order in general. Again the theory imposes upon the ruler the obliga-

⁴⁵ Sabine, G. H. (A) History of Political Theory (1957 ed.), p. 496.
⁴⁶ Beni Prasad. (The) State in ancient India, p. 118 n; Hardy. Manual of Buddhism, p. 68.
tion of punishing wrong-doers in return for payment of the customary dues by the people. Still in both the Buddhist and western theories, there is mention of an inconvenient stage of society preceeding the rule of either a leader or a king. And in both, protection followed the establishment of government. But the Buddhist version would make the condition of the society as one of evil. Accordingly it partially approaches the nature of society as envisaged by Hobbes, but it is unlike the one described by Locke and Rousseau. Thus to Hobbes the state of nature, as we have already observed, was one of war and aggression because men were brutal and selfish; to Locke it was one of equity and freedom, as men were peaceable and sociable; but to Rousseau it was one of idyllic happiness, because human beings became perfect. From the Buddhist version it is not evident as to who abandoned the state of nature—whether the people of their own accord gave up the anarchical state of nature or whether they were made to abandon it. We find that while Hobbes expounded the notion of agreement by saying that absolute power was irrevocably transferred to the ruler, the Buddhist theory maintains that the king was still the servant of the people, a proportion of the grains being the wages which he received for the services rendered to the people. Thus the king’s power was limited and the king appeared as merely a public servant though of the highest order. “A theory like this, sanctifying not merely the state and institution of kingship, but also the reciprocal duties of the sovereign and subject” was “accepted by the leading

political writer and renowned statesman". So the Buddhist tradition presents a contrast to the western theory as regards the abandonment of the state of nature by mankind. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau shared the same opinion, namely, that it was human beings themselves who decided to surrender their rights to a common authority. On the other hand, in the Nikāyas there is no indication of men’s surrendering their rights to a ruler. We have also found in these texts that the state was originally the result of divine action, while as per the western thought it was the result of deliberate human action. Further in the Nikāyas we observe that the people agreed to obey the king, there being no indication whether such submission on their part was the result of their decision to disown their inherent rights, while in the western theory we find that the people agreed among themselves to surrender their rights either to the absolute ruler, as stated by Hobbes, or to the ruler with limited powers, as thought by Locke, or to the representative government, as considered by Rousseau. Again in the Nikāyas is not found any mention of the political rights of the people at any stage. Only there is a reference to the protection which was to be given by the king to the people; but in the western theory, the main emphasis is laid on the political rights without which the state is meaningless. So the Buddhist theory of the origin of state contains a pale resemblance to only some of the points in the theory of social contract as expounded in the West. Incidentally it may be noted that the state of nature as described in the Dīgha-

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nikāya and the subsequent fall from grace may also be found in the Brahmanical texts. Both the Buddhist and Brahmanical literatures postulate the appearance of a saviour who restored order.\(^{49}\)

**Kingship**

The king was the de facto ruler in most of the kingdoms of ancient India. Therefore a discussion about the king and kingship deserves special attention. In the Nikāyas, as we have already seen, it is evident that the origin of kingship was mainly due to a bilateral compact between the people and their most distinguished representative. This shows that the evil deeds of the people led to the institution of kingship by popular election. The king was an essential factor for the well-being of the people. A condition of kinglessness was always viewed with horror.

The Nikāyas mention some qualities attributed to the king. It is said that a king should be well born on both sides, on the mother’s side and on the father’s, of pure descent back through seven generations, and neither slur nor reproach would be cast upon him in respect of birth. He should be handsome, pleasant in appearance, fair in colour, fine in presence, and stately to behold. He should possess great wealth and large property with stores of silver, gold, aids to enjoyment, corn and with his treasurehouses and garners. He should be powerful, in command of loyal and disciplined army.\(^{50}\) The king should be a believer, a generous person, and a noble


\(^{50}\) Dighanikāya, vol. i (P.T.S.), p. 137 (Kuṭadanta Sutta).
giver. He should learn all branches of knowledge, know the meaning of what would have been said and could explain the meaning of the doctrine. He should be intelligent, expert and wise, and able to think out objects present or past or future. A king’s noble thoroughbred steed was said to be worthy of the king\(^{51}\) having possessed of beauty, strength and speed\(^{52}\). Further, according to the Nikāyas, a king should possess five qualities which were reckoned to be his assets. These were: straightness (ajjava), swiftness (javana), gentleness (maddava), patience (khanti), and restraint (soracca)\(^{53}\). It is said that a monarch should become the turner of the wheel, a righteous lord of the right, ruler of the four quarters, conqueror, and guardian of the people’s good. Thus as he would conquer this earth to its ocean-bounds not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness,\(^{54}\) he would possess the ‘seven jewels’, namely, wheel, elephant, horse, woman, gem, treasurer and the adviser\(^{55}\). He should have good knowledge of wealth, virtue, measure, time and the assembled men\(^{56}\). The Nikāyas relate the process of a wheel-turning monarch’s universal conquest\(^{57}\). By way of references to Mahāsudassana and Dalhanemi it is

\(^{51}\) rañño bhaddo assājāniyo rājaraho hoti.
\(^{52}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, (P.T.S., 1885 ed.), pt. i, p. 244 (vaṁnasampanno ca hoti balasampanno ca javasampanno ca).
\(^{54}\) Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 89 (Ambattha Sutta); iii, p. 142 (Lakkhaṇa Sutta). Rājā hoti cakkavatti dhammiko dhammarāja cāturanto vijitavi janapada-thāvariya-patto satta-ratana-samannāgato ... So imam pathavīm sāgara-pariyantam adanḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijīya ajjhāvasati).
\(^{56}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, pp. 147-148.
stated that the emperor having discovered the wonderful wheel solemnly would invoke it to roll onwards and would follow it on its onward course successively towards the East, the South, the North, and the West. As the mighty monarch would appear in each quarter with his fourfold army, the rival kings therein would offer their submission and the wheel-turning monarch would allow them to retain their possessions on condition of their observance of the five moral precepts binding upon a lay-devotee. The Nikāyas ascribe the highest political and social status to the king who was considered to be the first among men, the chief of men and the symbol (paññānam) of the state (raḷṭha). On the whole he occupied the most distinctive position in the society. The early Buddhist texts record that the four, namely, the king, the snake, fire and the monk, should never be disregarded.

In Buddhism the doctrine of righteousness (dhamma) was also applied to the king’s domestic and foreign administration. We notice that a ruler who would act righteously would be called a righteous king. Indeed righteousness was the essence of kingship and the king’s best policy. The king should avoid vices and practice virtues befitting a Buddhist layman. He, therefore, being established on righteousness, should apply himself to the promotion of universal happiness. It is said that when the king would become unrighteous, the king’s officers

58 Dīghanikāya, vol. iii, p. 62.
59 Sāhyuttanikāya, vol. i, pp. 41-42.
60 Ghoshal, U. N. (A) History of Indian Political Ideas (O.U.P., 1959 ed.), p. 68.
61 Sāhyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 69.
(rājayuttas) would also become unrighteous, this being so the brāhmaṇas, and the mass of ordinary householders (gahapatis), the townfolk and the villagers in their turn would become unrighteous; this being so the Sun and the Moon, the stars and the constellations would go wrong in their courses; days and nights, months, seasons, and years would be out of joint; the winds would blow wrongly; the gods being annoyed would not bestow sufficient rain and as a result the crops would become ripen in the wrong season; people would be short-lived, ill-favoured, weak and sickly. On the other hand, as the king would become righteous, all the reverse consequences would follow.\textsuperscript{63}

As regards the noble duty of the wheel-turning monarch it is said that he should lean on the Norm (the Law of truth and righteousness), honour, respect and revere it, do homage to it, hallow it; being himself a Norm-banner, a Norm-signal, having the Norm (Dhamma) as his master, he should provide the right watch, ward and protection for his own folk, for the army, for the nobles, for vassals, for brāhmaṇas, and householders, for town and country dwellers, for the religious world, and for beasts and birds.\textsuperscript{64} The sacred duty of the king was to be pleasing to the brahmaṇas and the householders who in turn should respect him as the father.\textsuperscript{65} The king should base his daily life upon the single principle (eko dhammo) of watchfulness (appamādo), for he would thereby keep himself active and wakeful and guard his family members, vassal kings, treasury and store-

\textsuperscript{63} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. ii, pp. 74-76.

\textsuperscript{64} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 149.

\textsuperscript{65} Dighanikāya, vol. ii, p. 178.
Throughout his kingdom should no wrongdoing prevail. And whosoever in his kingdom would be poor, to him should wealth be given. Thus in the life of an ideal king was reflected the superiority of right over might and the righteous monarch of the Buddhist tradition was liberated from all sorts of narrowness. As a righteous king it was his solemn duty to protect all citizens from injustice and to be impartial in his application of legal concepts. So the Buddhist conception of “dhamma in its relation to the king involves the application of the universal ethics of Buddhism to the State administration, this principle being even extended ... the concept of the World-ruler”. The king had to save not only his kingdom against invaders, but also life, property and traditional custom against internal disruptive forces. He had also to protect the family organisation from its utter destruction by punishing adultery, ensuring the fair inheritance of family wealth, supporting the widows and orphans, suppressing robbery and protecting the poor from the greedy hands of the rich.

The Dighanikāya relates that the king should supply food, seeds, capital, and wages to the followers of the various occupations, according to their needs; he should accordingly protect them from want and disorder as well as increased revenues and should establish peace.

He had also to be frequently engaged in wars and to quell frontier-rebellions and to act as

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67 Dighanikāya, vol. iii, p. 61.
68 Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. iii, p. 62 fn.
69 Gard, Richard A. Buddhism, pp. 204-205.
70 Basham, A. L. (The) Wonder that was India. (Oriental Longmans Ltd., 1963 ed.), pp. 88-89.
71 Dighanikāya, vol. iii (P.T.S., 1890-1911 ed.), Sec. 27.
the Commander-in-chief of the state army. During peace-time, his duty was, however, to deliver the administration of justice. He used to become often an original tribunal and conduct the cases in his court not only as the highest and ultimate judicial authority, but also as a direct court of appeal and the nearest legal authority without any intermediate institution. No exact demarcation may be made as to the cases referred to the king and the judges. A Khattiya, or a Brāhmaṇa, or a Vessa or a Suddha who was considered to be guilty of theft or house-breaking or adultery should usually be brought up for sentence before a king who might put him to death or confiscate his property or banish him or otherwise deal with him without any consideration for caste, creed or sex. Because as soon as a person would commit an offence, he would lose his former designation like khattiya or brāhmaṇa and would be treated simply as a man. It reminds us of the preamble to and the section on the ‘Right to Equality’ of the ‘Fundamental Rights’ of the Indian Constitution which promises “to secure to all its citizens Justice, social, economic and political” and declares that “the State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.”

In short, it may be said that the king of the Buddhist tradition being himself the fountain of justice should never deny any citizen of equality before the law.

About the Buddhist ideal of kingship Saleto re wrote: The “Buddhists denied that one of the

duties of the king was to maintain the social order, and to see that the four varṇas and the four āśramas were confined to their respective spheres of duties.\textsuperscript{74} We may argue that this change in the nature of duties of the king was mainly due to disbelief of the Buddhists in caste which, they thought, was unnecessary for the attainment of the perfect enlightenment. Similarly the Buddhists denied the restriction of kingship to the khattiyas in the social order, for them the khattiyas were to be called so primarily because they looked after the fields. They disbelieved in the sanctity that surrounded the person of the king, whom they would describe only as one who was elected by common consent—Mahāsammata. This would seem to rule out the possibility of heredity among the kings of the Buddhist mould. To the Buddhists, sword was merely an ornament so that other kings might wait on the monarch respectfully for orders. In Politics, therefore, Buddhism definitely discouraged the pretension of kings to divine or semi-divine status. When the Brahmanical literature often declared that the kings were partial incarnations of the gods and encouraged an attitude of passive obedience to them, the Pāli Nikāyas categorically proclaimed that the first king was merely the chosen leader of the people, appointed by them to restrain crime and protect property, and that his right to levy taxation depended not on birth or succession but on the efficient performance of his duties. In this sense Buddhism had a rational attitude for mitigating the autocracy of the Indian king,

\textsuperscript{74} Saletore, B. A. Ancient Indian Political Thought and Institutions, p. 326.
even though it did not formulate any distinctive system of political ethics\textsuperscript{75}.

\textit{Republican form of government}

Monarchy was the prevailing form of government during the Vedic period. But gradually in the post-Vedic days a change in the form of government became visible and monarchy in some parts of India made room for certain non-monarchical states which were generally known as republics\textsuperscript{76}. Megasthenes also noticed that “sovereignty (kingship) was dissolved and democratic governments set up”\textsuperscript{77}. In ancient Greece also such kind of states came into existence.

The term ‘Republic’, according to the Western scholars may be defined as a form of government in which there was a “scheme of representation”\textsuperscript{78} It “derives all its powers, directly or indirectly, from the great body of the people and is administered by persons holding their offices during pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behaviour”. The “two great points of difference”, says Madison, “between a republic and democracy are: first, the governing power in a republic is delegated to a small number of citizens elected by the rest; and, second, a republic is capable of embracing a larger population and of extending over wider area of territory than in a demo-

\textsuperscript{75} Wm. Theodore de Bary & Ors. Sources of Indian Tradition, pp. 128-129. (Basham, A. L. Jainism and Buddhism).


\textsuperscript{77} Epitomé of Megasthenes, Diod. ii. 38; McCrindle, Megasthenes, pp. 38, 40.

\textsuperscript{78} Madison. (The) Federalist, No. 10.
cracy. In a democracy the people meet and exercise the government in person; in a republic they assemble and administer it by their representative agents." But it may be noted that the term "Republic" was in ancient days employed to describe certain forms of government which popular usage today would designate as monarchical or aristocratic. Thus Sparta, Athens, Rome, Carthage, the United Netherlands, Venice, and Poland have been generally described as republics, though none of them possessed that full representative character which is a distinguishing sign of a republic. Rome, for example, was organised on a military basis, Venice was an oligarchy of hereditary nobles; Poland was a mixture of aristocracy and monarchy and France under the constitution of the year XII (Tit. I, sec. 1) was called a republic, though the chief of the state bore the title and rank of emperor, and the crown was hereditary in the Napoleonic family. In the same manner some of the states in ancient India may presumably be called republics. At the head of the Indian republic there must certainly have been some one leading man, appointed, we know not by what rules, with the title of king, which can scarcely in this case have indicated more than the position of primus inter pares.

In a comparison between the Indian republics and the Greek city-states we find that the ancient Indian republics were brought into existence by the need of self-defence quite like the Greek city-states. Further the Indians were animated by the same

desire to maintain their respective religion as the Greeks became energetic to foster their religious and moral codes. In this respect the ancient Indians were similar to the Greeks. Really "wherever we turn in Greek or Italian history, we find that all unions of communities, small and great, are invariably held together by the bond of common worship, a special devotion to some protective deity, or combination of deities". Thus both the ancient Indian self governing communities and the Greek city-states may be said to have held together also by the bond of religious ideals, though there was a marked difference between the two. Again in both the Indian republics and Greek city-states there was an appreciable proportion of people who had no share in the administration of their states. In India, the khattiyas became predominant in political matters and other classes of people were gradually relegated to background and so in Greece the aristocratic people practically enjoyed all political privileges. Regarding the size of the states, we find that the Indian republics were quite similar to the Greek city-states. Among the Indian republics the states of the Bhaggas, the Bulis, the Koliyas and the Moriyas were very small, probably not more extensive than a tehsil or two of the present day. Although the Sākiya, the Licchavi and the Vedeha states were comparatively larger, yet their total extent did not even cover an area of more than two

hundred miles in length and one hundred miles in breadth, between Gorakhpur in the west and Darbhanga in the east, between the Ganges to the south and the Himalayas to the north. These republics were very small and compact when compared with the larger kingdoms over which the kings exercised their sway. Turning to Greece, we observe that the area covered by a city-state there rarely "exceeded a few dozens of square miles around the city or the acropolis".

Ancient Indian terms for 'Republic' were probably 'Gaṇa' and 'Saṅgha' which certainly implied the "rule by many", "rule of numbers", "government by assembly or parliament". Buddha himself told that the bhikkhus were to be counted on the day of Uposatha by the method of gaṇas (ganamaggena gaṇetum), or by the method of ballot-voting where tickets (salākā) were collected. In the Majjhima-nikāya the terms Gaṇa and Saṅgha are used side by side to mean the Republics, e.g., of Vajjis, Mallas. In the Avadānaśataka also it is said that the gaṇa-rule was opposed to the royal rule. As some merchants from the Middle Country (Majjhimadeśa) were questioned by the king of the Deccan about the name of the king of Northern India, they replied that there (i.e. in Northern India) were some countries under the Gaṇas and some under the king.

84 Saletoré, B. A. Ancient Indian Political Thought and Institutions, p. 121.
88 Avadānaśataka, ed. by Speyer (Petrograd, 1902 ed.), ii, p. 103.
It is to be noted that the birth of the religious brotherhood of Buddha (i.e. Saṅgha) was mainly from the constitutional womb of the existing Indian Republics which were the States of (i) the Sākiyas, with capital at Kapilavatthu, (ii) the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, (iii) the Lichchavīs, with their capital at Vesāli, (iv) the Videhas, with capital at Mithilā (the Lichchavīs and Videhas jointly were known as the Vajjīs), (v) the Mallas with their capitals at Kusinārā and at Pāvā, (vi) the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, (vii) the Bulis of Allakappa and, (viii) the Bhaggas who were neighbours of the kingdom of the Vatsas of Kosambi with their seat at Sumsumāragiri. As already stated, in these states power was not vested in the whole body of the citizens but in small aristocratic class consisting of the khattiyas who had founded the states and brought land under cultivation. The common people, on the other hand, had no voice in administration. It is particularly evident during the quarrel between the Sākiyas and the Koliyas who were few hundreds in number being aristocrats (rājās). So the Gaṇa-States of the Sākiyas, the Lichchavīs and of similar other clans were not democratic or republican in the sense that we understand at present as the supreme and ultimate authority of these states did not lie in the whole body of adult citizens. Still they were known as

90 Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra. Corporate Life in Ancient India (S. N. Sen, 1918 ed.), pp. 91-92.
republics like ancient Sparta, Athens and Rome.

Republcs of ancient India were of mainly two types, namely, those which were constituted by the whole or a section of a single clan (kula), e.g., the Sākiyas, the Koliyas, the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā and those which consisted of several clans, namely, the Vajjis, the Yādavas etc. But the chief characteristic of an Indian republic was the absence of one single hereditary monarch who exercised sovereign control over it. If he survived at all, he was treated as a mere magistracy or as a dignified part of the constitution. He was elected as office-holder presiding over the sessions in public assembly and over the state. But it is not certain how and for what period he was chosen. He was generally called a Rājā who may be equated with a Roman consul or the Greek archon. Thus we find that at one time Bhaddiya, a young cousin of Buddha was known as the Rājā, while Suddhodana, Buddha’s father, who was often called a simple citizen (Suddhodana the Sākiya) was designated as the Rājā.\footnote{Dighanikāya, vol. ii, p. 52.} merely a title, who was a leading man and was assisted by a council of archons chosen from the ruling class\footnote{Oldenberg, Hermann. Buddha: his life, his doctrine, his order; trans. by William Hoey (1927 ed.), p. 99.}. Cētaka of Vesālī was also such a President. There were other functionaries like the Mahalakas who were highly honoured by the citizens. Some of the republics maintained an elaborate system of judicial procedure with a gradation of officers. Again some others including the Koliyas possessed a police force which was ill-famed for extortion and violence\footnote{Malalasekera. Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, vol. i, p. 690.}.
But the most note-worthy institution of these republics was the Parisā, the popular assembly, at which the young and the old were present for discussion on settlements of communal affairs. It is said that at such a parliament, or palaver, king Pasenadi’s proposition for marriage with a Sākiya daughter was discussed. We also find that when Ambaṭṭha went to Kapilavatthu on business, he visited the Mote Hall where the Sākiyas were then in session. It was again to the Mote Hall of the Mallas that Ānanda went to announce the great demise of Lord Buddha, they being then in session there to consider that very matter. Dr. Smith obviously following the direction given by Mr. Stephenson wrote: “The Lichchavis were governed by an assembly of notables, presided over by an elected chief (Nāyaka).” There is no doubt that the Lichchavis had an assembly of their own, but they had leaders who were not members of it. This indicates that there were separate chiefs. In the Mahālī Sutta it is found that a chieftain among the Lichchavis came to the Great Wood with a retinue of his clan to pay homage to the Blessed One. Thus it may be noted that while there might have been corporations among the Lichchavis, they had different clans which had leaders of their own. Sometimes kettle-drums were used by an officer to invite the people

96 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 91.
98 Dialogues of the Buddha, vol. i, p. 113.
100 Archaeological Survey of India, vol. i, pp. 55-63.
102 It stretched from Vesālī northwards to the Himālayas.
103 Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. i, p. 198.
to the Mote Hall\textsuperscript{104} generally known as the Santhāgāra\textsuperscript{105}—a mere roof supported by pillars, without walls\textsuperscript{106}. There were many small towns and villages in the Sākiya State, which had their own Assemblies meeting in their Assembly Halls (Santhāgāra)\textsuperscript{107}. Dr. A. S. Altekar said that in these "assemblies the non-privileged classes may have had an equal voice in local affairs"\textsuperscript{108}. It may further be observed that the Assembly Halls occasionally represented the social clubs where social and religious questions were considered. Thus the Mallas of Kusinārā discussed the problems regarding the funeral ceremony of Buddha and distribution of his mortal remains in their Assembly Hall\textsuperscript{109}. They and the Lichchavis also entreated the Exalted One to take leading part in the opening ceremonies of their new Assembly Halls by uttering discourses to a congregation assembled therein. Prof. B. A. Saletore thought that the Central Assembly consisted of two houses, one Upper and the other Lower, which controlled even the foreign policy, entertained ambassadors and foreign princes, discussed their proposal and settled the issues of peace and war. The members used to follow a definite procedure relating to the business of the Assembly which was represented by the parties and required a quorum for deciding issues. There was

\textsuperscript{104} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 457.
\textsuperscript{105} Kindred Sayings, vol. ii, p. 178.
\textsuperscript{106} Rapson, E. J. (The) Cambridge History of India, vol. i (1955 ed.), p. 156.
\textsuperscript{109} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 159.
also an Executive Council under the constitutional control of the Central Assembly\(^{110}\). The appointments to the state services and the governorship of the provinces might have been approved by the Central Assembly. Buddha, who had a sympathetic look on the republics, warned the people against dissension and gave constructive suggestions for peace, harmony and unity\(^{111}\). In an ideal Gaṅa-State meetings were characterised by concord and harmony and the opinions of the elders occasionally decided the minor issues. Such a practice was also in vogue among the Lichchavis during the golden period of their republican constitution\(^{112}\). Thus in course of time some rules of procedure had been evolved as regards the debates and working of the Assembly. As the difference of opinion would occur in the Assemblies, votes were taken and the majority view was generally honoured. It is found that when the Sākiyas received the ultimatum from the Kosalan king, who was besieging their capital, they assembled in the Assembly to discuss whether they should open the gates or not. There some agreed with the proposal, others disagreed. As a result, therefore, votes were taken to ascertain the majority will\(^{113}\). We have practically very little information about the procedure followed in the Mote-Hall (Santhāgāra). It is found that the method of conducting business in the Santhāgāra was probably analogous to that followed in formal gatherings of the chapters of the Buddhist

\(^{110}\) Saletore, B. A. Ancient Indian Political thought and Institutions, p. 105.

\(^{111}\) Dīghanikāya, vol. ii (P.T.S., 1903 ed.), pp. 72-76.

\(^{112}\) Dialogues of the Buddha, vol. ii, p. 80.

\(^{113}\) Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, pp. 118-119.
Saṅgha referred to in the Vinayapiṭaka. In the popular assembly members were generally seated in specified order. After the president had laid the proposed business before the assembly, others spoke upon it and then was recorded the unanimous decision arrived at\textsuperscript{114}. If there appeared any disputation (samvāda) or controversy, the matter was usually referred to a committee of arbitrators. It is presumed that the technical terms like āsana-paññāpaka (seat-betokener), ṛatti (motion), salākā-gāhāpaka (ballot-collector), gaṇa-pūraka (whip), ubbāhiṅa (referendum) appeared in the Rules of the Buddhist monks,\textsuperscript{115} were probably adopted from those in use in the Assemblies of the clans\textsuperscript{116}.

There were three highest officers, namely, the President (Rājā), the Vice-President (Upa-Rājā) and the Commander-in-chief (Senāpatika)\textsuperscript{117}. The Jātaka adds a fourth called the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Bhaṇḍāgārika)\textsuperscript{118}. It may be that these four highest administrative officers constituted the cabinet or executive authority. The rule (rajjām), as in the case of the Lichchavis, vested in the inhabitants (vasantānām), 7707 in number all of whom were entitled to rule (rajjūnām, ‘kings’)\textsuperscript{119} and often used to hold the highest offices of the state. Thus it is evident that 7707 of the inhabitants, possibly the foundation families, formed the ruling class.


\textsuperscript{115} Vinaya Texts; trans. by Rhys Davids & Oldenberg, vol. iii, pp. 44 ff.

\textsuperscript{116} Raychaudhuri, H. Political History of Ancient India (1953 ed.), p. 196.

\textsuperscript{117} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, pp. 76, 78, 300.

\textsuperscript{118} Jātaka, vol. i, p. 504.

\textsuperscript{119} Majjhimanikāya, vol. p. 231.
The total population was, however, much larger being divided in outer and inner citizens (Vesālians), 1,68,000 in number; the rulers (gaṇa-rājās) used to undergo the ceremony of consecration by anointing. There was a special tank in Vesālī the water of which was carefully guarded and was used for sprinkling on their heads. But it is not quite clear whether these Lichchavi kings were usually crowned at one time, and if so, on what occasions. When the Vesālians, used to come to their House of Law (Parliament), the tocsin was usually sounded. Generally political, military, agricultural and even commercial matters were discussed in the House of Law. Description is also found of the Lichchavi-Gana in session appointing a distinguished member to be the envoy, charging him to deliver a message “on behalf of the Lichchavis of Vesālī”, i.e., the Gaṇa transacted business on behalf of the whole people. In the Council of the Vesālians every member had an equal right of speech and voting; and every one wanted to be the next President who was also the highest judicial authority. We find that there was a Judicial Minister who could be even an outsider, a paid officer. The right of freedom of the citizens was cautiously protected. A citizen would be guilty only when he was considered so by the President (Rājā), Vice-President (Upa-Rājā), and Commander-in-Chief (Senāpati) separately and without any difference of opinion. The record of the decisions

120 Mahāvastu, Triśakuniya J.; ed. by Senart, i, pp. 256, 271.
123 Mahāvastu; ed. by Senart, vol. i, p. 254.
of the President was carefully kept on the rolls (pavēnipotthakam) in which particulars of crime and punishment awarded to the guilty persons were recorded\(^{125}\). In the Court of the Justice (Vinichchaya-Mahāmatta) who formed the regular court for civil cases and ordinary offences was held the preliminary enquiry\(^{126}\). But the Court of Appeal was usually presided over by the Lawyer Judges (Vohārikas). The Judges of the High Court were known as the Suttadharas (Doctors of Law). There was a Council of Final Appeal, named the Attha-kulaka (the Court of the Eight). One of these courts could announce that a citizen was innocent\(^{127}\). Even if all the courts would declare any citizen guilty, the matter could still be subject to the decision of the members of the Executive Cabinet. The Attha-kulaka thus evidently denoted a judicial council of eight members, and not, the "Representatives of eight clans"\(^{128}\).

In the Nikāyas we further find occasional references to qualifications of the citizens of a republican community\(^{129}\). It is said that when Ajatasattu, the son of the queen-consort of the Videha clan, the king of Magadha, had made up his mind to attack the Vajjis and sent his Prime Minister Vassakāra to Buddha, the Perfectly Enlightened One, he was told of seven conditions which were the pillars of strength and prosperity of the Vajjian Republic. These condi-

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\(^{125}\) Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. ii, p. 263.


\(^{128}\) cf. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 22.

tions indirectly emphasized certain qualifications of good citizenship in a republican state. Thus the Exalted One urged that (i) so long as the Vajjis would foregather often, and frequent the public meetings of their clan, they might be expected not to decline, but to prosper; (ii) as the Vajjis would meet together, rise, and carry out their undertakings in concord, they might be expected to prosper; (iii) so long as they would enact nothing already established, abrogate nothing that had been enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions they might be expected to prosper and not decline due to their conservatism; (iv) so long as they would honour, esteem, revere and support the elders and hold it a point of duty to listen to their words, they would prosper; (v) so long as no women or girls belonging to other clans would be detained among them by force or abduction, they might be expected to prosper and not to decline through moral rectitude and discipline; (vi) so long as they would honour, esteem, revere and support the shrines in towns and country by allowing proper offerings and rites they would prosper; and lastly (vii) so long as they would rightfully protect and support Arahats among them, they might be expected to prosper and not to decline for their piety. Among these, however, the first two conditions showed the virtues of public spirit. Thus it is evident that the most important of

130 Ghoshal, U. N. (A) History of Indian Political Ideas (1959 ed.), p. 77.
131 abhinhaṃ sanātipāta sanātipātabahulanā.
132 samaggā sanānipatiśaṃsanaggā vuttaḥahissantisaṃaggā Vajjikara-nīyānā karissanti.
133 appaṇṇattam na pāṇṇāpessanti.
the qualifications of the citizens of a republic was and is still to maintain unity and internal solidarity. These seven conditions were declared to be essential by the Exalted One. Even today they are effective in the life of a nation, great or small. Without such national solidarity and moral strength, freedom cannot be guarded for long.

Inspite of a glorious career during the period of the compilation of the first four Nikāyas the Indian republics gradually lost their sovereignty and became almost amalgamated to the neighbouring kingdoms. The causes of such decline and loss of glory may be classified under two heads, namely, internal and external. The internal causes were their perpetual feuds, jealousies, state rivalries and demoralisation, decadence in politics and imperfect sense of political justice. On the other hand, among the external reasons mention may be made of the tendency of the Indian republics to form leagues amongst themselves and desire of some of them to dominate perpetually over the rest.

**Military Administration**

Due to frequent wars and frontier troubles, each state, as we find in the Nikāyas, had to maintain a well-trained military force like modern states for defence-purposes. Though the passages in the Nikāyas do not supply us with enough materials to form a study in a systematic manner on the military administration in ancient India, yet whatever little

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135 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1898, pp. 994-995.
they offer may not be altogether neglected. We find that the traditional division of an army into four component parts was quite familiar. The army was generally consisted of chariots, elephants, cavalry and infantry. The chariot (ratha) was probably the most important apparatus of war. But we do not get any detailed information about its construction. It consisted of usually two wheels, a felly, spokes and a nave. The rim and the felly together were called nemi. The hole in the nave was known as ‘kha’ into which the end of the axle was put. The axle (akkha) was prepared of wood and the body of the chariot (kośa) was placed on it. Generally, there was a pole, which was fastened to the box of the car on one end and passed through the yoke on the other end. The yoke was fixed on the necks of the horses, one on each side of the pole. There were reins controlled by the charioteer who goaded the horses. Elephants (hatthi) also played an important role in the war-fields of ancient India and served the purpose of tanks; breaking up the enemy’s ranks and destroying palisades, gates etc. It is often found that when the king used to lead an army against his enemy, usually he took his seat on the state-elephant. An ideal war-elephant was strongly-tusked and best when sixty years old being ‘a type of male vigour’. There were special elephant trainers in the royal service. Sometimes a line of elephants

137 Dighanikāya, vol. ii, p. 190; Date, G. T. (The) Art of War in Ancient India, p. 53.
140 Basham, A. L. (The) Wonder that was India (1963 ed.), p. 129.
might also act as a living bridge for crossing rivulets and streams. Elephants were often shielded by leather armour, and their tusks were fixed with metal spikes. Fighting elephants might at first create great terror in an invading army being by no means invincible. But the Greeks, Turks and other invaders later found out, like the Romans means of defeating the elephants and lost their fear of Indian fighting elephants. We find that even the highly trained elephants could easily be demoralised, particularly by fire. During peace, the elephants were colourfully decorated for grand processions. Horsemen in the ancient period as also in the middle ages formed one of the vital parts of the national army. The war-horses (assa)\textsuperscript{141} were clad in iron-armour and mail (sannāḥam), while the cavalry-men were usually armed with swords and bows. The foot-soldiers were probably recruited from the khattiyas who were loyal to the state. They were clad in mail-coats in order to save themselves from the attacks of the sharp arrows and similar other dangerous missiles. The soldiers were, however, well-equipped with numerous weapons like the bows, swords, spears etc. and put on the robes of different colours in order to befoul the enemies. Most of them were highly trained in archery. It is said that the foot-soldiers were usually expert in fighting (yuddha). They were sometimes accompanied by carpenters and other work-people with their tools, conches, drums, etc. ready. The entire army-organisation was divided into several divisions which were possibly under different generals, but the whole army was in general

\textsuperscript{141}Dighanikāya, vol. i, pp. 7, 9; Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. ii, p. 207.
supervision and control of the Commander-in-chief (Senāpati) who usually belonged to the ruling family occupying an important place among the ministers of the state and in the war-fields, holding the next highest military post after the king. But during the peace-time he acted generally as a judge looking after due protection of life and property of the citizens. He used to dwell in a well-guarded palace with gates and watch-towers in the city during the prosperity.

To the Indian tradition as represented in the Pāli Nikāyas, forts and fortifications around the capital city or important seats of governments, sometimes also around smaller cities, seemed to have been very familiar. There are frequent references in the early Buddhist texts to pākāra\textsuperscript{142} and toraṇa\textsuperscript{143} or walls or ramparts and towers or gates in connection with cities. Stone and iron ramparts are also mentioned, though not very frequently. The fact that hills, or raised mounds of considerable proportion at any rate, were relatively the most suitable sites for fortified cities, was amply proved by what the spade of the archaeologists had unearthed\textsuperscript{144}. Dr. P. C. Chakravarty made a very fine point in tracing the evolution of forts and fortified cities from primitive earthwork, with or without bamboo or wooden palisades. He wrote: "It is obvious that in the history of military architecture any improvement in defence is the consequence of improved methods of

\textsuperscript{142} Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 11; Saṃyuttanikāya, iv, p. 194; Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 107; v, p. 195.
\textsuperscript{143} Dighanikāya, ii, p. 83.
\textsuperscript{144} Ray, Amita. Villages, Towns and Secular Buildings in Ancient India (Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1964 ed.), p. 70.
attack. The walled town, the castle or private citadel, succeeded the palisaded earthwork as a natural development of the art of siege.\footnote{Chakravarty, P. C. (The) Art of War in Ancient India, pp. 126-149.}

We also find mention in the Nikāyas of the art of warfare,\footnote{Dīghanikāya, vol. i. p. 6; Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i. p. 100 (yuddhaṭha).} together with its various tactics, stratagems and practices. When the armies stationed on the borders (paccantayodhe) failed to cope with the situation, they used to send letters describing in details to the king who immediately would proceed to the scene of operations. As a fight would become imminent, the armies were usually advised to assemble for the purpose by beats of martial drums. The pay of the soldiers was generally a portion of the booty in war. The army during its march used to set up camps (khandhāvāram). The warfare was generally concentrated around the capital, other parts of the country being little affected by it. Generally at a specific season the army would start on a campaign marching in regular bands (vaggavaggā). The soldiers used to occupy a suitable place, not far from the city intended for attack. Incidentally it may be noted that Kauṭilya also thought deeply over the choice of a suitable ground for encamping the forces, which must be favourable to the invading monarch and unfavourable to enemy.\footnote{Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya; trans. by R. Shama Shastri (1908 ed.), x. 4.} Prior to the actual beginning of war (saṅgāme paccupatṭhite) the purohita and other wise sages who would accompany the army or the leader or the king himself used to deliver a short but passionate speech in order to encourage the soldiers to fight. The siege-warfare was the general practice. The aggressive
king would besiege his neighbour’s capital and take the offensive with the call of “either surrender or battle”. If the latter did not surrender, the former would advance besieging him. Next the invading king used to direct his army against the ditches and order the soldiers to disperse all about the city, fill up the trenches, break down the walls, raze the gate-towers, enter the city, and deal with the people’s heads like pumkins cast on a cart. On the other hand, the besieged people could surround the capital city, girdle it with fences of elephants and horses, chariots and mass of soldiers, arranged in any number of ways. Sometimes during the warfare by means of blockade the supplies of bare necessities of life to the besieged city were stopped by the invading army. That is why in order to avoid the calamity caused by such a blockade, elaborate schemes were generally taken beforehand for storing up food, water, wood and other essential commodities by the authorities concerned. Due to blockade many nations usually had to surrender their freedom and sovereignty at the feet of the enemies. A noteworthy characteristic of the siege-warfare was a regular system of espionage. That is why spies were regularly employed to watch the activities in the enemy’s camp and to supply secret reports. They carefully mixed up with the enemies to know the secrets, and sowed the seed of dissension by lies among the enemy-soldiers. As regards the war-ethics, we find that like the present warfare a messenger or ambassador (dúta) was not

148 Majumdar, B. K. (The) Military System in Ancient India (1960 ed.), p. 36.
generally attacked. Possibly the wounded soldiers in war were carried away on stretchers (phalakā) and properly treated.

Among the weapons mention is found occasionally of bow (dhanu), arrow (sara or salla), quiver (kaṇḍa), axe (pharasu or kuṭṭhārī), club (mugara), trident spit (sūla), sword (khagga), spear, javelin (tomara), thunderbolt (vajīrā), leather-shield (cammañ), coat-of-mail (vammañ), diadem (kiṭa, karoṭi and unhīsa), and many others.

Rural Administration

It was observed that the bulk of the people even then dwelt in the villages. The villagers used to concentrate in a relatively small area, as their dwellings (gaha) were all clustered together to ensure safety. Around the villages there were arable fields (gāmakhetta), divided up to plots by channels for water or demarcated by a common fencing. The holdings were generally small, but larger ones were also found. The villagefolk had common rights over the adjacent forests and the grazing grounds, where the cattle belonging to various householders were

150 Viśvanatha, S. V. International Law in Ancient India, p. 29.
156 Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 266; Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, p. 133.
157 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 95; Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 231.
sent under the charge of a collectively hired herdsman. The rural administration was based on "peasant proprietorship". But no owner could sell or mortgage his part of the land without the consent of the village council. He used to cultivate agricultural lands himself, but sometimes employed labourers for cultivation. The villagers were generally endowed with a sturdy civic spirit. They united themselves in such undertakings as laying irrigational channels, building mote-halls, rest-houses, etc. On the whole, it may be said that each village was a self-sufficient unit in the midst of simple unsophisticated surroundings. Villages being of different types and varied in population were protected with simple bamboo-palisades or with gates.

As regards the internal administration we find that the village enjoyed a fair amount of autonomy due to the non-interfering policy of the central government. Each village was generally under the supervision of its headman known as the gāma-bhojaka or the gāmaṇi or the gāmika (governor of village) who held a very important position in the village administration. The village headman occupied normally a hereditary position, though he was frequently looked on as the king's representative. He was usually one of the wealthier peasants, and was remunerated with tax-free land or dues in kind or both. In the larger villages he was a very important functionary, with a small staff of village officials, such as an accountant, a watchman and tax-

160 Ray, Jogesh Chandra. Ancient Indian Life (1948 ed.), p. 44.
162 Indian Historical Quarterly, Dec., 1937, pp. 610 ff.
163 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, pp. 76, 78, 300.
collector. The village headman appeared as the champion of the villagers and was responsible for the defence of the village. He used to exercise even judicial and executive powers in certain civil as well as criminal cases. Sometimes he seemed to be an oppressive local tyrant. In such cases the villagers could apply to the king for protection against the wicked headman. So the power of the village headman was not unlimited. Every possibility of his being a tyrant in his own village was controlled. He was even ultimately responsible to the king for his decisions and had little power to inflict graver punishments. In judicial affairs the final authority mainly vested in the king or his court. As one of the litigant parties in a village would desire redress at the hands of the king or his court, inspite of suitable arrangements in the village itself he could do so, and the case had to be decided accordingly. If the other party would deny to agree with such a procedure, he would be liable to punishment. Thus the rural administration was evidently linked up with the central government.

Every village had an Assembly of its own exercising a great influence on the activities of the headman. The number of members of the Village Assembly, however, varied. The Assembly was a potent force in the settlement of affairs affecting the common interests of the villagers in general. The meetings of the Village Assembly were generally held in a hall (sālā) in the midst of the village, provided with boards, seats and a jar of water. Dr. R. K.

164 Basham, A.L. (The) Wonder that was India (1963 ed.), p. 105.
165 Jātaka, vol. i, p. 199.
Mookerji writes: "We may notice how the assembly hall of the village figures prominently in its public works as being the indispensable material requisite for the growth and sustenance of that larger public spirit or civic consciousness, which builds up the village itself". The village administration was thus largely carried on by the Assembly with the help of the headman. The central government did not interfere much in the rural affairs save the graver judicial matters and the revenue-collection. Thus the village enjoyed the privileges of self-government.

We get, therefore, in the Nikāyas a distinct picture of Indian rural life and pattern. Already by about 500 B.C. the Vedic varṇa (colour) had crystallised into the system of jāti or caste. Some fresh social circles had also come into existence due to the introduction of new crafts and industries. It seems that the villages which were inhabited by persons following specific crafts, industries or professions exhibited a closer bond of cohesion and aggregation than those which were purely agricultural.

B. SOCIAL

"Disinterested intellectual curiosity is the life-blood of real civilisation. Social history provides one of its best forms". Indeed every detail of the

<sup>166</sup> Mookerji, R. K. Local Government in Ancient India (1920 ed.), p. 146.


<sup>168</sup> Trevelyan, G. M. English Social History: a survey of six centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria (Longmans Green & Co., 1955 ed.), p. viii.
social condition supplies the historian with a fair idea about the daily life of the people including the human as well as the economic relations of different classes to one another, the character of family and household life, the condition of labour and leisure etc. during the past ages. The first four Nikāyas like other literature of the same nature and of the same age seem to be veritable mines of information about the social condition of the pre-Christian eras of India. But a large number of sociological materials which may be abstracted from them “is in the form of similies, stories, direct verbal statements and objective observations”\textsuperscript{169}. Still the details about the society will show how the commonfolk led their mundane life, what was the family and marital relations, the position of women, and the general life. But it is really lamentable that very few passages in the Pāli Nikāyas have exclusively been devoted to secular matters. In between the religious and ethical discussions occasional mention has been made about the contemporary Indian society. Although the sources of information for a social study are not quite enough yet what we obtain here and there are really comprehensive and trustworthy and the very incidental nature of our materials increases their value as a historical source.

Caste

Caste in its fullest sense was and is an exclusively Indian phenomenon. No comparable institution to

\textsuperscript{169} Wagle, Narendra. Society at the time of the Buddha (Popular Prakashan, 1966), p. 4.
be seen elsewhere has anything like the complexity, elaboration and rigidity of caste in India. As regards the features of caste it is found that the members of a caste cannot marry outside it; there are similar but less rigid restrictions of eating and drinking with a member of another caste; there are fixed occupations for many castes; and there is some hierarchical gradation of castes. We notice that the subject of caste was also a burning question at the time of the compilation of the Nikāyas wherein the disastrous effects from the ethical, social and political points of view, of caste, as a whole, had often been described. It is thought that Buddhism was basically a protest against the caste-ridden society sponsored by the Brāhmaṇa class and declared that superiority rested not on birth, but on spiritual and moral attainments. According to the Buddhist view, the existence of caste was purely a secular and practical affair—a kind of hereditary division of tasks and labour which had become necessary in the distant past. Caste did not possess, as in the Brahmanical faith, a religious significance or justification in Buddhism. Though we cannot show that Buddhism had any definite effect on the Indian system of class and caste, its teachings obviously tended against the extreme manifestation of social inequality. Within the Buddhist Order all world-

171 Dutt, N. K. Origin and growth of caste in India, p. 3.
172 Dialogues of the Buddha (Sacred Books of the Buddhists), vol. ii, p. 96.
174 Bary, Wm. Theodore de, & ors. Sources of Indian tradition, p. 128 (Basham, A. L. Jainism and Buddhism).
ly distinctions, including those of caste, had naturally ceased to exist. All monks were equal whatever their former ‘colour’ (vānṇa) might have been, like the four birds of different colours which came falling at Buddha’s feet and became all white, or like the five great rivers which were to lose their identity in the ocean. The Jainas, on the other hand, recruited their clergy from certain families in preference to others observing caste within the community.

Still the constitution of the society, as we find in the first four Nikāyas, was based on an hierarchy of the caste-system. But there was no caste in India, in those days, in the later sense of the term. There were only social grades, technically called colours, the boundary lines of which were not always strictly observed. Buddha himself in his discourses had occasionally discussed about the four castes, namely, the nobles (khattiya), brāhmaṇas, tradesfolk (vessā), and workpeople (suddā). Of them, however, two were thought to be chief, namely, the noble and the priestly. Buddha further observed that a noble would have deprived a living being of life, would be a thief, unchaste, would speak lies, slander and use rough words being greedy, or malevolent, or holding wrong views. Thus behaving in such a manner he would follow some immoral and blame-worthy principles. The same might have happened in cases of brāhmaṇas, tradesfolk or workpeople. So

175 Zürcher, E. Buddhism: its origin and spread in words, maps and pictures, pp. 40-41.
all classes of people\textsuperscript{179} should be abstained from murder, theft, unchastity, lying, slandering, gossiping, greed, malevolence and false opinion being totally moral\textsuperscript{180}. Bad and good qualities were, therefore, distributed among each of the four classes. So the claims which were put forward by the brāhmaṇas for socio-ethical supremacy were baseless and had no argument\textsuperscript{181}.

In the Dīghanikāya there is an interesting account of the origin of these four social circles. It is said that the Lord of the fields is what was meant by khattiya (noble). Thus was the origin of this social circle of the nobles (khattiyā), according to the ancient primordial phrase by which they were known. Again among those people who put away (bāhenti) evil and immoral customs came to be known as the brāhmaṇas. The Dīghanikāya describes the daily life and activities of the brāhmaṇas as follows: “Having built up the leaf-huts in woodland spots, they meditated therein. Extinct from them the burning coal, vanished the smoke, fallen lies pestle and mortar; gathering of an evening meal, they went down into the villages, towns and royal cities, seeking food. Having obtained the food, they would come back in their leaf-huts and meditate (jhāyanti). Now certain of those persons, being incapable of enduring this meditation in forest leaf-huts, went down and settled on the outskirts of villages and towns, composing texts. Thus this

\textsuperscript{180} Narasu, P. Lakshmi (The) Essence of Buddhism (Srinivasa Varadarāchari & Co., 1907 ed.), pp. 70-88.
\textsuperscript{181} Dīghanikāya, iii, pp. 82-83.
type of bhāhmanas were known as the ajjhāyakā (repeaters, namely, of the Vedas)”. Apart from such persons there were some others who adopted the married life and became engaged in various trades. So the people of this social circle were known as tradesfolk (vessā). Some of them again took to hunting. In course of time, those who dwelt on hunting and suchlike trifling pursuits became known as suddā (the lowest grade of folk). Thus was the origin of the social group called the suddas. But subsequently some khattiyas misprizing their own way of life, went forth from home to homeless life, saying: “I will be a recluse”. Some brāhmanas, tradesfolk and workpeople, too, did the same, each finding some fault in their respective ways of life. Thus out of these four groups or circles appeared a body of the recluses. The origin of the caste may, therefore, be sought not in supreme authority, but to the social phenomena which appeared later on. From the sociological point of view, the account of the Dīghanikāya is, therefore, very interesting. It is curious to note that the people, specially the adherents of Buddhism, in those days were quite aware of the brahmanical haughtiness about the caste-supremacy. The brāhmanas, as is evident from a passage, thought that they were superior to all other

182 Dīghanikāya, iii, pp. 93-95.
183 methunā-dhammaṃ samādāya vissuta-kammante payojentiti kho vessā. (Dīghanikāya, iii, p. 95).
184 luddāyā na khuddārā ti suddā. ibid, p. 95.
185 imehi kho catūhi maṇḍabhi amaṇa-maṇḍallassa abhinibatti ahosi. (ibid, p. 96).
186 Majjhimanikāya, ii, pt. i, pp. 84, 148; Dīghanikāya, iii, p. 81. (Brāhmaṇa va seṭṭho vanṇo, hino añño vanṇo; brāhmaṇa va sukko vanṇo, kañho añño vanṇo; brāhmaṇa va suujhanti, no abrāhmaṇa;
people and belonged to the best social grade; other grades were low. Among the four social grades, the three, namely, the nobles, the tradesfolk, and the work-people were verily but waiting on the brāhmaṇas. Buddha, however, on the ground of deeds (kamma) rejected such superiority of the brāhmaṇas. He argued that among the various plants differences by birth might be found; so might differences by birth be seen among the various animals; for a four-footed animal was different from a serpent and a bird was different from a fish; but there was no such difference by birth to be seen among human beings either with regard to their eyes, nose, mouth, hands, legs or any other member of the body. No one was a brāhmaṇa or a non-brāhmaṇa by birth. A person occupied in agriculture was a farmer and not a brāhmaṇa, one engaged in trade was a merchant and not a brāhmaṇa, one who stole was thief and not a brāhmaṇa. The caste was only a convention which was whether accepted by Buddha or not, was a reality in society. Its effects were felt by the people. The Jainas, also were not opposed to the caste-system. They thought that “by one’s actions one becomes a Brāhmaṇa, or a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra... Him who is

brāhmaṇa Brahmuno putā orasā mukhato jātā brahmajā brahmanimmitā brahmadāyādā ti).

187 Dighanikāya, i., p. 91. (Cattāro ‘me bho Gotamo vannā, khattiyā brāhmaṇā vessā suddā. Imesaṁ hi kho Gotama catunnāṁ vannānaṁ tayo vannā khattiyā ca vessā ca suddā ca aññodatthu brāhmaṇas ‘eva paricārakā sampajjanti).


189 Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra. Corporate Life in Ancient India (S. N. Sen, 1918 ed.), pp. 158-159.
exempt from all karmas we call a Brāhmaṇa”190. Thus “the Jains and the Buddhists use the word Brāhmin as a honorific title, applying it even to persons who did not belong to the caste of Brāhmins”191. The exclusiveness and pride born of caste, therefore, were condemned by both the Jainas and the Buddhists. The Śūtrakṛtāṅga denounces the pride of birth as one of the eight kinds of pride of which man would commit sin. The Pāli Nikāyas relate that a brāhmaṇa leading an immoral life was of no worth. In the Majjhimanikāya is found that among these four classes of people only the khattiyas and brāhmaṇas were predominant192. The Dīghanikāya, however, records that a khattiya was the best among his folk who put their trust in lineage193. At the apex of the social structure, thus were probably the khattiyas, the nobles, who claimed descent from the leaders of the Aryan tribes in their invasion of the continent. They were most particular as to the purity of their descent through seven generations, both on the father’s and mother’s sides; and were described as “fair in colour, fine in presence, stately to behold”194. It is said that a son born out of the intercourse between a young khattiya and brāhmaṇa maiden would receive a seat and water as marks of respect from the brāhmaṇas, or the

190 Sacred Books of the East, xlv, p. 140.
191 Sacred Books of the East, xxii, p. xxx.
193 Dīghanikāya, iii, p. 97. (khattiyo seṭṭho jane tasmīṁ ye gottapaṭisarinio).
194 Dialogues of the Buddha, i, p. 148.
brāhmaṇas would allow that son to partake of the feast offered to dead, or of the offerings to the gods, or of food sent as a present. Besides, he would also be taught the verses by the brāhmaṇas. He would not be shut off from their women. On the contrary, the khattiyas would not allow him to receive the consecration ceremony of a khattiya, because he was not of pure descent on the mother's side. It was further declared that whether one would compare women with women, or men with men, the khattiyas were higher and the brāhmaṇas were inferior. Even when a khattiya would have fallen into the deepest degradation, khattiyas would be higher and brāhmaṇas inferior. Thus it seems that in those days the khattiyas who were physically and politically dominant were more powerful and active than the brāhmaṇas. The Nikāyas always openly proclaim that the khattiyas were superior to the brāhmaṇas, and mention the khattiyas first in the list of the four castes. Thus the age-old Brāhmaṇa-supremacy was challenged. The social circle of the khattiyas, however, included the princes, warriors, nobles who possessed the sovereign authority as well as physical strength. Naturally the khattiyas subdued other three classes of people. They alone with other three social grades, namely, brāhmaṇas, vassas and suddas were clearly distinguished from the rest of the people who were beyond the Indo-Aryan

195 Dighanikāya, i, pp. 97-98.
196 Iti kho itthiya va itthiṁ karitvā puriscena va purisaṁ karitvā khattiya va seṭṭhā hīnā brāhmaṇā. (ibid, p. 98).
197 Iti kho yadā pi khattiyo parāmā-nihinataṁ patto hoti tadā pi khattiya vā seṭṭhā hīnā brāhmaṇā. (ibid, p. 99).
198 Law, B. C. Concepts of Buddhism (Leiden, Kern Institute, 1937), Ch. iii (on Jāti).
pale and were designated as Mlecchas\(^{199}\) and who belonged to the lower categories, such as, hīnajātis or ‘low tribes’ and hīnasippas or ‘low arts’\(^{200}\). In the social grade of ‘low tribes’ were included the Caṇḍāla, Veṇa, Nisāda, Rathakāra and Pukkusa\(^{201}\). But the Caṇḍālas and Pukkusas,\(^{202}\) the two aboriginal tribes, were more despised even than other ‘low tribes’\(^{203}\).

From the foregoing discussion it is, however, evident that although the general framework of the caste-system was recognised, the superiority and high position of the brāhmaṇas were questioned. As the whole political organisation was behind the king who represented the khaṭṭiya class, in most of the cases the brāhmaṇas had to obey the order of the king\(^{204}\).

Thus during the periods of the compilation of the Nikāyas a new slogan which asserted the social superiority of the khaṭṭiyas over the brāhmaṇas, was proclaimed. That is why a claim of the Sākiyas who were also khaṭṭiyas was made as belonging to the best caste—that of the warriors. We know that the Perfectly Enlightened One in one of his previous births thought deeply over his rebirth in the family of either a brāhmaṇa or a khaṭṭiya and finally decided to be born as a khaṭṭiya. This will show that the khaṭṭiyas for few generations held the social supremacy in ancient India\(^{205}\). But according to the Buddhist tradition caste had nothing to do either

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\(^{199}\) Dīghanikāya, iii, p. 264; Saṃyuttanikāya, v, p. 466.


\(^{201}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 107; ii, p. 85.

\(^{202}\) Basham, A. L. (The) Wonder that was India (1963 ed.), p. 145.

\(^{203}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 162; Jacobi. Jaina Sūtras, ii, 301.

\(^{204}\) The Age of Imperial Unity (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), p. 547.

\(^{205}\) Ghurge, G. S. Caste and class in India, pp. 69-70.
with material success in life or with spiritual uplift. High caste was not guarded against the consequence of wrong doing. It is to be noted in this connection that neither Buddha nor his disciples seem to have started with the idea of abolishing caste-distinctions. Fick said expressly that it was wrong to look upon Buddha as a social reformer and his doctrine as a revolt against caste. Though Buddha denied that the brāhmaṇas were superior to others by birth, he did not preach against caste. He adopted the Upaniṣadic standpoint declaring that the brāhmaṇa was not so much by birth as by character. On the other hand, it was found that in Buddha’s time caste was in the making. The great mass of the people were divided roughly into four classes, of which the demarcating lines were vague and uncertain. At the one end of the scale lay certain outlying tribes, and people with their hereditary crafts of a dirty or despised kind, while on the other end there were the brāhmaṇas putting forward caste claims by birth which were not yet generally accepted. So during the period under our consideration the division of castes was not quite rigid and was no bar to the free mobility of labour, both vertical and horizontal. Even social divisions and occupations were very far from coinciding. There was, of course, pride of birth which discouraged interdining and intermarrying between certain ranks, especially among artisans who used to follow the parental industry. Individuals and also families were often referred to in terms of

206 Fick, R. Social organisation in North-East India in Buddha’s times, p. 32.
207 Eliot, Sir C. Hinduism and Buddhism, i, ch. xxii.
their traditional calling. But we frequently find that the sons of burglars were playmates and schoolfellows of princes and young brāhmaṇas. Thus the recognition of the dignity of labour was a levelling influence promoting a social equality and brotherhood which subdued the pride of caste.209 Buddha was a formidable opponent of the egoistic and selfish brāhmaṇic attitude. In opposing this unbearable social tyranny, Buddha’s immediate interest was not so much to denounce the caste-system as an institution, as to denounce the brāhmaṇas and to prove that they were not the highest. In some instances, as we have already seen, Buddha was reported to have said that the khattiyas were higher than the brāhmaṇas.210 Instead of a wholesale and outright denunciation, which probably was impracticable, Buddha endeavoured to offer an ethical interpretation to the existing caste-system. He proclaimed that birth did not produce a Brāhmaṇa or a Vasala (outcaste), nor did it prevent one from realizing the higher spiritual life. A virtuous outcaste was higher than even an immoral brāhmaṇa.211 On the whole, Buddha placed morality and virtue above caste. He thought that the differences as regards wealth, beauty, power, health and the like faded into insignificance in the spiritual realm of religion.212 Although suddas occupied the lowest status in the society we find that Kaṇha who was a bastard son of

211 suttanipāta, p. 211 ff.
212 It is explained in the Cula- and Mahā-Kammavibhaṅga Suttas (Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, pp. 202-215).
the king Okkāka rose up to the high eminence of a sage by dint of his merits. There existed, perhaps, no distinction in imparting education to the people. For instance, the son of a harlot, Jivaka, was able to receive the highest education in medicine and became royal physician of king Ajātasattu. We also observe that a royal slave became a monk with his beard and hair shaved off and with yellow robes.

Turning to the neighbouring countries of the Yonas and Kāmbojas it was found that there were only two castes. The social system there admitted the distinction only between two social grades of Ayyo (lord) and Dāso (slave)—the Ayyo might, however, become a Dāso and vice versa. Thus in the Yona and Kāmboja countries the social division was not based strictly on caste. Economic as well as physical disparities formed the corner-stone of social distinction there.

**Classes of People**

The ancient society of India comprised broadly two types of people (parisā): one class advocated the family life, maintained servants, cultivated lands, accepted gold and silver, while the other having observed the futility of ordinary household life came out of the sweet homes and renounced all sorts of worldly pleasures, gave up gold and silver and embraced the homeless state. Such a classification

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213 Dīghanikāya, i, p. 96.
214 Dīghanikāya, i, pp. 60-61.
216 Majjhimanikāya, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 160 (Dve’me, brāhmaṇa, parisā.)
of social groups was based purely on the mode of living; it had nothing to do with the calling, trade or profession of a person. But in another list we find that in ancient Indian society there were eight kinds of assemblies (parisā), viz., assemblies of nobles (khattiyā), brāhmaṇas, householders (gahapati), wanderers (samaṇā), the angel hosts of the Guardian kings (cātummahārājikā), beings of the great Thirty-three heaven (tāvatīmsa), the Māras (Māra) and the Brahmās (Brahmā)217. Although the above list bears the fallacy of cross-division, it is of great importance from the sociological point of view. Even leaving aside the last four classes of assemblies which consisted rather of supra-mundane beings, we see that the Indian society of that period included various types of people.

Slavery

Apart from the people mentioned already, there were also slaves who formed a separate group218 being captured in predatory raids and reduced to slavery or who had been deprived of their freedom as a judicial punishment or who had submitted to slavery of their own accord219. The Nikāyas220 frequently


218 Dīghanikāya, i, pp. 60, 72, 92 f., 104; Dialogues of the Buddha, vol. i, pp. 19, 101.
219 Sumanāgalavilāsinī, i, p. 168; Vinayapitaka i, p. 72.
220 Dīghanikāya, i, p. 64; Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 452 (cayo nekānaṁ dāsaganānaṁ cayo nekānaṁ dāsīganānaṁ cayo).
refer to both male and female slaves employed in the
king’s palace or in the households of rich persons in
capital cities or in the houses of the well-to-do
villagers. Slavery was hereditary in those days.
Thus children born to such slaves became also
slaves—freedom of slaves was not, however, very
rare. It is to be noted that slavery in India was
quite different from that existed in ancient Greece
and Rome. Buddha had prohibited the bhikkhus
from accepting the gifts of slaves, either male or
female. Most of the slaves in India were household
attendants, and not often rudely treated. As regards
the ill-treatment towards the slaves we find only two
instances of beating and in both cases the victims
were female-slaves. One used to lie a-bed repeatedly
to test her pious mistress’s temper, and the other
failed to bring home wages. Slaves might be manu-
mitted, or might free themselves by payment.
The Dīghanikāya relates that if a slave embraced
the life of an ascetic, he was to be greeted with
reverence and all requisites of a recluse were to be
provided for him. It shows that the acceptance
of the life of homelessness led to the termination of
one’s servile status. In the Raṭṭhapāla Sutta we

221 Mal, Bahadur. (The) Religion of the Buddha and its relation to
Upaniṣadic Thought (Vishveshvaranand Research Institute, 1958 ed.),
p. 52.
222 Rhys Davids, T. W. Buddhist India (1959 ed.), p. 28.
223 Āṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 209.
225 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 72.
226 Dīghanikāya, i, pp. 60-61.
227 The Indian Historical Quarterly, March & June 1963, Nos. 1 & 2,
vol. xxxix, pp. 11-12 (Singh, Madan Mohan. Slavery as known from the
Buddhist Pali Sources).
find that bringing happy news for the master a slave was liberated\textsuperscript{228}.

Marriage and Position of Women

In ancient India there were various forms of marriages and unions in vogue. But among them, the two, viz., Āvāha and Vivāha, invariably mentioned together, were most widely prevalent. It is not known whether these were two ceremonies of one single form or two different forms. The parents used to arrange the āvāha-vivāha. Generally the parties to the marriage were young and chaste. After marriage the girl would go to live with her husband’s family\textsuperscript{229}. Commenting on the āvāha-vivāha Buddha himself said: “There is no reference to the question either of birth (jāti-vāda), gotta (gotta-vāda) or the prestige (māna-vāda), which says, ‘You are held as worthy as I or you are not held worthy as I’, it is in the talk of marriage (āvāha-vivāha) that reference is made to these things”. Thus Buddha’s utterance emphasised the status and prestige in connection with the āvāha-vivāha. Status was, however, expressed in terms of birth and gotta\textsuperscript{230}. Marriage between members of the same caste was generally preferred, though intermarriage between castes was also current. Instance is, however, lacking in respect of two parties to a marriage belonging to the same village by birth. On the contrary, there are sundry evidences of unusual unions. The custom

\textsuperscript{228} Majjhimanikāya, vol. ii, p. 62.
\textsuperscript{229} Wagle, Narendra. Society at the time of the Buddha (Popular Prakashan, 1966), p. 96.
\textsuperscript{230} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 99.
of marrying the sisters for maintenance of purity of blood was encouraged among the Sākiyans, as is evident from the following passage where Buddha said: "Long ago King Okkāka wanting to divert the succession in favour of the son of his favourite queen, banished his elder children, Okkāmukha, Karaṇḍa, Hatthinika, and Sinipura, from the land. And being thus banished they took up their dwelling on the slopes of the Himalayas, on the borders of a lake where a mighty oak-tree grew. And through fear of injuring the purity of their lives they intermarried with their sisters". Incidental references to the intercaste marriage, specially between the brāhmaṇa maiden and the khattiya youth or the brāhmaṇa youth and the khattiya maiden, are also to be found in the Nikāyas. Buddha himself did not pass any adverse remark against such intercaste unions. He inspite of such a monumental spiritual attainment still maintained a very reasonable attitude in respect of love-affair. By way of an illustration he said that when a man was passionately in love with a woman, his desire to get her would become acute. But as that person would see that woman standing and talking, joking and laughing with another man, he would become sad, and full of lamentation. It shows that even in the early days the happy union between a young man with a blooming girl was not rather impossible. But inspite of such happy ending there remained failure, despair and mental agony for an unsuccessful attempt. There are also

231 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 92. (Te jāti-sambheda-bhayā sakāhi bhaginīhi sadddiṁ samvāsaṁ kappesuṁ).
232 Dīghanikāya, i, p. 97.
233 Majjhimanikāya, ii, pt. i, p. 223.
several references to polygamy. In the Dīghanikāya, for instance, we observe that Mahā Govinda (High Steward), the brāhmaṇa, before his renunciation decided to liberate his forty wives who were all placed in the same status\textsuperscript{234}.

\textit{Offences and Punishments}

It is interesting to note that penal laws also were in vogue during the period of the compilation of the Nikāyas. A discourse in the Majjhimanikāya enumerates in details the punishments for offences\textsuperscript{235}. It is said that there were some persons who might break into a house and carry off the booty, behave as a thief, wait in ambush and go to other man’s wife (paradāram pi gacchati). As regards the punishments for such offences it was said that the king having arrested the guilty dealt out various punishments: he would lash him with whips, canes, birch rods; he would cut off his hand, foot, hand and foot both, ear, nose, ear and nose both; he would offer him the ‘gruel pot’, \textsuperscript{236} ‘the shell-tonsure’, ‘Rāhu’s mouth’, \textsuperscript{237} the ‘fire garland’, \textsuperscript{238} the ‘flaming hand’, \textsuperscript{239}

\textsuperscript{234} Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 239. (Mahā Govinda brāhmaṇo yena cattārisa bharīya śūdīṣya ten’ upasāṃkami).
\textsuperscript{235} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i (P.T.S.), p. 87.
\textsuperscript{236} As this punishment was imposed on a man, he had to suffer the tortures of the saucepan—the skull was first trepanned and then a red-hot ball of iron was dropped in so that the brains boiled over like porridge.
\textsuperscript{237} the skewer-shave or the lanthorn—the mouth was fixed open with a skewer and lighted lamp put inside; the torture was called the mouth of Rāhu because Rāhu, the asura, was supposed at a eclipse to swallow the Sun and the Moon.
\textsuperscript{238} the wreath of fire—the whole body was oiled before ignition; but it may suggest a coronal of flames just as the other offence is localised to the hands.
\textsuperscript{239} the fiery hand, the hay-band—from the neck downwards the skin
the 'hay twist', the 'bark dress', the 'antelope', 'flesh-hooking', the 'disc-slice', the 'pickling process', "circling the pin", "straw mattress" punishments; he would spray him with boiling oil, give him as food to the dogs, impale him alive on stakes and decapitate him with a sword. Thus the guilty persons had to undergo various punishments for their offences at the hands of kings. None was spared. The Sutta referred to above, therefore, offers an interesting study on the system of punishments, and and it adds an important chapter to the socio-criminal history of ancient India.

General Life

Compared with other periods, social life grew richer in content and far more comprehensive in its outlook and range of activities during the age under our purview. Inspite of pessimistic views on life, offering an impetus to asceticism, the ordinary people had a bias for worldly enjoyments. The incidental references to the secular life show the vivacious as-

was flayed into strips not severed at the ankles but there plaited like a hay-band to suspend him till he fell by his own weight.

240 the bark robe, the black hart—the victim was skeward to the ground through elbows and knees with a fire lighted all round him so as to char his flesh.

241 the victim was slung up by double hooks through flesh and tendons.

242 the pennies—with a razor little discs of flesh were shaved off all over the body.

243 the pickle—into gashes salt or alkali was rubbed with combs.

244 bolting the door—the head was nailed to the ground by a skewer through both ear-holes.

245 the palliasse—the skin being left intact, the bones and inwards were pounded till the whole frame was soft as a straw mattress.

246 Chalmers. Further Dialogues of the Buddha, i, pp. 61-62 fn.; Law, B. C. (A) History of Pali Literature, i, p. 128 fn.
pect of life, full of bustle and activity and marked by a sense of humour. The lighter side of life is thus reflected indirectly in the Nikāyas which bear a list of entertainments describing some visiting show (visūka-dassanam), e.g., nautch dances, singing of songs, instrumental music (nacca, gīta, vādita), shows at fairs, ballad recitations, hand music, chanting of bards, tam-tam playing, fairy scenes (sobha-nagarakam), acrobatic feats (vamsadhopanam), combats of elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, goats, rams, cocks, and quails (hatti-assamahisa - usabha - aja - mendaka - kukkuṭa - vaṭṭaka-yuddham), bouts at quarter-staff, boxing, wrestling (danda-muṭṭhi-yuddham, nibbuddham), sham fights, roll-calls, manoeuvres and reviews. The Nikāyas also mention some ancient games and recreations (jūta-pamādaṭṭhānānuyogam), namely, the games of a chequered board having eight squares on each side (aṭṭhapada), of a draught-board with ten squares on each side (dasapada), same games played by imagining a chess in the air (ākāsa), a kind of primitive 'hop-scotch', removing either the pieces or men from a heap with one's nail, or putting them into a heap, in each case without shaking it, of throwing dice (khalikam), of hitting a short stick with a long one (ghaṭikam), of dipping the hand with the fingers stretched out in lac, or red-dye, or flour-water, and striking the wet hand on the ground or on a wall (salākahattha), of calling out 'what shall it be?' to show the forms of elephants, horses, etc., games with balls, of blowing through toy pipes made of leaves, of ploughing with toy ploughs, of turning summer-

247 Dighanikāya, i, pp. 6, 65.
saults, of playing with toy windmills, toy measures made of palm-leaves, toy carts or toy bows (rathakam dhanukam), of guessing at letters traced in the air, or on a playfellow’s back, of guessing the playfellow’s thought and mimicry of deformities.\footnote{248} On festive occasions people used to adorn themselves in various ways, e.g., by rubbing in scented powders on the body, shampooing it, and bathing it, patting the limbs with clubs after the manner of wrestlers, using mirrors, eye-ointments, garlands, cosmetics, bracelets, necklaces, walking-sticks, reed cases for drugs, embroidered slippers, turbans, diadems, whisks of the yake’s tail and white garment\footnote{249}. We may get also a vivid picture of the social life of the Koliyan clansmen from the sayings of the leader Dīghajānu Koliyaputta. It is said that the Koliyas were immersed in the round of pleasure, cumbered with bedmates and sons, wore the Vārāṇasī muslins and sandal wood, and decorated themselves with flowers, garlands, cosmetics, gold and silver\footnote{250}. So it became apparent that the people of the Koliyan society passed their days in luxury and extravagance. The social life there might have been peaceful and serene, otherwise no ordinary man could think of such costly livelihood. The general standard of living of the people probably was not so bad.

Out study on ancient Indian society will be far from exhaustive if no reference is made to the professions adopted by the people in those days. In

\footnote{248} Dīghanikāya, i, pp. 6-7, p. 65.  
\footnote{249} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, pp. 7, 66.  
\footnote{250} Anguttaranikāya, iv, p. 281 (Mayaṁ bhante gihī kāmabhogo putta sambādhasayanam ajhāvasāma Kāsikacakandanaṁ paccanubhoma mālāgandha-vilepanam dhārayāma jātarūparajatam sādiyāma, te su bhante Bhagavā ambākaṁ tathā dhammāṁ desetu).
the Nikāyas professions were grouped into desirable and undesirable ones, from the ethical and spiritual standpoints. Buddha himself had clearly pointed out which professions should be adopted and which not by the householders (gahapatis). A list of persons who followed the undermentioned professions was given in the Nikāya-texts. It noted the persons who lived on reckoning on the fingers (muddā), calculation (gaṇanā), computing (saṅkhā), agriculture (kasi), trade and commerce (vanijjā), cattle-breeding (gorakkhā), soldiery (issattha), royal service (rājaporisa) and other crafts (sippaṁna-tara)\textsuperscript{251}. Besides, there were persons who adopted the professions of clerk of the signet, clerk of accompt, computor, estate-agent, purveyor, herd-manager, archer, and member of the royal household. With them may be added some ordinary men who had the occupations of elephant-riders (hatthā-rohā), horsemen (assārohā), charrioteers (rathikā), archers (dhanuggahā), standard-bearers (celakā), camp marshalls (calakā), camp followers, high military officers of royal birth, military scouts, men brave as elephants, champions, heroes, warriors in buckskin, home-born slaves, cooks, barbers, bath attendants (nahāpakā), confectioners, garland makers (mālākārā), washermen (rajakā), weavers (pesakārā), basket-makers (naḷakārā), potters (kumbhakārā), arithmeticians (gaṇakā), accountants (muddikā)\textsuperscript{252} etc. The list is undoubtedly interesting as it supplies us with invaluable information regarding social condition of the Gangetic Valley at

\textsuperscript{251} Majjhimanikāya, i. p. 85.

\textsuperscript{252} Dīghanikāya, i. p. 51.
the time when the Nikāyas were compiled. People used to maintain themselves, and their parents, children and friends happily by adopting ordinary crafts and offering gifts to the recluses as well as brāhmaṇas for a rebirth in the heaven and for bliss. In another list we come across the persons like brāhmaṇa householders, town and country folk, treasury officials, bodyguards, warders, ministers, courtiers, tributary kings, feudatory chiefs and youths of high degree. The Majjhimanikāya refers to medical profession (bhisaṅkamma sallakattama) showing a high standard of treatment and surgery. The ancient society was really proud of worthy physicians and surgeons. Mention may also be made of the poets who occupied a very important place in the society and royal assembly. No particulars, however, had been noted about the livelihood of these poets in the Nikāyas, but broadly an attempt had been made herein to classify the poets according to their nature. Thus they were imaginative, traditional, didactic and extempore. Among them, however, the last ones were real and inborn poets.

Buddha further in his discourses while he was mentioning some hated and undesirable professions warned the householders not to accept the professions of butchers (orabhikā), pig-killers (sūkarikā), fowlers (sākuntikā), deer-stalkers (māgavikā),

254 Dighanikāya, i, p. 51.
255 Dighanikāya, iii, p. 169. (brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā negama-janapadā ganakā-mahāmattā anikṣṭhā dovārikā amaccā parisajjā rājāno bhogiyā kumārā).
256 Majjhimanikāya, ii, pt. i, p. 216.
hunters (luddhā), fishermen (macchaghātakā), bandits (corā), executioners (coraghātakā), jailors (bandhanāgarikā), and others who would follow a bloodly calling (ye vā pan’āññe pi keci kurūракам- mantā)\textsuperscript{258}. There were also some wrong means of livelihood called low arts, namely, palmistry, divining by means of omens and signs, prognostication by interpreting dreams (supinam), fortune-telling from marks on the body (lakkhanam), drawing blood from one’s right knee as a sacrifice to the gods (lohitā-homam), determining whether the site for a proposed house or pleasure was lucky or not (vatthuvijjā), advising on customary laws (khetta-vijjā), laying demons in a cemetery (siva-vijjā), snake-charming (ahi-vijjā), the poison craft (visa-vijjā), the scorpion craft (vicchika-vijjā), the mouse-craft (musika-vijjā), the bird-craft (sakuna-vijjā), the crow-craft (vāyasa-vijjā), foretelling the number of years that a man had yet to live, giving charms to ward off arrows (saraparittanam) and the animal-wheel (miga-cakkam),\textsuperscript{259} the knowledge of the signs of good and bad qualities in gems, staves, garments, swords, arrows, bows, women, men, boys, girls, slaves, slave-girls, elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, oxen, goats, sheep, fowls, quails, iguanas, errings, tortoises, foretellings about the eclipses of the Moon, Sun, or star, about the fall of meteors (ukkā-pāto), jungle-fire (disā-dāho), an earthquake,\textsuperscript{260} an abundant rainfall, a deficient rainfall, a good harvest, scarcity of food, tranquility, disturbances, a pestilence, a healthy season, counting on the fingers and without using

\textsuperscript{258} Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 343, 412; Aṅguttaranikāya, pt. ii, p. 207.
\textsuperscript{259} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, pp. 9, 67.
\textsuperscript{260} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, pp. 10, 68.
the fingers, summing up large totals, composing ballads, poetizing, casuistry, sophistry, arranging a lucky day for marriages (āvāhanam vivāhanam), for the conclusion of treatises of peace (samvādanam), for the outbreak of hostilities (vivādanam), procuring harmony, determing a suitable period for the calling in of debts or charms for success in throwing dice, fixing a lucky time for the expenditure of money or charms to bring ill-luck to an opponent throwing dice, using charms to make people lucky or unlucky, procuring abortion, obtaining oracular answers by means of the magic mirror through a girl, worshipping the Sun, worshipping the Great One, bringing for the flames from one's mouth, invoking the goddess of luck, vows gifts to a god if a certain benefit be granted, repeating charms while lodging in an earth house, causing virility, making a man impotent, fixing on lucky sites for dwellings, consecrating sites, ceremonial rinsing of the mouth, ceremonial bathing, offering sacrifices, administering emetics and purgatives (vamanam virecanam uddha-virecanam adho-virecanam), purging people to relieve the head (sīsa-virecanam), oiling people's ears (kanna-telam), soothing people's eyes (netta-tappaṇam), administering drugs through the nose (natthu-kammaṇa), giving medical ointment for the eyes (paccāṇjanam), practising as an occultist or as a surgeon (sallakattikanam) or as a physician for children (dāraka-tikicchā) and lastly administering roots, drugs and medicines in rotation. All such professions, from the ethical

261 Dighanikāya, vol. i, pp. 11, 69.
point of view, were declared to be forbidden. But the above list undoubtedly showed the variety and peculiarity of the Indian society. Although Buddha did not approve them as wholesome, yet they could not be rooted out from such a complex social organism. People adopted all such various callings presenting thereby a multi-professional society.

It is interesting to note here that the ancient society had nothing to do with the problem of overpopulation. The social unit was rather small in those days. In the Dīghanikāya we find that pious blessings were invariably bestowed on the victorious king for possessing even thousand sons. A social picture may also be drawn from the mention of some household articles which included movable settle, divans with animal figures carved on the supports (pallaṅkaṁ), goats' hair coverlets with very long fleece (goṅakaṁ), patchwork counterpanes of many colours (cittakaṁ), white blankets (paṭīkaṁ), woolen coverlets embroidered with flowers (paṭalikaṁ), quits stuffed with cotton wool (tūlikā), coverlets embroidered with figures of lions, tigers, (vikatiyaṁ), rugs with fur on both sides (uddalomīm), rugs with fur on one side (ekanta-lomīm), coverlets embroidered with gems (kāṭhisam), silk coverets (koseyyam), carpets large enough for sixteen dancers (kuttakaṁ), elephant, horse, and charriot rugs (hatthattharam assattharam rathattharam), rugs of antelope's skins sewn together (ajinappavenīm), rugs of skins of the plantain antelope (kadali-miga pavara-paccattharanam),

carpets with awnings above them (sa-uttara-cchadam), and sofas with red pillows for the head and feet (ubhato-lohitakūpadhānam)\textsuperscript{264}. Such a long list showed that the people of those days had really good knowledge of the internal decoration of their residences.

An interesting passage from the Nikāya-texts will show that even in the ancient society there were constant strifes, struggles and disputes among the householders while there existed perfect serenity, solidarity and homogeneity in the Buddhist Order. Disputes were going on among the kings, nobles, brāhmaṇas, laymen, between the mother and the son, between the father and the son, among brothers, among friends and between the brother and the sister\textsuperscript{265}. From such a reference it may be said that inspite of other amenities the society was not absolutely free from frequent discords accompanying human life on this earth.

The Nikāyas in numerous passages deal also with the performance of sacrifices. For instance, from the Dīghanikāya we learn that once a hundred bulls, a hundred goats, and a hundred rams had been brought to the post for sacrifice and slaughter. Thus the institution of sacrifice which meant loss of many lives was still prevalent in the society although Buddha from the very start strongly opposed it\textsuperscript{266}. It was stated that once when the Exalted One dwelt near Sāvatthī in Anāthapiṇḍika’s Park at the Jeta

\textsuperscript{264} Dīghanikāya, vol. i, pp. 7, 65.
\textsuperscript{265} Majjhimanikāya, ii, pt. i, p. 120.
\textsuperscript{266} Dīghanikāya, vol. i (P.T.S.), p. 127. (Tena kho pana samayena Kūtadantassa brāhmaṇassā mahā yañño upakkhaṭo hoti, satta ca usabha-satāni satta ca vacchatarat-satāni, satta ca urabha-satāni thūnūparītāni honti yaññatthāya).
Grove, a great sacrifice was being prepared for Brāhmaṇa Uggatasarira who caused to bring five hundred bulls, five hundred steers and many heifers, goats and rams to the post of sacrifice. A typical sacrifice could never, thus, be performed without executing such animals. As already observed, Buddha was against slaughtering of animals and rose with all his “arms” in defence of his non-violent policy based on love (mettā), compassion (karunā), kindliness (muditā) and equanimity (upekkhā).

Curiously enough we have a reference to the ablution practised in some districts of South India, in which food and drinks, syrups of various kinds were used and dancing, singing and music of instruments were demonstrated. But Buddha told that even such an ablution was low, common, vulgar, uncivilised, not profitable and not helpful to attain the Nibbāna. Such an ablution (dhovana) was also known as the bone-washing ceremony. In some of the areas bodies were not burnt but buried and afterwards the bones of the dead body were dug up, dried and washed with ceremonies of lamentation.

We find also the reference to a purifying rite of the brāhmana of the West, who used to carry waterpots and wear lily-garlands, who were purifiers by water, who were fire-worshippers and who enjoined

268 Dīghanikāya, i, p. 251; iii, pp. 50, 78, 224.
270 Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 179, 364; iii, p. 219; Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. iv, pp. 71, 114 sq.
271 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. v, p. 216 (Atthi bhikkhave dakkhiṇesu jana-padesu dhovanaṁ nāma ... Tattha hoti annaṁ pi pānaṁ pi khajjaṁ pi bhojjāṁ pe leyyaṁ pi peyyaṁ pi naccam pi gitam pi vāditam pi).
purifying rite. The purifying rite was performed in the following manner: those brähmanas who carried waterpots ... thus instructed a follower—"Come now, good fellow, rise up in good time from your bed and touch the ground. If you do not touch the ground, touch the cowdung. If you do not do that, touch green grass; if not that, worship fire; if not that, adore the Sun with clasped hands; if not that, descend into water for the third time in the evening." The purifying rite thus hints on a peculiar ritualistic performance that was in existence in ancient India.

Our discussion would be incomplete if we do not make a study on various types of conversations (katham) which were thought to be low talks, viz., tales of kings (rāja-kathām), robbers (cora-kathām), ministers of state (mahāmatta-kathām), war (yuddha-kathām), terrors (bhaya-kathām), battles, talk about foods and drinks (annapāna-kathām), clothes (vattha), beds (sayana), garlands (mālā), perfumes (gandha), relationship (nāti), equipages (yāna), villages (gāma), towns (nīgama), cities (nagara), countries (janapada), women (itthi), heroes (sūra), gossip at street corners (visikkhā), or places whence water was fetched (kumbatthāna), ghost stories (pubba-peta), desultory talk (ñanatta-kathām), speculations about the creation of the land or sea, or about existence and non-existence. All such talks were declared undesirable by Buddha. The people of those days were often engaged in such low types of discussions which should always be

272 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. v, p. 263.
273 Dīghanikāya, i, pp. 7-8; iii, p. 37; Majjhimanikāya, ii, pt. 1-2, 23, 29-30.
avoided both from ethical as well as social stand-
points.
Thus we have seen above that the first four Nikāyas supply us with an interesting account of the social condition during the formation-period of the Sutta-Piṭaka. The social structure stood in those days on certain peculiar factors. Life then was not altogether serene. On the other hand, the people became interested in many curiosities which even today attract the public mind. There were caste-
system, though not in a rigid form, social supremacy of a class, amusements and recreations which reveal the general character of the people.

C. ECONOMIC

Economics plays a vital role in every national life as it helps to ascertain the actual financial abilities of the state and of the citizens. It is, therefore, interesting to make a survey of the economic condition of ancient India on the basis of the first four Nikāyas. But unfortunately a meagre attempt has as yet been made to treat the subject elaborately. Most of the scholars have dealt with it incidentally. It is indeed an arduous task to interprete Indian life of the past on the basis of modern economic perspective. Here our study will mainly be confined to agriculture, industry, vocations, and trade and commerce.

Before examining the general condition of the people we shall deal with the governmental policy, which exercised a profound influence on all phases of economic life. Throughout the period of the
Nikāyas, no power in ancient India felt itself secure enough to spare serious attention to the improvement of the territories under its authority. The more energetic rulers found their time fully occupied with the task of suppressing rivals and rebels, and raising the armies and revenues necessary for such purposes and the rest of them were satisfied to make hay while the Sun shone.

Cities were full of merchants and traders, and it seems that the national wealth of the country was immense. There were trade guilds, and inland trade had much developed and distant centres were connected with each other\textsuperscript{274}. The rich mercantile class was deeply religious and did not shirk any responsibility when entrusted to it. A concrete illustration of Anāthapindika, a merchant filling the foundations of the Jetavana Monastery with gold coins, presents an evidence of economic prosperity and religious devotion. The luxurious mansions and gardens owned by the middle-class people is another evidence in this direction.

Agriculture

Turning to agriculture we find that the people generally subsisted on the produce of their rice-fields and their cattle. The villages consisted of grouped, not scattered, huts on the margin of the rice-fields. The cattle used to wander during the harvest period, under the charge of a village herdsman, through the adjoining forests\textsuperscript{275}.


The village maintained herdsmen in common on pay or on a share of produce, who grazed the animals in the pasture and forest, brought them back every evening and counted out to the several owners. So the herdsman had great responsibility and thankless job to perform. He had to face not only depredation of lions and tigers but also the perpetual interference of thieves. The herdsman should have, besides his responsibility of protection of the herd against brutes and thieves, knowledge of form (rupaṅñu), an eye for marks (lakkhaṇa-kusalo), should get out ticks (āsāṭikaṁ sāteta), dress sores (vanam paṭiccha-detvā), smoke out the lairs (dhūmam katvā), know about fords (tittham jānāti), watering places (piṭam jānāti), roads (vithim jānāti) and pastures (gocara- kusalo), should not milk dry (sāvasesadohī) and should tend with special attention the bulls which were the leaders of the herd. Due to lack of knowledge about tittham it was said that a person courted disaster to his herd in trying to drive it across the Ganges where there was no ford. Among the domesticated animals mention may be made of cow, goat, sheep, horse, mule, ass, boar, buffalo, elephant etc. So we get the terms like not only the Gopālaka and Ajapāla, but also the Piṇḍāraka and Sukarapa- posaka. Cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep were generally reared for dairy (gorasam), meat supply and for skin.

The agricultural implements employed by the Indian peasants in those ancient days were primitive.

276 Añguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 205.
278 Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, 225.
279 Añguttaranikāya, vol. v, p. 305.
and crude. According to the Nikāyas, it appears that the agricultural methods were extremely defective, and were based mainly on custom and superstition. Inspite of all such defects agriculture played a vital role in the national life of ancient India. The soils and climate of this country favoured the production of a great variety of crops. The early Nikāya-texts teem with references to the manifold potentialities of the country in respect of agriculture. Thus it was often said in regard to this vast sub-continent that no spot upon the globe was superior to India in the nature of production of crops for the use of human beings. Still the agriculturist was given neither any social prestige nor any social stigma. From the Majjhimanikāya we learn that the two callings of agriculture and trade were mainly meant for the vessas, and a brähmana or a noble (khattiya) had to avoid them. Incidentally it may be observed that in the Jātakas the brähmanas who were engaged in agriculture, trade, and other callings were thought to have fallen from their Brāhmanhood.

The crops produced in ancient India were many and varied. In the Majjhimanikāya, however, is given a list of grains. The Exalted One in course of his conversation with some of his disciples had mentioned the names of some edible materials, for example, hill-paddy, paddy, kidney beans, peas, sesameum, and rice. It was thus seen that various kinds of crops were grown on the soil and rice was

the principal food-crop which was very extensively grown all over India. Rice was of different varieties, e.g., sāli (oryza sativa, Linn), vihī, tándula and the like. Barley (yava), millet (kaṅgu; sāmāka), grams, beans and sugarcane were also mentioned as other food crops. Besides, cocoanut trees were also cultivated abundantly. The cultivation of spices like pepper (marica), mustard, dry ginger, garlic, oilseeds like castor (elaṅḍā), tila (sesamum indicum, D.C.), and fibre crops like cotton (kappāsa), was not neglected. Stock of grass as the staple food for the domestic animals was also mentioned. The method of growing flax (khomām) and hemp (sānaṃ) was also known. One of the Nikāyas relates that mighty trees were grown from tiny seeds being of mighty bulk which overspreading other trees would themselves break up, break down, fall to the ground, and so lie. The mighty trees which were important from the economic point of view were bo (asattha), banyan (nigrodha), wave-leafed fig (pilakkha), bunched fig (udum-
bara), 294 wood-apple (kapitthaka), another type of fig tree (kacchaka), 295 sāla 296 (shorea robusta, Gaertn.), mango tree (amba), 297 āmalaka (phyllanthus emblica, Linn), 298 bella (vilva, aegle marmelos, Corr.), 299 candana (sandal tree), 300 campā (michelia champaca, Heilm), 301 kola (ziziphus jujuba, Lam), 302 nimba (melia azadirechta, Linn), 303 palāsa (butea frondosa) 304 and pippala 305. Among the fruit-trees mention may be made of banana plant (kadali), 306 bread fruit tree (labuja), 307 tinduka (diospyros embryopteris, Pers.) 308.

The methods of cultivation were broadly the same all over the country, but in several parts there were slight local variations arising generally from the adequacy or otherwise of the water-supply and quality of the soil. Throughout the country, three modes of raising plants were distinguishable: the

295 Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. v, p. 96; Book of the Kindred Sayings, vol. v, p. 80. (Seyyathīdām assattho nigrōdho pilakkho udumbaro kacchako kapitthako. Ime kho te bhikkhave mahārakkha anubījā mahākāyā rukkhānaṁ ajjhāruṁhā ye hi rukkhā ajjhāruṁhā obhoggavibhagā vipaṁtā santi).
299 Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 150; Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 170.
300 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, pp. 9, 145, 226.
301 Pāpañcasūdānī, iii, p. 1.
302 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 150.
303 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 32.
304 Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 111.
305 Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. v, p. 79.
306 Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. i, 154; ii, p. 241; iii, pp. 141-142; iv, p. 167; Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 73.
308 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 178. Technical names of trees mentioned herein have been supplied to me by Sm, Dipa Chaudhuri B.A., B.Lib. Sc. of The Indian Plywood Industries Research Association, Calcutta.
dry seed, the sprouted and the transplanted. In the first, the seed was sown in the paddy fields straight-way, the expenses were low and the produce correspondingly scanty. For "sprouted" cultivation, the seeds were steeped in water till they germinated and then transferred to the field. According to the last method, the seeds were first sown in well-prepared nursery beds, and when the seedlings were several days old, they were transplanted in the paddy fields. This method was more laborious and expensive in the first instance, but worthwhile in view of its heavier yield.

By the payment of a tithe to the kings the land was enjoyed by the agriculturists. Tithe was determined on the basis of a share of the raw produce levied in kind, the amount varied from one-sixth to one-twelfth of the produce. The contributions raised at one or more villages (gāmas) could be made over by a king or by his chief queen to anyone, e.g., to a daughter on her marriage, a minister, a brāhmana, a merchant or the like. Further, the monarch could remit the tithe to any person or group. The levy was generally collected at the barn doors or in the fields by the Village Syndicate or headman (gāmabhojaka) or by an official (mahāmatta). At the present stage of our knowledge it is difficult to state whether such a tithe or other tax was levied on the commonwealth by any of the republics or oligarchies, as for example, the Sākiyas, Koliyas, Licchavis, Mallas mentioned in the Nikāyas. But

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309 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 87.
the Rumminder pillar inscription of Asoka shows that they, at least the Sākiyas did so raise the state revenue. Probably they used to assemble at their mote-halls in order to discuss and carry out their financial policy. The enactments of the republics could be somewhat drastically paternal as it was evident in the case of the Mallas of Kusinārā, who imposed a fine of 500 (pieces) on anyone who “went not forth to welcome the Blessed One” when he drew near to their town. Different villages in different regions varied one from the other in the custom of land-tenure as well as in the rights of individual householders as against the society. So it was said: “The jungles and rivers of the vast Ganges valley fostered independent development probably at least as much as the hill-barriers in the Alps have done in the case of Swiss and Italian peasant communities down to this day.” The king, if he desired so, could dispose of all abandoned and forest land. Under this right was included the reversion to the crown of all properties left intestate or ‘ownerless’. It is to be noted here that the greater number of the population lived in villages. The occupation of most of the village-dwellers was farming. So every care was adopted for the preservation of cultivable fields.

312 Dighanakōya, vol. i, p. 91; ii, p. 147; Cunningham. Stupa of Bharhut, pl. xvi.
313 Vinayapiṭaka, i, 247.
316 Dighanakōya, vol. i, p. 87.
which were guarded against wild animals by fencing (vati) and snares. Even watchmen were employed to guard them. Proper irrigational facilities were also provided for better yield. The agricultural fields were generally cultivated with the aid of ploughs driven by oxen. Soil was turned with spades and watered with the help of conduits. Seeds were sown at the usual time and crops, when ripe, were cut, threshed on a prepared mould (khalamaṇḍala) and then taken to the granary.\textsuperscript{318}

\textit{Industry}

During the period of compilation of the Nikāyas, India had been renowned for the skill of her craftsmen and excellence of her manufactures. The industrial products of India were exported even to distant territories and fetched much foreign capital.

First among manufactures were textiles which were produced in large quantities throughout the country. We have passages to show that fine clothes were in use in those days. In a list mention had been made of fine and soft coverlets, cloaks, fine linen, fine cotton, silken and woolen stuffs.\textsuperscript{319} Vārāṇasi, the famous city of Northern India, was renowned for silk-trade. Buddha occasionally spoke of Vārāṇasi muslin\textsuperscript{320} which was colourful, pleasant

\textsuperscript{318} Law, B. C. India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism (Luzac & Co., 1941 ed.), p. 182.

\textsuperscript{319} Dīghanikāya, vol. iii, p. 159.—Lakkhaṇasutta. (dāta ca aho sukhumānaṁ modukānaṁ atthanānaṁ pāprājñānaṁ khome-sukhumānaṁ kappāsika-sukhumānaṁ koseyya-sukhumānaṁ kambala-sukhumānaṁ).

\textsuperscript{320} Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, p. 123—Acchariyabhūtadhammasutta. (seyyathāpi, ānanda, maniṁataṁ kāsike vattthe nikkhitthā, n’eva maniṁataṁ kāsikaṁ vattthāṁ makkhethi nāpi kāsikaṁ vattthāṁ maniṁataṁ makkhethi).
and costly while it was new, not-so-old, and old. It was said that even the old cloth made of Vārāṇasī silk was decorated with jewels and preserved into the scented vase. Thus Vārāṇasī silk played then a very important role in Indian economy.

Iron (ayo) industry also flourished in several regions. Iron-deposits of ancient India were fairly extensive. As a result the iron-making and smelting were carried on to a considerable extent to meet the entire demand for agricultural implements, carpenters' and smiths' tools, domestic utensils, etc. Industries were widely distributed in the country. The art of smelting iron was an ancient one, and must, at one time, have been highly developed. At a period when the principles of iron-manufacture were but imperfectly understood in the western countries, iron and steel of the best kind were prepared in India by the methods which had been practised for centuries. Inspite of all its defects, the local mode of manufacturing iron was much admired by those who examined it. "The antiquity of the Indian process is no less astonishing than its ingenuity", said Mr. Heath, who had been engaged in iron manufacture for years. Dr. Heyne, too, was much struck by the "simplicity of every part of the process and the goodness of the iron obtained". The actual

321 Aṅguttaranikāya, i, pp. 247-248 (Navaṁ ... Majjhimaṁ ... Jinṇaṁ pi bhikkhave kāśiṁ vatthaṁ vāṇavantaṁ c'eva hoṭi sakkha-samphasaṁ ca mahaggaṁ ca. Jinṇaṁ pi bhikkhave kāśiṁ vatthaṁ ratanapali-vethanaṁ u karonti gandhakarandake u navṁ nikkhipanti).
322 Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 183; Saṁyuttanikāya, v, pp. 283, 444.
methods of manufacture were, however, surely not faultless. The people were badly averse to innovations, and any deviation from the paths of their forefathers was a taboo. The apparatus was extremely inadequate, and the processes left much to be desired. We find that the work of blacksmith with his blowing and heating was narrated by Buddha in a parable as follows: “When master Kassapa, that ball of iron, with its lambent and gaseous concomitants, is burning and glowing with heat then it is lighter, softer, more plastic, but when, without those lambent and gaseous concomitants, it is cool and quenched, it is then heavier, more rigid, less plastic.” We also find that the goldsmith might have settled in the town where he could cater to the demands of fashion and luxury of the richer folk. He used to refine gold from the bed of river Jambu in a crucible and work it to a brilliant polish so that, laid on a yellow cloth, it diffused its sparkling radiance around. There were five alloys of gold, namely, ayo, loha, tipu, sīsaṃ and sajjham. The ivory-carver also could carve out any shape out of ivory as the potter out of clay or the goldsmith out of gold. Industries of certain other metals, e.g., copper, tin, gold and silver also flourished. Probably the dyer and washerman (rajaka) were the same person but different from the dye-manufacturer (raṅgakāra). The washerman knew the process of

327 Saṃyuttanikāya, v, p. 92; Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, p. 16.
328 Dīghanikāya, ii, 88.
329 Aṅguttaranikāya, pt. iii, p. 16 (ayo, lohaṃ, tipu, sīsaṃ, sajjham).
330 Dīghanikāya, ii, 14.
removing the dirt of a cloth without disturbing the dye and used the dye of blue, yellow, red or saffron to a piece of cloth after cleansing it properly. A reference to different industries, small or great, may also be obtained in a list of various crafts which included confectioners, garland-makers, weavers, basket-makers, and potters. The above list is, however, far from being exhaustive. Prof. Rhys Davids from various sources had endeavoured to draw up an almost complete list of work-people engaged in sundry industries. Among them wood-workers including carpenters, cabinet-makers, wheelwrights, house-builders, ship and vehicle manufacturers, metal workers who manufactured weapons of all kinds, ploughshares, axes, hoes, saws, knives, needles etc., workers in stone, leather-workers who made foot-coverings and sandals, ivory workers, jewellers, flower-sellers, workers who were engaged in the manufacture of dainty fabrics of silk cloth, rugs, blankets, coverlets and carpets, and rush workers gained reputation for their wonderful craftsmanship. These workers of various industries formed themselves into guilds of work-people and the total number of such guilds was usually found to be eighteen. According to Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids certain streets, if not areas, within the town were named after the industries located therein, e.g.,

331 Majjhimanikāya, i, 36; Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, 230.
332 Dīghanikāya, ii, 14; Majjhimanikāya, i, 387.
333 Dīghanikāya, i, p. 51.
335 Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 56, 396; iii, p. 144.
336 Dīghanikāya, i, p. 7.
the street (vīthi) of the ivory workers in Vārāṇasī, the dyers’ street, the weavers’ place (ṭhāna), and Vessa’ street. Generally, though not invariably, the calling was carried down from generation to generation, thus adding greater technical proficiency in the industrial activities. Sometimes not only individuals, but also the entire families were frequently called in terms of their traditional professions. Thus Sāti the fisherman’s son was Sāti the fisherman and Cunda the smith was known as Cunda the smith’s son. Mention was also found of the industrial and professional villages (gāma) who showed a closer bond and homogeneity than the agricultural villages. Thus we have references to villages of fishermen, salt-makers (loṇakāra), basket-makers (nallakāra), caravan-guards and the like. This isolation of crafts and professions and their concentration in fixed areas gave birth to the medley of castes and sub-castes which gradually began to harden into social partitions on the basis of occupations tightened with the bonds of heredity, endogamy and exogamy, etc. The industrial population in each village catered to the requirements of the agriculturists as it was the case with most villages during Pāṇini’s time. But with the increase in demand of their wares, they liberated themselves from the tutelage of agricultural interest and withdrew to places where they had better facilities for pursuing their occupations without let or hindrance. Therefore, the corporate

341 Majjhimanikāya, iii, 154.
unity, combined with localisation of industry, tended towards a narrowness and exclusivism whose grim consequences the Indians suffered for generations and centuries.

**Sea-products**

It would not be out of place to mention here some of the economic products which were and still are available in the vast ocean. These materials were considered then to be too much costly and hence occupied a very important place in the economic life. It is said that the mighty ocean was the mine of many and diverse treasures, such as, the pearl, the crystal, the lapis lazuli, the shell, quartz, coral, silver, gold, ruby, and cat’s eye.

**Trade and Commerce**

Turning to trade and commerce (vānijjā) we find that the occupation of a trader, dealer or middle-(vānija) was generally hereditary. The Pāyāsi Suttanta, however, mentions partnership in business. The merchants used to convey their goods either up and down the great rivers or right across country in crafts travelling in caravans which consisted of long lines of small two-wheeled carts, each drawn by two bullocks. The roads were not con-

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343 Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra. *Corporate Life in Ancient India* (S. N. Sen, 1918 ed.), p. 32.
344 *Aṣīṣṭhānā-niṣṭhā, iv, p. 199. (Mahāsamuddo bahuratano anekaratano, tatra imāni ratanāni, seyyathidam muttā mani veluriyo saṁkho silā pavālaṁ rataṁ jātarūpaṁ lohitānko masāragallaṁ).
345 *Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 342.*
venient for smooth journey. The carts moved slowly through the forests, along the tracks from village to village, kept open by the countryfolk. The speed of the carts never exceeded two miles an hour. Sometimes streams were crossed either by gullies leading down to fords or by cart ferries. Taxes and octroi duties were usually collected at the entry of each country, and a heavy item in the cost was earmarked for the hire of volunteer caravan-guards who were engaged to prevent danger from robbers.\textsuperscript{346} The cost of such carriage was so heavy that only the more costly goods could afford it.\textsuperscript{347}

The agricultural products were sold in markets, domestic and foreign\textsuperscript{348}. Commodities were despatched for sale through land-routes and water-routes. Especially for longer journeys already established routes had been adopted. From all available sources mainly based on the Nikāyas Prof. Rhys Davids mentioned three main trade-routes of the then India.\textsuperscript{349} They were: (i) North to South-West, i.e., from Sāvatthī to Patiṭṭhāna (Paithan) and back which comprised Māhissati, Ujjeni, Gonaddha, Vedisa, Kosambi and Sāketa as stopping places; (ii) North to South-East, i.e., from Sāvatthī to Rājagaha with resting spots at Setavya, Kapilavatthu, Kusinārā, Pāvā, Hatthigāma, Bhāndagāma, Vesāli, Paṭaliputta and Nālandā; (iii) East to West, i.e., from Sahajāti on the Ganges to Kosambi on the Yumunā. The Nikāyas mention the traffic down-

\textsuperscript{346} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 342 f.
\textsuperscript{347} Rhys Davids, T. W. Buddhist India (1959 ed.), p. 42.
\textsuperscript{349} Rhys Davids, T. W. Buddhist India (1959 ed.), p. 44.
ward as far as Magadha to Kosambī, where it met traffic from the South (Route I), and was continued by cart to the South-West and North-West. Caravans might have been bound from Vārānasī across the deserts of Rājputanā westward to the seaports of Bharukaccha (Broach) and the seaboard of Sovīra, and its capital Roruka. Mention is also made in the Nikāyas of sea-voyages out of sight of land and of longer voyages continuing even for six months. In winter the boats were usually drawn up on the shore. The navigators for the most part trafficked up and down the great rivers. Sea-bourne trade was conducted by the expert tradesmen. We find how the sea-faring traders when they went out and were setting sail on an ocean voyage took a land-sighting bird for proper guidance. This fact was confirmed by Pliny and Cosmas Indicopleustes, a geographer of the sixth century A.C. The sailors steered by the stars and by observing birds in flight. But curiously enough the word samudda or sāgara (sea) had been sometimes applied to the Ganges,
although there are positive references to the open sea-voyages. It is to be noted that there were no bridges over the Indian rivers. But the setu or causway\textsuperscript{357} was simply a raised dyke over shoal water\textsuperscript{358}. In the Manu and the Jātakas are also mentioned the fording places and ferries for crossing rivers\textsuperscript{359}.

The Majjhimanikāya and the Sutta Nipāta record that the arrows and carriages and other articles were displayed for sale in the āpana,\textsuperscript{360} or fixed shop, or it might be, stored within the antarāpana. The Nikāyas also discuss about the application, judgement, cleverness, and ‘connexion’ of the successful shopkeeper (āpanika pāpanika)\textsuperscript{361} as also a few prohibited trades\textsuperscript{362} relating to daggers, slaves, flesh, strong drinks and poisons. The main luxury articles of trade during the Nikāya-period were silk, muslins, finer cloth, cutlery, brocades, embroideries, rugs, perfumes, drugs, ivory, jewellery and the like\textsuperscript{363}. The age of barter was almost drawing to a close. Transactions were carried on, values determined, and bargains made in terms of the kahāpana,\textsuperscript{364} a square copper coin weighing about 146 grains, and guaranteed as to weight and fineness by punch-marks struck by private individuals\textsuperscript{365}. Nothing is known about

\textsuperscript{357} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 134; Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 220; ii, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{358} Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 89.
\textsuperscript{359} Manu, vii, p. 404 ff (S.B.E. XXV); Jātaka, iii, p. 228.
\textsuperscript{360} cf. āpana as the name of a nigama. Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 359, 447; Sutta Nipāta, Sela Sutta.
\textsuperscript{361} Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 115 f.
\textsuperscript{362} Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, p. 208.
\textsuperscript{363} Rhys Davids, T. W. Buddhist India (1959), p. 42.
\textsuperscript{364} Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 163; Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 250; v, p. 83 sq.
the authority behind these punch-marks. Silver coins were not in use then. The method of exchange between a producer and a consumer, or between either and a middleman was like a "free" bargain characterised by absence of any system of legally fixed prices. Supply of diverse commodities was delayed due to slow transport, individualistic and primitive method of production.\textsuperscript{366} Evidences of price-haggling in those days are also to be found. The entanglement of debt was a bar against the admission to the Buddhist confraternity.\textsuperscript{367}

Famine

Although the condition of the people as described in the Nikāyas was certainly fair at the best of times, the possibility of occasional visits of famine (dubbhikkha) could not be wiped out in ancient days. The Nikāyas refer on several occasions to famine which highly disturbed the socio-economic life of contemporary India. But such a calamity was apparently infrequent and of a short duration. The term ‘dubbhikkha’ itself etymologically meaning scarcity of alms does not connote heavy mortality and the accounts in the Nikāyas are far more moderate than the harrowing details embodied in the texts of the later period. We find that once when Nālandā was stricken with famine, it was even hard to get one’s living and the place turned white with men’s bones and its crops grew to mere stubs.\textsuperscript{368}

\textsuperscript{366} The Cambridge History of India, vol. i, p. 186.

\textsuperscript{367} Dīghanikāya, i, p. 71 f.

\textsuperscript{368} Saṃyuttanikāya, iv, pp. 323, 324 (Tena kho pana samayena Nālandādubbhikkhatvāduhitikāsetuṭṭhikāsālākāvuttā).
Due to famine the supply of food became often too much scanty, as a result of which many people lost their lives	extsuperscript{369}. Even Veraṇja and Vajji were severely affected by famine.

In the foregoing pages we have dealt with the economic condition of ancient India during the period of compilation of the Nikāyas. The general condition was, at that time, as we have already said, was prosperous. The country was then free to enjoy the benefits of progress, apparent in many directions. In a few janapadas there was a considerable increase in areas under cultivation and commercial crops, such as cotton and sugar-cane in particular, grew steadily in importance. But the extension was incommensurate with the resources of the country, and much cultivable land still lay waste due to the lack of irrigational facilities. As already observed, there was a great advancement both in internal and external commerce. During the period under our consideration several economic institutions, like the division of labour, localisation of industries, co-operation, guild, competition and the like began to occupy the important places in the public life. Although agriculture which was and still is the backbone of Indian economy, was carried on diligently and intensively, yet crafts and commerce were not relegated to the background at all. Rural economy was mainly dependent on village communities of landowners. Descriptions are often found of isolated large estates side by side with small disappearing farms. So Kāśībhāradvāja, the brāhmaṇa, is said to work in his extensive field with five hundred ploughs and a

\textsuperscript{369} Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 160; iii, p. 41.
gang of hirelings\textsuperscript{370}. The owners of such big farms were known as 'gahapatis', literally the paterfamilias, meaning the agricultural magnate, while the term 'setthi' conveyed the industrial magnate\textsuperscript{371}.

\textsuperscript{370} Sāṁyuttaniśa, vol. i, p. 171.
\textsuperscript{371} Majjhimanīśa, vol. ii, p. 164.
CHAPTER FIVE

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS IN THE NIKĀYAS

The Nikāyas possess abundant materials for reconstructing the history and geography of ancient India. Inspite of their scriptural nature they incidentally present some historical and geographical information which will be very useful to us. In the following pages, therefore, an attempt will be made to find out and arrange in a systematic manner all such historical and geographical materials.

A. HISTORICAL

The Nikāyas, as pure canonical texts of the Theravāda Buddhists, do not care to maintain a chronological order of facts relating to the political history of ancient India. We get here and there in the first four Nikāyas, a number of clues, hints, indications or some data which will help in the resuscitation of loose facts of political history supplied by tradition. Prof. Jacobi writes: "The records of the Buddhists and Jainas about the philosophical ideas current at the time of the Buddha and the Mahāvīra, meagre though they be, are of the greatest importance to the historian of that epoch". Our present chapter is based on such indicative data, aided by external evidences wherever admissible. As we have already said, the Nikāyas are devoted more to ideas than to

1 Jacobi. Jaina Sūtras, 2, xxvii.
historical events, and pass over, as of little value to the main purpose.

During the period of compilation of the Nikāyas, there was no paramount sovereign in India. Apart from a number of small states, there were four kingdoms of considerable extent and power in those parts of India which came very early under the influence of Buddhism. Still a tendency towards the gradual absorption of the republics into the neighbouring kingdoms was already in force. The four monarchies referred to above are: (a) the kingdom of Magadha, with its capital at Rājagaha, afterwards at Pāṭaliputta, reigned over at first by king Bimbisāra and later by his son Ajātasattu; (b) the kingdom of Kosala with its capital at Sāvatthī, ruled over by king Pasenadi and his son Viḍūḍabha; (c) the

### TABLE No. 3

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<tr>
<th>FOUR GREAT KINGDOMS</th>
<th>MAGADHA—Rājagaha and Pāṭaliputta (Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KOSALA—Sāvatthī (Pasenadi, Viḍūḍabha)</td>
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<td>VAMSA—Kosambi (Udena)</td>
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<td>AVANTI—Ujjeni (Pajjota)</td>
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2 Dīghanikāya, i, pp. iii, 127.
3 Saṃyuttanikāya, pt. ii, p. 268.
5 Law, B. C. Some Kṣatriya tribes of ancient India (Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1924), pp. 197-198.
kingdom of the Vamsas or Vatsas, with its capital at Kosambi on the Yamunā, reigned over by king Udena, the son of Parantapa; and (d) the kingdom of Avanti, its capital being Ujjennī, ruled over by king Pajjota. The smaller states like Aṅga and Kāśī, which were quite close to the bigger ones, failed to retain their independence for long. In the struggle for supremacy that followed, Magadha gradually emerged triumphant under Bimbisāra and Ajatāsattu and the time was ripe for the integration of the isolated states under the shade of Magadhan imperialism. So the smaller states like those of Kuru-Pañcāla and Šūrasena in the Middle Country were assimilated to the Magadhan empire which remained a strong force and the main centre of political activity for a couple of centuries.

In fact northern India consisted of some disintegrated states—sixteen in number usually called the Mahājanapadas—which were very frequently quarrelling with each other. We get the name of such sixteen great kingdoms in the Aṅguttaranikāya as follows: Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśī, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Cedi (Cetiya), Vamsa (Vatsa), Kuru, Pañcāla,
Maccha (Matsya), Sūrasena, Assaka (Āsmaka), Avantī, Gandhāra and Kāmboja. Prof. H. Raychaudhuri thinks that “these Mahājanapadas flourished together during a period posterior to Karāla-Janaka but anterior to Mahākosala, because one of them, Vajji, apparently rose to power after the fall of the Videhan monarchy, while another, namely, Kāsi, lost its independence before the time of Mahākosala and formed an integral part of the Kosalan empire in the latter half of the sixth century B.C.”

The Bhagavatī Sūtra of the Jainas in a slightly different list of the Mahājanapadas mentions: Aṅga, Baṅga (Vaṅga), Magaha (Magadha), Malaya, Mālava(ka), Accha, Vaccha (Vatsa), Koccha (Kaccha?), Pāḍha (Pāṇḍya or Paundra), Lāḍha (Lāṭa or Rāḍha), Bajji (Vajji), Moli (Malla), Kāsi (Kāsi), Kosala, Avāha, and Sambhattara (Sumhottara?). In both the texts—the Aṅguttara Nikāya and the Bhagavatī Sūtra—however, Aṅga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Malla (probably the corrupted form is Moli), Kāsi and Kosala are common. But as regards, Baṅga, Malaya, Mālava, Accha, Koccha, Pāḍha, Avāha, Sambhattara and

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10 Characteristics of the peoples of some Mahājanapadas described in the Aṅguttara Nikāya are depicted in the Kāṇaparva of the Mahābhārata. Among the inhabitants of the Mahājanapadas, the Kurus, Paṇcālas, Matsyas, Kāsīs, Magadhas, Cedis and Sūrasenas are highly praised:

"Kuruvaḥ saha Paṇcālāḥ śālvā Matsyāḥ sa-Nāmisāḥ
Kosalāḥ Kāśaya ugaśa Kaliṅgā Māgadhastathā
Cedayaśca mahābhūga dharmam jānanti śāvatam
brāhmaṁ Paṇcālāḥ Kauraveyātus dharmam
Satyaṁ Matsyaḥ śūrasenāśca yajñam".


12 Saya xv Uddesa 1 (Hocnle. The Uvāsagadasālo, 11, Appendix); Kirfel, W. Die Kosmographie der Inder, 225.
Lāḍha the Aṅguttara Nikāya is silent\textsuperscript{13}. The Jana-
vāsabha Suttanta refers to some of the Mahājana-
padas in pairs, viz., Kāsi-Kosala, Vajjī-Malla, Ceti-
Vamsa, Kuru-Paṅcāla and Maccha-Sūrasena\textsuperscript{14}. The Mahāvastu\textsuperscript{15} also supplies a similar list omitting Gandhāra and Kāmboja, but substituting Sibi and Daśārṇa in the Punjab (or Rajputana) and Central India respectively\textsuperscript{16}. Although the Nikāyas bear occasional references to these Mahājanapadas, yet they lack a connected history of such states. In the following pages our attempt will, therefore, be to draw a systematic historical account of these sixteen Mahājanapadas from scattered materials available in the four Nikāyas. The geographical details of these states have been supplied in the section on geography of the present chapter.

\textit{Aṅga}

\textit{Aṅga} is said to be one of the most ancient king-
doms in Northern India. The people of this territory were known as the Aṅgas\textsuperscript{17}. Its capital Campā had been mentioned as one of the six principal cities of India being a great centre of trade and commerce. Here was a famous tank called Gaggara-pokkharanī dug by the queen Gaggara of Campā\textsuperscript{18}. We know that Buddha with a large company of bhikkhus

\textsuperscript{15} Mahāvastu, i, 34.
\textsuperscript{17} Atharva Veda, v, 22. 14.
\textsuperscript{18} Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, pt. i (P.T.S.), p. 279.
went to Campā in theĀṅga Country and dwelt there on the bank of the Gaggarā. The Jaina Aṇupātika Sūtra refers to it as a city adorned with gates, ramparts, palaces and gardens. The city was a veritable paradise on earth full of wealth and prosperity, internal joy and happiness\(^{19}\). The people who resided in this city were simple and honest. During Buddha's time, Campā which was built by Mahāgovinda\(^{20}\) was a big town and not a village, and the Exalted One was requested by Ānanda to attain the Mahapar nibbāna in one of the big cities like Campā, Rājagaha, etc\(^{21}\). Āṅga maintained a long rivalry with Magadha. It, however, ultimately became subject to Seniya Bimbisāra as is evident by the fact that a certain brāhmaṇa named Sonadaṇḍa with whom Buddha had a discussion on the subject of caste, lived at Campā on the grant made by king Bimbisāra and used to enjoy the revenues of the town which was given to him by the king\(^{22}\). About the dynastic history of Āṅga we are still in darkness. In the Mahāgovinda Suttaṇtta is found mention of a king named Dhat araṭṭha of Āṅga\(^{23}\). The Majjhimaṇikāya relates that while Buddha was dwelling among the Āṅgas in a city called Assapura in the kingdom of Āṅga he preached the Mahā-Assapura Suttaṇtta,\(^{24}\) and on another occasion the Culla-Assapura Suttaṇtta, to the bhikkhus\(^{25}\). At the latter half of the seventh century and beginning of the sixth century B.C., the

\(^{19}\) Law, B. C. Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras, p. 75.

\(^{20}\) Dīghanikāya, vol, ii, p. 234.

\(^{21}\) Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 146.

\(^{22}\) Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 111.

\(^{23}\) Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, 270.

\(^{24}\) Majjhimaṇikāya, vol. i (P.T.S.), pp. 271 ff.

country of Aṅga was governed by Dadhivāhana, whose daughter Candanā or Candrabālā was the first female to be converted to Jainism. Once Satānīka, the king of Kauśāmbī, attacked Campā and in such a great disturbance Candanā fell into the hands of a robber, but she maintained the vows of the Order throughout. Although in a prolonged struggle between Aṅga and Magadha, the former got predominance at the inception, yet its success did not last long. Brahmadatta, the last independent ruler of Aṅga, is said to be killed by Bimbisāra Śrenīka, the Crown-Prince of Magadha, who captured Campā, the capital, and began to reside there as his father’s Viceroy. From that time onwards Aṅga became a part and parcel of the growing empire of Magadha. Probably it never recovered its independence and so remained under Magadhān subjugation. Buddha was merely a boy when this conquest of Aṅga took place. But the country of Aṅga was never merged into the kingdom of Magadha. It was always governed as a separate province under a governor with Campā as its capital. It is said that once Buddha went to Aṅga from Sāvatthī at the instance of Subhaddā, a daughter of Anāthapiṇḍika, who was married there in a family of Jaina lay-devotees who were subsequently converted to Buddhism by Anuruddha. The later history of Aṅga since its conquest by Bimbisāra is evidently connected with that of Magadha. The king of Aṅga during Buddha’s time

was simply a wealthy noble man who was also the grantor of a pension to a particular brāhmaṇa\textsuperscript{39}.

**Magadha**

It is an established fact that “of all the states that flourished in the sixth century B.C., the Kingdom of Magadha was the first to make a successful bid for supremacy and establish its suzerainty, according to the unanimous testimony of different sources—Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Jain”\textsuperscript{30}. We have already observed that during the period of the compilation of the Nikāyas, Aṅga was under the political subjugation of Magadha\textsuperscript{31} as is evident from a landgrant made by the king of Magadha in Aṅga\textsuperscript{32}. It is thought that Bimbisāra occupied the Magadhan throne immediately after Ripuṇjayā, the last king of the Bāhradrathra dynasty. The Mahāvamśa offers a chronological list of names of the following kings of Magadha before the Nandas: Bimbisāra, Ajātāsatru, Udayabhadda, Anuruddha, Mūnda, Nāgadāsaka, Susunāga, Kālāsoka and ten sons of Kālāsoka. Bimbisāra was merely fifteen years of age when he was anointed king by his own father. His epithet Seniya (Śrenika) indicates that originally he was a Senāpati. According to the Mahāvagga, Bimbisāra had five hundred wives. Whatever may be the number, it is clear that he made his political

\textsuperscript{39} Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 163.


\textsuperscript{31} Law, B. C. (The) Magadhas in Ancient India (Royal Asiatic Society, 1946 ed.), p. 7.

\textsuperscript{32} Dighanikāya, vol. i, p. iii.
career successful by several matrimonial alliances. Among his queens prominent were Kosala Devī, the daughter of Mahākosala and sister of king Pasenadi; Cellanā, daughter of the Licchavi chief Ceṭaka; Vaidehi Vāsābī who saved the life of her husband from starvation by carrying food to him as he was imprisoned by Ajātasattu; and Khemā, daughter of the king of Madda (Central Punjab). Bimbisāra had at first his capital at Giribajjā, planned and designed by one Mahāgovinda, the engineer. It was said that the city-gate was usually closed in the evening after which even the king was not admitted in. The kingdom of Bimbisāra was three hundred leagues in extent, to which an addition of two hundred leagues was made by Ajātasattu’s conquests. It was full of prosperous settlements or villages numbering eighty thousand, of which Senāningāma, perhaps a recruiting ground for the army and beautiful spot with a nice forest and a river of transparent water, Ekanālā, well-known for the home of the learned brāhmaṇa Bhāradvāja, Khānumata, a brahmaṇa village, and Nālakagāma where Sāriputta delivered a discourse on Nibbāna to a wandering ascetic named Jambukhādaka, are mentioned occasionally. It also included a number of republican or semi-independent communities, the chief of which was known as

63 Sacred Books of the East, i, pp. xii-xv.
64 Sacred Books of the East, xxii, pp. 193, 256.
65 Sacred Books of the East, xiii, p. 150.
Rājakumāra⁴¹. In the Jaina literature Bimbisāra is described as a devout Jaina,⁴² whereas in the Nikāyas he is called a follower of Buddha⁴³. As a proof of his devotion to Buddhism, Bimbisāra lent his own personal physician Jīvaka on the service of Buddha and his Saṅgha. The king also granted remission of ferry-charges to all ascetics out of his respect for Buddha who, at one occasion, had no money with which to pay the ferry-man. In the Nikāyas we further get a vivid description of the first meeting of Gotama and Bimbisāra at Giribbaja (i.e. Girivraja). A few years later when Buddha came to the new capital, Rājagaha, as a teacher, king Bimbisāra presented him with the Veluvana (Bamboo Grove), where huts could be constructed for the accommodation of the members of the Saṅgha. Bimbisāra’s wife Khemā was so proficient in the new faith that she used to instruct the king on Buddhism⁴⁴. One of his sons was called, according to the Nikāyas, Vedehi-putto Ajātasattu⁴⁵ and according to the Jaina tradition Kūnika. In the Vinaya we get a short account of an attempt launched by Ajātasattu to murder his father with a sword. At the end of the Śamañña-phala Sutta is further found an allusion to the murder which the prince actually committed⁴⁶. The Suman-galavilāsini, a commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya,

⁴¹ Suman-galavilāsini, v, i. 279, 294.
⁴² Trishashti S’alakā, x, 6, 10, 11.
⁴³ Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, 2.
⁴⁴ Sānyuttanikāya, iv, 374.
⁴⁵ Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, p. 78; Suman-galavilāsini, vol. i, 139.
⁴⁶ But according to the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, Ajātasattu (Ajātasatru) was the son of Cellanā (called here Celā) who was named Vaidehi as she was brought from Videha Country.
⁴⁶ Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 86.
also supplies us with a long description of this sorrowful as well as loathsome affair\(^{47}\). It was mainly due to the instigation of Devadatta, a jealous cousin of Buddha, that Ajātasattu killed his father\(^{48}\). Ajāta- sattu himself confessed his crime to Buddha and said that “for the sake of kingdom he deprived his righteous father of his life”. The Ceylonese Chronicles also mention this event and place it eight years prior to the demise of Buddha, during the period when Bimbi- sāra, who had come to the throne when he was only fifteen, had ruled for long fifty-two years\(^{49}\). After the death of king Bimbisāra,\(^{50}\) Kosala Devī, the queen-consort died of grief. Due to her death, the government revenues of an estate in Kāsi payable to Magadha ceased. So Ajātasattu waged a war against Kosala\(^{51}\). In the first campaign he overpowered his aged uncle driving back him to Sāvatthī\(^{52}\). But in the next he was compelled to surrender with all his force to Pasenadi who, on the other hand, in no time set him at liberty giving back his army, the disputed village of Kāsi, and even offering one of his daughters named Vajirā in marriage to him. In the Mahāpari- nibbāna Suttanta\(^{53}\) we find that Ajātasattu, the son of the queen-consort of the Videha clan and the king of Magadha, made up his mind to attack the Vajjian Confederacy and said to himself: “I will strike at

\(^{48}\) Dīghaniṁka, i, p. 86; Sumaṅgalavilāsini, v, 1, 133-6.
\(^{49}\) Dipavamsa, iii, 56-60; Mahāvamsa, ii, 29, 30.
\(^{50}\) Glasenapp, Helmuth Von. Der Buddhismus in Indien und im Fernen Osten (Atlantis-Verlag, Berlin), p. 45.
\(^{51}\) Sāmyuttanikāya, i, pp. 84-86; Jātaka, iv, p. 342.
\(^{52}\) Kosambi, Damodar Dharmanand. (An) Introduction to the study of Indian history (Popular Book Depot, 1956 ed.), p. 146.
\(^{53}\) Dīghanikāya, vol. ii (P.T.S.), pp. 72-73; Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, 78.
these Vajjjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will root out these Vajjjians, I will destroy these Vajjjians, I will bring these Vajjjians to utter ruin!". Regarding the reason for enmity between Magadha and the Vajjian Confederacy it was stated that a certain river-port half in the former state and half in the latter territory, produced a mysterious scented substance that was much in demand. King Ajātasaṃtu claimed the same, but as he once sent his men for it he noticed that the Vajjis having anticipated him had taken it all. Therefore he vowed to extinguish the Vajjis. He constructed a fortress at Pātaliputta, on the south bank of the Ganges and sent Vassakāra (the Rainmaker), the brāhmaṇa and the prime-minister of Magadha (Magadha mahā-mattām), to Buddha to ask whether the project was feasible. The Exalted One replied that so long the Vajjjians would follow the seven conditions of welfare, their prosperity would not decline, but increase. King Ajātasaṃtu, therefore, entrusted Vassakāra with the task of breaking the unity among the Vajjjians. Vassakāra pretended to quarrel with Ajātasaṃtu and fled to Vesāli as a refugee. He was offered a position of trust in the councils of the tribal chieftains and so dwelt among the Vajjjians carefully disseminating lies and slanders until he could realise the unity of the confederation to be ultimately broken. He spent there three years and sent secret

56 Law, Bimala Churn. (The) Magadhas in ancient India (Royal Asiatic Society, 1946 ed.), p. 11.
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report of Vajjian disunity to his master who vigorously attacked the city-state of Vesāli destroying it almost completely. Ajātasuttu's conquest roused the hostility of his equally ambitious rival of Central India, king Canda Pajjota (Canda Pradyota) of Avanti. When the king of Avanti was planning an attack upon Ajātasattu's capital at Rājagaha, the latter applied himself to the task of strengthening its fortification. Inspite of double menace—from Avanti in the west and the Licchavis in the north—Ajātasattu ultimately attained complete success. He humbled Kosala and other eastern powers and ab sorbed Vesāli and the whole of Kāsi and thus extended the boundaries of his kingdom and laid a solid foundation of the Magadhan empire. Ajātasattu's relations with Buddha began with enmity, but ended in complete devotion. This enmity was mainly due to the instigation of Devadatta. It is said that once Jīvaka, the celebrated physician, induced Ajātasattu to pay a visit to Buddha in his mango-grove on a full-moon night. The king at last fixed up his mind and arrived at the assembly of the Buddhist monks, calm as a clear lake, and burst out: "Would that my son Udāyibhadda might have such calm as this assembly of the brethren has!" Ajātasattu's visit to Buddha was represented in one of the sculptures of Barhut dated circa second century B.C. This royal visit marked a turning point in the life of

58 Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 7.
61 Dighanikāya, vol. i, 50.
Ajātasattu. He first sought a salve for his conscience, afflicted by his sense of heinous crime as a parricide, from each one of the six contemporary teachers like Makkhali Gosāla, Nīganṭha Nātaputta and others, on the advice of six ministers, but none of them could offer to his soul the peace he searched for, and at last approached to Buddha for solace. Later on, hearing the news of Buddha’s death he rushed to Kuśinārā and as a devout follower of Buddha asked for his share of the relics of the sacred body of the Exalted One sending a messenger there to say on his behalf: “The Lord was a Khattiya, I too am a Kattiya, I am worthy of a share of the relics of the Lord. I will erect a stūpa over the relics of the Lord and make a feast.” He further showed his devotion to Buddha by reconstructing, at Rājugaha, eighteen great monasteries which were left by the bhikkhus immediately after Buddha’s demise. He was also associated with the First Buddhist Council (Saṅgīti) which was attended by five hundred Buddhist monks who, travelling through the country, betook themselves to Rājugaha as the best place for their meeting. The king assisted them in every manner to make the Council successful. He had constructed a magnificent hall by the side of the Vehāra rock. The hall resembled the Assembly Hall of the gods. As it was adorned in every manner, the king caused precious rugs to be spread according to the number of the monks. In the middle of the Hall were installed two lofty and noble seats (therā-

62 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, pp. 47-86 (Sāmaññaphala Sutta).
sana and dhammāsana) for the presiding and the reciting monks. King Ajātāsattu was succeeded by Udāyibhadda who was undoubtedly the same as Udāyin of the Purānic genealogy. Udāyibhadda ruled for sixteen years. One of the Jaina texts describes him to be the son of Kūnika and Padmāvatī. In the Buddhist literature he is described as a parricide. But in the Jaina tradition he is represented as a devoted son of his father being a devout Jaina, fasting on the 8th and 14th tithis. It is said that on a fasting day while Udāyibhadda was listening to the discourse of a teacher with a novice, the latter fell upon him and killed him with his concealed dagger. According to Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya this novice might be Munda, the assassin who was engaged by his political rival, Pālaka, the king of Avantī and son of Ajātāsattu's enemy Pajjota, who became more powerful by the conquest of Kosambi.

Udāyibhadda was succeeded by Munda and Anuruddha as kings who ruled both for eight years in all. Munda stayed at Pātaliputta and when his queen-consort Bhaddā died in that city he was overwhelmed with grief and decided not to cremate her dead body until he was consoled by a Buddhist monk called

64 Mahāvamsa, chap. iii.
65 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 50.
66 Twenty years according to the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, p. 604.
67 Kathākosa, p. 177.
68 Sumanāgalavilāsini, i, pp. 153-4; Samantapāsādikā, 321; Dipavaṃsa, v, p. 97; Mahāvamsa, iv, p. i.
69 Kathākosa; ed. by Tawney, p. 177; Avasyakasūtra, p. 687; Hemachandra. Parisṭṭapatparvan, vi, 32-180.
70 Avasyakasūtra, p. 690.
72 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, pp. 57-63.
Nārada, who dwelt at the monastery known as the Kukkuṭārāma Vihāra.\textsuperscript{73}

The next ruler was Nāgadāsaka who reigned for twenty-four years. With Nāgadāsaka, identified with king Darśaka of the Purāṇas, ended the rule of the line of kings that began with Bimbisāra. In the Svapnavāsavadattā, a Sanskrit drama, Darśaka appears to be contemporary of Udayana.\textsuperscript{74} This information agrees with the Purānic account, but not with that of the Ceylonese Chronicles mentioned earlier.

After Nāgadāsaka, Susunāga became the king of Magadha. According to the Purāṇas, he came to the throne after destroying the strength of the Pradyotatas. Avantī was hostile to Magadha even from the period of king Ajātasattu.\textsuperscript{75} But Susunāga destroyed completely the power of the Pradyotatas of Avantī and added it to the growing kingdom of Magadha. The kingdoms of Vatsa and Kosala were also annexed and therefore Magadha gradually held its sway over almost all the important states in Northern India.

Susunāga was succeeded by his son Kālāsoka who was probably Kākavarna of the Purāṇas and who transferred his royal residence permanently from Giribbaja to Pāṭaliputta, though Vesālī was sometimes graced by the presence of the ruler.\textsuperscript{76} It was

\textsuperscript{73} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 350; Saṃyuttanikāya, v, p. 171; Aṅguttaranikāya, v, 342; Gradual Sayings, iii, 48. ("The venerable Nārada dwelt near Pāṭaliputta in the Cock’s Park. Now at that time Bhaddā, the dear and beloved queen of king Munda, died").

\textsuperscript{74} Svapnavāsavadattā, Act. i (Trivandrum Series), pp. 4, 5.

\textsuperscript{75} Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{76} Sastrī, K. A. Age of the Nandas and Mauryas, (Bharatiya Itihas Parishad, 1952 ed.), p. 14.
during his reign and after a century of the demise of Buddha that the Second Buddhist Council was held at Vesāli. In Bāna’s Harṣacarita it is found that a king called Kākavarna Śaiśunāgi was killed by a dagger thrust into his throat. It is presumed that the murderer of Kālāsoka or Kākavarna Śaiśunāgi was the founder of the next dynasty of kings—that of the Nandas. Relating to the founder of the Nanda dynasty the Greek writer Curtius wrote: “He was a barber who became the paramour of the queen, and being by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch, treacherously murdered him, and then under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority and having put the young princes to death begat the present king”. These “young princes” killed by him were probably the ten sons of the murdered king, who, as the Mahāvamsa records, ruled jointly, for ten years. The Mahābodhivamsa mentions the names of these princes including Nandivardhana, who is also referred to in the Purāṇas as the ninth king among the ten kings of the Śaiśunāga dynasty. The Purāṇas add another king named Mahānandin. But his existence may be regarded as doubtful unless he is supposed to be another of the ten sons of Kālāsoka. Thus was ended most ignobly the Śaiśunāga dynasty.

We may conclude that it declined mainly due to a palace conspiracy instigated by a faithless queen. Next began a new dynasty named the Nanda dynasty under a man of low origin or of “unknown lineage”.

called Uggasena according to the Mahābodhivamsa or Mahāpadma according to the Purāṇas. The Nine Nanda brothers mentioned in the Mahābodhivamsa were Uggasena (Ugrasena), Paṇḍuka, Paṇḍugāti, Bhūtapāla, Raṭṭhapāla, Govisāṇaka, Dasasiddhaka, Kevatta (Kaivarta) and Dhana. The Jaina texts also tell of Nine Nandas.  

Kāsī  

Among the sixteen Mahājanapadas, Kāsī was, however, probably at the beginning the most powerful kingdom, playing also an important role in the subversion of the Videha monarchy. The city of Vārāṇasī, the capital of Kāsī, was the chief city in India with an area of over twelve leagues. It is said that many kings of Kāsī became aspirants for the dignity of the chief of all kings (sabbarājunam aggarājā) and master of the whole of India (sakala Jambudīpā). In the Majjhimanikāya we find a reference to a king of Vārāṇasī named Kīkī who visited Kassapa Buddha with royal pomp and grandeur when the later dwelt at the Deer-Park of Vārāṇasī. King Kīkī is said to be much elated by the religious discourse delivered by Kassapa, the former Buddha, who was invited by the king to take food in the royal palace. It was at Sarnath near Vārāṇasī that Buddha gave his first discourse on the Dhammacakkha or the Wheel of Law and spent a

78 Avaśyakasūtra, p. 693. (navame Nande).  
79 Bhaddasāla Jātaka, No. 465; Dhonasākha Jātaka, No. 353.  

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great part of his life delivering there some of the most important discourses and converting many people. In the Mahāvagga also it is stated that Kāśī in older days was a great and prosperous realm, possessed of immense resources. Sometime before Buddha, the kingdom of Kāśī was conquered by Kosala. Kāśī was also involved in a rivalry with Magadha. It was finally conquered and incorporated into the Magadhan kingdom when Ajātasattu defeated the Kosalas and became the most powerful king of Northern India.

Kosala

Kosala was also one of the powerful kingdoms of ancient India during the period of the compilation of the Nikāyas. It gradually extended its supremacy over the territory of the Kālāmas of Kesaputta, and that of the Sākiyas of Kapilavatthu in the Nepalese Tarai. Buddha is often described as one of the Kosalas who were endowed with the power of wealth. It is said that Pokkharasādi, a famous brāhmaṇa teacher of Kosala, lived at Ukkaṭṭha-

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83 Mahāvagga, x. 2.3; Vinayapitakaṁ, i, p. 342 (Bhūtapubbaṁ bhikkhave Vārānasīyaṁ Brahmadatto nāma Kāśirajā ahosi añgdo mahaddhano mahābhogo mahad balo mahāvāhano mahāvijito paripunno-koṭṭhāgārō).
85 Samyuttanikāya, vol. i (P.T.S.), pp. 82-85.
87 Aṅguttaranikāya, i, (P.T.S.), p. 188.
88 Dīghanikāya, vol. iii (P.T.S.), p. 83; Dialogues of the Buddha, iii, p. 80.
89 Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 124. (Bhagavā pi Kosalako ahaṁ pi Kosolako).
nagara which was given to him by king Pasenadi. We are further told that Pasenadi of Kosala fought many battles with the Magadhan king, Ajātasattu. At the end, however, there was a conciliation between the two kings. Buddha spent much of his time at Sāvatthī, the capital of Kosala, and most of his sermons were delivered there. In course of his journey over Northern India, Buddha reached Kosala and approached to Sālā, a brāhmaṇa village of Kosala, where he delivered a series of discourses to the brāhmaṇa householders. He also preached to the brāhmaṇa householders of Nagaravinda and of Venāgapura, the two Kosalan villages. It was at Sāvatthī that Buddha permitted the womenfolk to enter into the Buddhist Order. In the Rāmāyana and in the Pūrāṇas the royal family of Kosala is said to be descended from a king called Ikṣvāku. The Mahāvagga relates that during the period of the earlier Brahmadattas of Kāśi, Kosala was a poor and tiny state. It, however, became a powerful state through the conquest of Kāśi. King Pasenadi had a soft corner for the Sākiya clan, in which Buddha was born and asked for a daughter of a Sākiya chief as his

91 Digāñika, vol. i (P.T.S.), p. 103; Sumāṅgalavilāsinī, vol. i (P.T.S.), pp. 244-245.
92 Saint-Hillaire, J. Barthelemy, (The) Buddha and his religion (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1914 ed.), p. 64.
93 Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. i. (P.T.S.), pp. 70-97.
95 Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, pp. 290 ff.
97 Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, pp. 270 ff.
98 Raychaudhuri, Hemachandra, Political history of ancient India (1953 ed.), p. 100.
wife. The Sākiyas being proud of their ancestry, but conscious of their insignificant power, adopted a trick. They passed off a daughter of a Sākiya chief by a slave girl as the legitimate Sākiya offspring. A son named Viḍūḍabha was born through this union\textsuperscript{100}. When the prince went to meet his maternal grandfather, the true origin of the queen and the son was discovered. As a result king Pasenadi discarded his queen and son. Buddha interfered into the matter and said that whatever might have been the origin of the queen, the son belonged to the caste of his father. Being himself convinced king Pasenadi later on restored both the queen and the prince to favour. Pasenadi was almost emotional about Buddha who was considered by the king as a Khattiya, a Kosalan and eighty years old\textsuperscript{101}. As ill-luck would have it the king gradually was involved in some domestic troubles. It was particularly evident when he contrasted peace and harmony in the Buddhist Saṅgha with the dissensions in his own household\textsuperscript{102}. He was deeply impressed by the silence surrounding Buddha. The king observed that the disciples of the Exalted One were well controlled, yet joyful, buoyant, with hearts as free as those of wild creatures, and said that he knew of no such discipline outside Buddha’s teaching. It was the last occasion on which king Pasenadi saw Buddha, for during his absence Dīghakārāyana set up Viḍūḍabha on the throne\textsuperscript{103}.

\textsuperscript{100} Barnett, L. D. Antiquities of India (Punthi Pustak, 1964 ed.), p. 43.
\textsuperscript{101} Majjhimanikāya, vol. ii, pt. i (P.T.S.), p. 124 (Bhavavā pi Khattiyo, aham pi Khattiyo, Bhagavā pi Kosalako, aham pi Kosalako, Bhagavā pi āștiko, aham pi āștiko).
\textsuperscript{102} Majjhimanikāya, vol. ii (P.T.S., 1898 ed.), pp. 118-125.
\textsuperscript{103} Papañcasūdani (Aluvihāra Series, Colombo), vol. ii, p. 753 ff; Jātaka; ed. by Fausböll, iv, p. 151 ff.
Pasendi went to Rājagaha for Ajātasattu's help. But being completely exhausted he reached that city only to die outside its gates. Thus was ended a colourful royal career. Of all the kings of this period, king Pasenadi shone alone like a star. Thus Mrs. Rhys Davids writes: "He is shown combining, like so many of his class all the world over, a proneness to affairs of sex with the virtues and affection of a good 'family man', indulgence at the table with an equally natural wish to keep in good physical form, a sense of honour and honesty, shown in his disgust at legal cheating, with a greed for acquiring wealth and war indemnities, and a fussiness over lost property, magnanimity towards a conquered foe with a callousness over sacrificial slaughter and the punishment of criminals. Characteristic also is both his superstitious nervousness over the sinister significance of dreams, due, in reality, to disordered appetites, and also his shrewd politic care to be on good terms with all religious orders, whether he has testimonials to their genuineness or not".

Viḍūḍabha succeeding his father invaded the Sākiya country and killed innumerable Sākiyas. Thus the virtual end of the Sākiya clan which produced one of the greatest teachers of the world, hastened through Viḍūḍabha's wrath against the Sākiyas for their duplicity in providing his father with a base-born girl as a bride who became his mother. But very little is known at present about Viḍūḍabha or his kingdom. It is said that he was

104 Bhandarkar Commemoration volume, p. 134.
drowned immediately after his devastation of the Sākiyas. Dr. A. L. Basham suggests that he was probably killed while trying to subdue some subordinate tribes in eastern portion of his territory.  

As regards the chronology of ancient kings of Kosala we are in a state of confusion. The Purāṇas relate that a prince called Divākara possessed the throne of Ayodhyā during the period of Adhisīmā-Kṛṣṇa, great-great-grandson of Parīkṣit. But it is to be noted that the princes who are mentioned as his successors did not form a continuous line of rulers who ruled over the same kingdom in regular succession. It is, therefore, difficult to measure the gap separating him from Buddha and his contemporary with the help of the traditional dynastic lists only. We are also in confusion as regards the period of abandonment of older capitals in favour of Sāvatthī. It might have been sometime prior to the accession of Pasenadi, who is supposed to be a descendant of Adhisīmā-Kṛṣṇa and the contemporary of Buddha, of Bimbisāra, and of Udena of Kosambi.

Vajji

The Vajjian (Vṛjjan) Confederacy included eight, or nine clans of which the Videhas, the Licchavis, the Jñātṛkas and the Vajjis (Vṛjjis) were the most important. The Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikṣvākas and the Kauravas were associated with the Jñātṛkas and the Licchavis as subjects of the same

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108 Kalpasūtra, sec. 128; Nirayāvalī Sūtra (Nine Licchavis).
ruler and members of the same assembly.\(^{109}\) The Nikāyas also refer to the close connection of the Uggas (Ugras) with Vesālī (Vaiśālī), the capital of the Vajjian Confederacy. The Videhas and the Licchavis being united in a league were together known as Samvajjis (Lit. ‘the Vajjians together’)\(^{110}\).

The Videha territory had its capital at Mithilā. Tradition relates that long ago there was a king in Mithilā named Makhādeva who was a virtuous fellow and led honest and pious life. Once with a view to securing the celestial pleasures he renounced the world. His son, too, when he enjoyed fully worldly pleasures, left the household life. The last of the three kings to do so was Nimi who having presented the villages to the attendant and kingdom to the elder son renounced the world and accepted the yellow robe\(^{111}\). But Nimi’s son Kalārajanako broke this tradition by not renouncing the worldly life\(^{112}\). The capital, Mithilā, is said to be built by Govinda\(^{113}\).

The territory of the Licchavis probably extended northwards as far as Nepal with its capital at Vesālī. It is often thought that the Licchavis were of foreign origin\(^{114}\). Observing their judicial system and the disposal of their dead bodies, viz., exposing them to be devoured by the wild beasts, Dr. Smith opined that they had Tibetan affinities\(^{115}\). He wrote: “They

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111 Law, B. C. Some Kṣatriya tribes of ancient India (Calcutta University, 1924 ed.), p. 142.
113 Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 235.
115 Indian Antiquary, 1903, p. 233 ff.
certainly followed the unpleasant Tibetan custom of exposing the bodies of the dead, which were sometimes hung upon trees and their judicial procedure in criminal cases was exactly the same as the Tibetan. The first Tibetan king is said to have belonged to the family of Sakya the Lichchavi, a kinsman of Gautama, the sage of another branch of the Sakyas". This is also corroborated by the sculptures of Barhut and Sāñchi where the Mongolian or hill-man element formed a large percentage in the population of northern India during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era. But according to Pandit S. C. Vidyabhusana the term Licchavi (Nīchchhīvi of Manu) was derived from the Persian city of Nisībis. Against such presumptions we may, however, state that in the Indian tradition the Licchavis are represented as the Kṣatriyas. Besides, the Licchavis were more interested in Yakṣa Caityas and the teachings of Buddha and Mahāvīra than in the deities and prophets of Irān. So Prof. H. Raychaudhuri thinks "that the Licchavis were indigenous Kṣatriyas who were degraded to the position of Vrātya when they neglected Brāhmaṇic rites and showed a predilection for heretical doctrines". In the Dīghanikāya we find that hearing the news of the death of Buddha at Kuśinārā, the Licchavis of Vesālī sent a messenger to the Mallas, stating: "The Exalted One was a Khattiya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion


\[117\] Indian Antiquary, 1902, 143 ff; 1908, p. 78.

of the relics of the Exalted One". The Licchavis were also on friendly terms with king Pasenadi of Kosala. It is said that the nine Licchavis who had rivalry with Magadha formed a confederacy with nine Mallas and eighteen gaṇa-rājjas of Kāśi-Kosala. The Vesālians sent an army to attack Magadha during Bimbisāra's reign. We have already said that Bimbisāra married a Licchavi princess named Cellanā, daughter of king Cetaka of Vesāli. Dr. Bhandarkar thought that this matrimonial alliance was the result of peace concluded after a war between Bimbisāra and the Licchavis. But during the reign of Ajātasattu, the great confederacy of Vesāli was utterly ruined. There is no denying the fact that the authority of the Licchavis was well established during the days of Buddha and Mahāvīra, in the later half of the sixth century B.C., but was almost destroyed in the following century. In the Nikāyas are found the names of eminent Licchavis like Prince Abhaya, Oṭṭhaddha (Mahāli), generals like Siha, Ajita, Dummukha and Sunakkhatta. There was a large number of Mahallakas or elders in the clan. But the actual power of administration particularly as regards the foreign affairs was vested in a smaller body of nine gaṇarājjas or archons.

It is said that Siddhārtha and his son Mahāvīra, the Jina, belonged to the Jñātṛkas who had their seats at Kundapura or Kundagrāma and Kollāga,

122 Dialogues of the Buddha, i, p. 198. (Mahāli Sutta); iii, p. 17; Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 234, 68; ii, p. 252; The Book of the Kindred Sayings, i, p. 295; Anūttaranikāya, i (P.T.S.), p. 220 f.
123 Dighanikāya, ii, p. 74; Anūttaranikāya, iv, p. 19. (Vajji-Mahallakā).
suburbs of Vaiśāli\(^{124}\). The Buddhists,\(^{125}\) however, distinguished the abode of the 'Nāḍikās'\(^{126}\) from Koṭīgāma (Kundagrāma?)\(^{127}\). As Mahāvīra and his fellow clansmen used to dwell in the suburbs of Vaiśāli, they were called 'Vesālie', i.e., the inhabitants of Vesāli\(^{128}\).

Pāṇini, the celebrated Sanskrit grammarian, also mentions the Vṛjīs proper. They were distinguished by Kauṭīlya from the 'Licchavis'\(^{129}\). It may be noted that 'Vajji' was not only the name of the confederacy, but also of one of its constituent clans\(^{130}\). Like the Licchavis, the Vajjis were also associated with the city of Vesāli (with its suburbs) which was the capital of the Licchavi clan as well as the metropolis of the entire confederacy\(^{131}\). According to the Buddhist tradition, the city proper was consisted of three districts which were possibly once the seats of three different clans, while other clans as the Bhogas, the Kauravas and the Aikṣvākas dwelt in the suburban areas, and in villages and towns like Hatthigāma and Bhoganagara\(^{132}\). The Uggas (Ugras) are also found to be associated with Vesāli\(^{133}\) and Hatthigāma\(^{134}\). Among other villages mention may be made

124 Law, B. C. Some Kṣatriya tribes of ancient India, (Calcutta University, 1924 ed.), p. 11.
126 Identified by Jacobi with the Nāṭikas or Jñātrakas.
127 Sacred Books of the East, xxii, Intro.
128 Hoernle. (The) Uvāsaga-dasāo, ii, p. 4 n.
131 Rockhill. Life of Buddha, p. 62.
132 Hoernle. (The) Uvāsaga-dasāo, II, App. iii, 57 ('City of the Bhogas')
133 Aṅguttaraniṇīkāya, i, p. 26 ('Uggogahapati Vesāliko')
134 Aṅguttaraniṇīkāya, iv, p. 212.
of Bhaṇḍagāma, Ambagāma, and Jambugāma. Prof. H. Raychaudhuri writes: "The Vrijian confederation must have been organised after the decline and fall of the royal houses of Videha. Political evolution in India thus resembles closely the developments in the ancient cities of Greece where also the monarchies of the Heroic Age were succeeded by aristocratic republics."

Malla

According to the Kalpasūtra the Malla Kingdom consisted of nine territories, one of each of the nine confederate clans. But in course of time the territories of two of these confederate clans became prominent, one with its headquarters at Kusīnārā or Kusāvatī and the other at Pāvā. The first abutted on the Sākiya territory and the second on the Vajji. The river Kakutthā (Kakusthā), identified with modern Kuku, formed the boundary between the two territories. It is interesting to note that like the Licchavis, the Mallas were also designated by Manu as Vṛātya Kṣatriyas. But in the Nikāyas we find that the Malla princes also claimed to belong to the Ikṣvāku family. Even in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta the Mallas are called the Vāsetṭhas, i.e., 'belonging to the Vaśiṣṭha gotra'. They had

135 Dighanikāya, ii, pp. 122-26; Suttanipāta, p. 194.
136 Raychaudhuri, H. Political History of Ancient India (1953 ed.), p. 121.
137 Kalpasūtra, sec. 128.
138 Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, 136 ff; 161-162.
139 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Great Britain), 1906, p. 695; Dighanikāya, ii, 137.
140 Dialogues of the Buddha, i, pp. 114-115.
141 Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, pp. 162, 179, 181.
originally a republican form of government belonging to a Saṅgha or Corporation, of which members called themselves rājās\textsuperscript{142}. The Dīghanikāya mentions the name of Mahāsuṇḍassana as one of the kings of the Malla Kingdom\textsuperscript{143}. The capital of his great empire was known as Kuśāvatī which is identified with Kuśinārā. The Mallas built a new Mote-Hall called Ubbhataka, which was formerly inaugurated by Buddha\textsuperscript{144} who referred to the complete sovereignty of the Malla Republic in exercising “powers of life and death, outlawry, and banishment” over its citizens\textsuperscript{145}. The Mallas were also patrons of learning. A Malla chief of Kuśinārā sent his son, Bandhula, for education to distant Takkhasiḷā where he found as his fellow students, Māhāli of Kosala. Even their mofussil town of Uruvelakappa figured as a centre of philosophical discussion at which householders and lay-disciples like Tapassu took the initiative\textsuperscript{146}. The Mallas maintained their independence till the death of Buddha. They probably lost their liberty not long after Buddha’s demise and their dominions were annexed to Magadha. The Malla territory later formed a part of the Maurya Empire in the third century B.C. It is found here that before Bimbisāra, monarchy was replaced by republic\textsuperscript{147} and the metropolis which was known as Kuśinārā had sunk to the level of a “little wattel and daub town”, or a “branch

\textsuperscript{142} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 291.
\textsuperscript{143} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 146.
\textsuperscript{144} Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. iii, p. 201.
\textsuperscript{146} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iv, pp. 438-488.
\textsuperscript{147} cf. Sacred Books of the East, xi, p. 102.
township" surrounded by jungles. So Ananda tried to prevent the Exalted One from attaining Parinibbāna at Kusinārā. He said: "Let not the Exalted One die in this little wattel-and-daub town (i.e. Kusinārā), in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township. For, lord, there are other great cities, such as, Campā, Rājagaha, Savatthī, Sāketa, Kosambi and Vārānasi. Let the Exalted One die in one of them. There are many wealthy nobles and brāhmaṇas and heads of houses, believers of the Tathāgata who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathāgata." Buddha in connection with former glory of ancient city of Kusinārā said to Ananda: "Long ago, Ananda, there was a king named Mahāsudassana, who was a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, lord of the four quarters of the earth, a conqueror, the protector of his people, a possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinārā, Ananda, was the royal city of king Mahāsudassana, under the name Kusāvatī, and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth. That royal city Kusāvatī, Ananda, was mighty as well as prosperous and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. Just, Ananda, as the royal city of the gods, Alakamandā by name, is mighty, prosperous and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so Ananda was the royal city Kusāvatī and prosperous, full of people, crowded

148 Khudda-nagaraka, ujjāṅgala-nagaraka, sākhā-nagaraka.
with men, and provided with all kinds of food. After Buddha's demise his body was carried into the city of Kuśinārā by the northern gate and out of the city by the eastern gate; to the east of the city was Makuṭabandhana, the shrine of the Mallas, and there the body was cremated. A festival was held there for seven days in honour of the relics. On one occasion of Buddha's visit, the Mallas of Kuśinārā decided that any inhabitant of the city, who would fail to go and meet Buddha would be fined. It was on this occasion that Roja the Mallan was converted and offered green vegetables and pastries to Buddha and his disciples. The Mallas were sometimes hostile and sometimes friendly to the Licchavīs. Once a conflict arose between Bandhula, the Mallan general, and five hundred elders of the Licchavīs.

Cedi

The kingdom of the Cedis (Cetis) with its capital at Sotthivatīnagara, lay on the Yamunā, midway between the territories of the Kurus and the Vatsas. As a tribe the Cedis had a very early history. In the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela it is recorded that a royal dynasty was founded by a branch of the Cedis in the kingdom of Kaliṅga. In the Cetiya Jātaka we observe a legendary genealogy of the

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150 Diheṇikāya, ii, pp. 146-147, 169-170 (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta and Mahāsudassana Sutta).
151 Diheṇikāya, ii, pp. 160 f.
153 Vinayāpitaka, i, 247 f.
Cediya kings who descended from Mahāsammata and Māndhātā. One of them named Upacara had five sons who established the cities of Hatthipura, Assapura, Sihapura, Uttarapañcāla and Dadarapura. He may be identified with Uparicara Vasu, the Paurava king of Cedi, mentioned in the Mahābhārata. It is said that the road from Kāsī to Cedi was unsafe due to roving band of marauders. Mahācunda is said to deliver many discourses among the Cedis when he dwelt in the town of Sahajāti. We also learn that Buddha went to the Cedis while he was out in preaching. A discussion on the Aryan Truths was taken place among the bhikkhus who resided among the Cedis in the Sahañcanika. It is said that Anuruddha once dwelt among the Cedis in the Deer-Park of Pācīnavamsa and attained arahathood.

Vamsa

The country of Vamsa (Vatsa) with its capital at Kosambī (Kauśāmbī) was famous for the good quality of cotton fabrics. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata record that Kauśāmbī was founded

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155 It may be identified with Hatthinipura or Hastināpura in the Kuru country.
156 Assapura was probably situated in Aṅga.
157 It may be identified with the town of Lāla from which Vijaya proceeded to Ceylon. But there was another Simhapura in the Western Punjab (Watters. On Yuan Chwang, i. p. 248).
158 Uttarapañcāla was Ahiçchatra in Rohilkhand.
159 It was probably in the Himalayan region (Malalasekera. Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, vol. i, 1054).
163 Aṅguttaranikāya, iv (P.T.S.), pp. 228 foll.
by a Cedi prince. But in the Harivamśa the origin of the Vatsa people is traced to a king of Kāsi. Bhagga (Bharga) State of Sumsumāragiri, was a dependency of Vatsa. The king of the Vamsas during Buddha's time was Udena (Udayana) whose father was Parantapa and whose son was called Bodhidumāra. Udena was a very powerful king who had rivalry with king Pajjota (Pradyota) of Avantī. We find that king Pajjota once became very jealous of Udena who surpassed him in glory. But he had little courage to enter into an open campaign against his rival. He knew of Udena's passion for catching elephants. So having prepared a wooden elephant, with sixty soldiers concealed inside, he placed it up in a forest near the boundary of the two kingdoms. Udena thus was deceived and arrested. But Udena knew a wonderful secret for taming elephants, and Pajjota promised to set him free in exchange for revealing it. Udena stated that he would teach the secret if Pajjota would duly salute him as a teacher. Now Pajjota hesitated and at last decided that his own daughter Vāsuladattā (Vāsavādattā) would learn the precious secret. But Udena was told that a hunch-backed woman behind the curtain would pay him salutation and learn the secret. In no time the trickery was found out by him and he fled away with the young princess who later became his queen. Udena had many other queens, one of whom was a daughter of a Kuru Brāhma-

164 Rāmāyaṇa, i, 23.3.6; Mahābhārata, i 63. 31.
165 Harivamśa, 29. 73; Mahābhārata, xii. 49. 80.
167 Saṃyuttanikāya, iv. 110-13; Udāna, vii. 10.
168 Majjhimanikāya, ii, 97; Vinayapiṭaka, ii. 127; iv. 198.
mana and the other a sister of king Darṣaka of Magadha. In the Udenavatthu169 and the Mākan-
dikāvadāna170 are found delightful stories about his wives. King Udena was at the beginning unfriendly
towards Buddhism and on one occasion in a fit of drunken jealousy tortured a leading member of the
saṅgha, Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, by having a basket full of brown ants tied to his body. Later, however, as a
result of a conversation with Piṇḍola, he professed himself as one of the devotees of Buddha171. But
nothing is known about Vatsa after Udena. Even it is not clear whether Bodhi succeeded his father on
the throne or not.

Kuru

The Kuru country occupied a large territory172 with its capital Indapatta (Indraprastha). During the time of Buddha, a titular chieftain called Koravya ruled over the Kuru territory173. Among the Kuru kings and princes were prominent Dhanañ-
ṭaya Koravya and Sutasoma. The Kurus were famous for their intellect and sound physique. They
maintained matrimonial relations with the Yādavas, the Bhojas and the Pañcālas. Buddhaghosa des-
cribed the Kurus as a people who had migrated in large number from Uttarakuru to Jambudīpa and
established a kingdom which was named Kuru after

169 Dhammapada Commentary; ed. by Norman, i, pp. 16-230.
170 Divyāvadāna; ed. by Cowell & Neil, pp. 515-544.
172 Diģhanikāya, ii, pp. 200-203; Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 213; iv, pp. 252, 256, 260.
them\textsuperscript{174}. A large number of people embraced Buddhism in the Kuru realm\textsuperscript{175}. At Kammāsadhamma, one of the Kuru towns, Buddha delivered some profound discourses like the Mahānīdāna and the Mahasatipaṭṭhāna Suttantas to the Kurus\textsuperscript{176}.

\textit{Pañcāla}

Pañcāla became one of the prosperous and powerful countries in Northern India, during the life-time of Buddha\textsuperscript{177}. It had abundant supply of seven kinds of gems\textsuperscript{178}. But very little is known about this country from the date of the death of Pravāhaṇa Jaivāli to the time of Bimbisāra of Magadha. The country was divided into two parts, viz., Uttara-Pañcāla and Dakkhiṇa-Pañcāla. The northern wing had its capital at Ahichchhatra or Adhichchhatra, while the southern one had its metropolis at Kāmpilla. In the kingdom of Uttara-Pañcāla at the city of Kāmpilla, there was a king named Dummukha who saw a bull setting upon a cow in lust and being killed by another bull through the jealousy of lust. The king having realised that lust was at the root of all sorrows abandoned lust, and attained spiritual insight and wisdom of the Paccëka Buddha. It is said that Visākha of the Pañcālas was inspired by the bhikkhus with pious discourse delivered nicely in the meeting hall\textsuperscript{179}. We

\textsuperscript{174}Papañcasūdanī, vol. i. p. 184.
\textsuperscript{176}Dighanikāya, Sutta Nos. 15 & 22.
\textsuperscript{177}Law, B. C. Ancient mid-Indian Kšatriya tribes, vol. i (Thecker Spink & Co., 1924 ed.), p. 60.
find that in ancient times a great struggle between the Kurus and the Pañcālas took place for the possession of Uttara-Pañcāla.

**Maccha**

The Macchas as people were generally connected with the Sūrasenas\textsuperscript{180}. In later days a branch of the Matsyas (Macchas) dwelt also in the Vizagapatam region\textsuperscript{181}. The vicissitudes of the kingdom of Maccha during the period which immediately preceded the reign of Bimbisāra of Magadha are still unknown. It is found that the Macchas had no political importance of their own during the time of Buddha. The kingdom of Maccha with its capital Virāṭanagara was possibly annexed to the neighbouring kingdom of Cedi and finally was absorbed into the Magadhan Empire. The Janavāsabha Suttanta tells us of the Macchas in connection with the account of Buddha’s stay at Nādika\textsuperscript{182}.

**Sūrasena**

Neither the kingdom of Sūrasena nor its metropolis finds any mention in the Vedas. Reference is found in the Nikāyas to the absence of amenities in Mathurā, the capital of Sūrasena\textsuperscript{183}. It seems that the Buddhist monks were not interested either in kettledrums\textsuperscript{184} or in the sāṭakas (garments) of this

\textsuperscript{180} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iv, pp. 252, 256.
\textsuperscript{181} Epigraphia Indica, v. 108 (Dibbida Plates).
\textsuperscript{182} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 200.
\textsuperscript{183} Law, B. C. Ancient mid-Indian Kṣatriya tribes, vol. i, (Thacker Spink & Co., 1924 ed.), pp. 82-83.
\textsuperscript{184} Gradual Sayings, ii, 78; iii, 188.
country. A highroad connecting Mathurā with Verañja was linked up with Sāvatthī. The Nikāyas further refer to Avantiputto, the king of the Śurasenas, who became one of the prominent disciples of Buddha. It was due to his enthusiasm that Buddhism gained ground in Mathurā. The name of the king mentioned above suggests that there was a matrimonial relation between the royal houses of Avantī and Surasena. We learn that Buddha once proceeding from Mathurā to Verañja halted under a tree where he was worshipped by many householders of either sex.

Assaka

Assaka (Aśmaka or Aśvaka) territory with its capital Potali (Potana or Podana) was situated on the banks of the Godāvari. It is said that a brāhmaṇa named Bāvari used to dwell near a village on the Godāvari in the Assaka kingdom of the Dakkhināpatha after having left the Kosala country. The people of Assaka and Mūlaka appeared as descendants of the Ikṣvāku family. During the period of the compilation of the Nikāyas the ruler of Assaka was a king whose son was Prince Sujāta. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta records that Brahmadatta who was one of the kings of the Assakas was a contemporary of the king called Dhataraṭṭha of Aṅga and Kāśi. Once the city of Potali was included in the

185 Gradual Sayings, ii, p. 66; Malalasekera. Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, ii, 458, 930, 1311.
186 Majjhimanikāya, ii, 83.
kingdom of Kāsi and its prince became a vassal of the king of Kāsi.¹⁹¹

Avantī

Avantī also became one of the great monarchies in ancient India. It fell to the share of Vessabhū, one of the seven contemporary kings of the line of Bharata. During the Nikāya-period, the king of Avantī was Pajjota, the Fierce (Caṇḍa), who reigned at the capital Ujjēnī for about twenty-three years, was a contemporary of Buddha and was followed by four kings, namely, Pālaka, Visākhayūpa, Ajaka and Nandivardhana, who ruled for twenty-four, fifty, twenty-one and twenty years respectively. King Pajjota (also called Mahāsenā) and his neighbour king Udēna of Kosambī, as we have already observed, were contemporaries who were engaged in war but ultimately connected by marriage. It is said that immediately after Buddha’s demise Ajātasattu fortified his capital Rājagaha in anticipation of an attack by Pajjota of Avantī. From the very beginning Avantī became a stronghold of Buddhism. Among the persons connected with the history of Buddhism in Avantī mention may be made of Abhayakumāra, Isidāsī, Isidatta, Dhammapāla, Sonakūṭikannā and Mahākaccāna. The last king of Avantī was defeated by Susunāga and as a consequence in the

¹⁹⁰ Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, p. 270.
¹⁹¹ Jātaka, No. 207.
¹⁹² Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, pp. 256.
¹⁹³ Dīghanikāya, ii, 236.
¹⁹⁴ Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 7.
¹⁹⁵ Saṃyuttanikāya, iv, 288.
fourth century B.C. Avantī was incorporated into the growing kingdom of Magadha.

Gandhāra

Gandhāra became also one of the great states in ancient India. During the middle of the sixth century B.C. Pukkusāți (or Puṣkarasārīn) who was a contemporary of king Bimbisāra of Magadha, became the king of Gandhāra. It is found that king Pukkusāți sent an embassy and a letter to his great Magadhan contemporary as a mark of friendship, and marching against Pajjota, the king of Avantī, won a victory over him. But he was threatened in his own territory by the Pāṇḍavas who held a portion of the Punjab in the time of Ptolemy. During the later half of the sixth century B.C. Gandhāra was conquered by the king of Persia. We find in the Bahistan Inscription of Darius (circa 520-518 B.C.) that the Gandharians (Gadara) became the subject-people of the Achaemenidan or Achaemenian Empire. It is said that Takkhasilā, the capital of Gandhāra, was both a centre of trade and a celebrated seat of learning.

Kāmboja

Kāmboja was close to Gandhāra. In the earlier period the kingdom of Kāmboja was ruled by kings,

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197 Papañcasūdana (Sinhalese ed.), ii, 982.
198 Rhys Davids, T. W. Buddhist India (Sushil Gupta Ltd., 1955 ed.), p. 17.
200 Eliot. Hinduism and Buddhism, iii, pp. 100 ff.
but during Kauṭilya’s time it developed a non-monarchical form or saṅgha type of government. Its capital was probably Dvārakā\textsuperscript{201}. But during the epic period the Kāmbojas had their metropolis at Rājapura which lay to the south or south-east of Punch\textsuperscript{202}. We find that Kāmboja was the habitat of good horses\textsuperscript{203} and that the Yonas and the Kāmbojas had the same kind of social organisation\textsuperscript{204}.

In the foregoing pages we have made a survey of the sixteen Mahājanapadas that flourished before circa 550 B.C. The Āṅguttara-list of these great kingdoms offers us a more or less correct picture of the political condition of India during the period of the compilation of the four Nikāyas. But it is to be noted that the flourishing period of the sixteen Mahājanapadas ended soon. In the succeeding period these states were gradually absorbed into a number of powerful kingdoms, and at last into one empire, namely, the empire of Magadha. Among them Kāsī was probably the first to fall. We have observed many instances of bitter conflicts between Kāsī and her neighbours, particularly Kosala. The Kāsis became successful at the beginning, but the Kosalas were the ultimate victors. Finally, during the flourishing period of Mahākosala (i.e. about the middle of the sixth century B.C.) Kāsī became an integral portion of the Kosalan kingdom. Even during the time of king Pasenadi,\textsuperscript{205} Kāsī still re-

\textsuperscript{201} Law, B. C. (The) Buddhist Conception of Spirits, pp. 80-93.
\textsuperscript{202} Raychaudhuri, H. Political History of Ancient India (1953 ed.), pp. 148-149.
\textsuperscript{203} Sūmaṅgalavilāsini, i, p. 124 (assānāṃ āyatanām).
\textsuperscript{204} Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{205} Dialogues of the Buddha, i, pp. 288-297.
mained a part of the Kosalan empire.206. In the Samyuttanikāya Pasenadi is described as the head of a group of five rulers,207 namely, the viceroy of Kāsi, rājanya Pāyāsi of Setavya,208 the ruler of the Kālāmas of Kesaputta,209 the Sākiya chief of Kapilavatthu and the ruler of Devadaha210. We have already said that during the reign of Mahākosala, Bimbisāra was anointed the king of Magadha. With his coronation, however, commenced a new era—the era of Magadhan supremacy in the eastern part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Prof. H. Raychaudhuri writes: “Under the vigorous kings of the race of Bimbisāra and Nanda Magadha played the same part in ancient Indian politics as Wassex did in pre-Norman England and Prussia in Hohenzollern Germany”211. Magadha, thus, being one of the competitors finally could overcome the centrifugal forces in Indian history and integrated a large part of the country under one political supremacy. It emerged triumphant out of the interstate conflicts for authority in ancient India and took the lead in championing successfully the forces of integration against the equally powerful tendencies of disintegration and localism at a period when national freedom was at stake due to foreign invasions in the north-western frontiers of India.

206 Gradual Sayings, v, 40.
207 The Book of the Kindred Sayings, i, p. 106.
208 Dīghanikāya, ii, pp. 316-358 (Pāyāsi Suttanta).
209 Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 188; Indian Culture, ii, 808.
210 Malalasekera. Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, i, 102 n.
211 Raychaudhuri, H. Political History of Ancient India (1953 ed.), p. 188.
**TABLE No. 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>Anāga—Campā</td>
<td>(Dhataraṭṭha, Dadhivāhana, Brahmadatta)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>Magadha—Rājagaha &amp; Pāṭaliputta</td>
<td>(Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu, Udayabhadda, Anududdha, Muṇḍa, Nāgadāsaka, Susunāga, Kālāsoka &amp; ten sons of Kālāsoka)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td>Kāśi—Vārāṇasī</td>
<td>(Kīkī, Brahmadatta)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv)</td>
<td>Kosala—Sāvatthī</td>
<td>(Pasenadi, Viḍūḍabha)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v)</td>
<td>Vajji: Videha—Mithila, Licchavī—Vesāli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi)</td>
<td>Malla—Kusinārā &amp; Pāvā</td>
<td>(Mahāsudassana)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii)</td>
<td>Cedi—Sotthivatinaagara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(viii)</td>
<td>Vamsa—Kosambi</td>
<td>(Parantapa, Udeṇa, Bodhikumāra)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(ix)</td>
<td>Kuru—Indapatta</td>
<td>(Dhanañjaya Koravya, Sutasoma)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>Pañcāla</td>
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<tr>
<td>(xi)</td>
<td>Maccha—Virāṭanagara</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xii)</td>
<td>Sūrasena—Mathurā</td>
<td>(Avantīputta)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xiii)</td>
<td>Assaka—Potali</td>
<td>(Brahmadatta)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xiv)</td>
<td>Avanti—Ujjēnī</td>
<td>(Vessabhū, Pajjota, Pālaka, Visākhayūpa, Ajaka, Nandivardhana)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xv)</td>
<td>Gandhāra—Takkhasīlā</td>
<td>(Pukkusāti)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xvi)</td>
<td>Kāmboja—Dvārakā or Rājapura</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clans and Peoples

Besides the sixteen Mahājanapadas mentioned earlier there were many small non-monarchical states dominated by autonomous or semi-independent clans in Northern India. Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids following the Nikāya-tradition describes the names of the following clans: Sākiyas of Kapilavatthu, Bhaggas of Sumsumāragiri, Bulis of Allakappa, Kālāmas of Kesaputta, Koliyas of Rāmagāma, Mallas of Kuśinārā, Mallas of Pāva, Moriyas of Pipphalivana, the Videhas of Mithilā and Licchavis of Vesālī. Apart from them there were, however, many other tribes of which little is known yet. The Dighanikāya mentions the cities of seven ancient tribes of India, namely, Dantapura of the Kalingas, Potana of the Assakas, Māhissati of the Avantīs, Roruka of the Sovīras, Mithilā of the Videhas, Campā of the Aṅgas and Varāṇasī of the Kāsis. Next follow the names of seven corresponding kings who ruled over these cities. Below is given a table showing the names of cities, tribes and kings.

**TABLE No. 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>King</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dantapura</td>
<td>Kaliṅgas</td>
<td>Sattabhū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potana</td>
<td>Assakas</td>
<td>Brahmadatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhissati</td>
<td>Avantīs</td>
<td>Vessabhū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

213 Rhys Davids, T. W. Buddhist India (Sushil Gupta Ltd., 1955 ed.), p. 15.
216 Dialogues of the Buddha, ii (P.T.S.), p. 270 fn.
What we find in the Dīghanikāya has been reproduced in a somewhat corrupt form in the Mahāvastu wherein it is stated that Mahā Govinda, the Brāhmaṇa, said to king Reṇu about the story that this earth (evidently implying India) was a wide expanse of seven kingdoms which he mapped out as follows: the centre belonged to king Reṇu surrounded by the Kaliṅgas with Dantapura as their capital, the Aśmakas with Potana, the Avantis with Māhiṣmati, the Sauvīras with Roruka, the Videhas with Mithilā, the Aṅgas with Campā and the Kāsis with Vāraṇaśī.

Among the autonomous clans, however, the Sākiyas of Kapilavatthu being associated with Gotama Buddha became the most prominent. But the political situation was such that they had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Kosala in the latter half of the sixth century B.C. They also suffered destruction at the hands of Viḍūḍabha, the king of Kosala. They claimed to belong to the solar race and Ikṣvāku family. It is said that long ago king Okkāka desiring to divert the succession in favour of the son of his favourite queen, banished his elder children from the land. And being thus banished they took up their residence on the slopes of the Himālayas, on the borders of a lake where a mighty

217 Sattabhū Brahmadatto ca Vessabhū Bharato saha, Reṇu dve ca Dhataraṭṭha tadāsaṃ satta Bhārata ti.
218 iii, pp. 208-209 (Mahāgovinda Sutta).
220 Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1897-1901, pp. 65-68.
oak tree grew. But due to fear of injuring the purity of their line they intermarried with their own (sakāhi) sisters. Being informed of it Okkāka the king uttered in admiration: "Hearts of oak (sakyā) are those young fellows! Right well they hold their own (paramasakyā)". The Sakkapañha Suttanta refers to a Sākiya princess named Gopikā of Kapilavatthu, who was pleased with Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. She used to observe precepts fully and having abandoned a woman's thought and cultivated the thoughts of a man, was, at the dissolution of the body after death, reborn to a pleasant life, into the communion of the three and thrity gods. The Sākiya state consisted of several other towns, besides the capital, e.g., Cātumā, Sāmagāma, Khomadussa, Silāvatī, Medalumpa, Nagaraka, Ulumpa, Devadaha and Sakkara. It is said that the Sākiyan clan included 80,000 families. The Sākiyan Republic was also a centre of education and social progress. Gotama had his education in various sciences and arts at Kapilavatthu wherein was a technical school with "a large terraced mansion for the learning of crafts".

The Bhaggas also constituted an ancient clan and were identical with the Bhargas of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (viii. 28). They established a territory contiguous to that of the Vamsas with their capital at Sumsumāragiri. During the period of the

223 Dialogues of the Buddha, i. p. 147.
224 Dialogues of the Buddha, iv. pt. iii, p. 111 n.
225 Law, Bimala Churn. India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism (Luzac & Co., 1941 ed.), pp. 39-40.
Nikāyas their country being a dependency of the kingdom of Vatsa was governed by Prince Bodhi, the son of king Udena, who caused to construct a magnificent palace known as Kokanada at Sumsumāragiri situated in the deer-park of Bhesakalāvana. Once the prince had the whole row of steps to the palace covered over with white cloth in honour of Buddha who, however, had it removed, as he did not want to tread on it as a monk. The Mahābhārata and the Harivamṣa also show a close connection between the Vatsas and the Bhaggas. A branch of the Bhaggas also occupied a small territory between Vesālī and Sāvatthī.

Not much is known about the Bulis of Allakappa. In the Dhammapada-Atṭhakathā we have a reference to the Buli territory in the kingdom of Allakappa, being only ten leagues in extent. A reference to its king’s intimate relationship with king Veṭhadīpa implies that Allakappa lay not far from Veṭhadīpa which may be identified with a place situated between modern Shahabad and Muzaffarpur. It is said that the Bulis of Allakappa received a portion of the relics of Buddha and built a stūpa over them and they had a republican form of government like that of the Licchavis of Vesālī.

Similarly as regards the Kāḷāmas of Kesaputta we know very little. Alāra, a teacher of Gotama,
prior to his enlightenment, belonged to the clans of the Kālāmas whose chief town Kessaputta\textsuperscript{232} reminds us of the Keśins, a people mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa\textsuperscript{233}.

According to an ancient tradition, the Koliyas of Devadahā and Rāmagāma were closely connected by descent with the Sākiyas who were their eastern neighbours on the other side of the river Rohini\textsuperscript{234}. They appeared among the rival claimants for the shares of Buddha’s bodily remains\textsuperscript{235}. Their city Rāmagāma was named after Rāma, the founder\textsuperscript{236}. Among other townships of the Koliyas mention may be made of Haliddavasana,\textsuperscript{237} Sajjanelā,\textsuperscript{238} Sāpūga,\textsuperscript{239} Uttara\textsuperscript{240} and Kakkarapatta\textsuperscript{241}. By surname every Koliya was known as Vyagghapajja while every Sākiya was called a Gotama\textsuperscript{242}. The term ‘Vyagghapajja’ was derived from the territory where the Koliyas who were the worshippers of Buddha resided originally\textsuperscript{243}. So also the town built on the site of the kola tree came to be known as Kolanagara and the descendants of the king were called the Koliyas. The central administration of the clan was vested in a body of peons or police, distinguished by a special form of head-dress and noted for extortion and vio-

\textsuperscript{232} Aṅguttaranikāya, i, (P.T.S.), 188.
\textsuperscript{233} Vedic Index, vol. i, p. 186.
\textsuperscript{234} Sumanāgalavilāsini, i, 258 ff.
\textsuperscript{235} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 167.
\textsuperscript{236} Sumanāgalavilāsini, i, 262.
\textsuperscript{237} Majjhimanikāya, i, 387; Saṁyuttanikāya, v, 115.
\textsuperscript{238} Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, 62.
\textsuperscript{239} Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, 194.
\textsuperscript{240} Saṁyuttanikāya, iv, 340.
\textsuperscript{241} Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, 281.
\textsuperscript{242} Aṅguttaranikāya, ii (1888 ed.), p. 194.
\textsuperscript{243} Dhammapada-Atṭhakathā, vol. i, p. 262.
lence. Both the Sākiyas and the Koliyas used the water of the river Rohini for irrigational purposes and it was not unoften that the cause of dispute between them would arise. In one such quarrel the Koliyas taunted the Sākiyas with the custom, prevalent among the later ones, of marriage with sisters.

The Moriyas (Mauryas) had their capital at Pipphalivana which lay about fifty miles to the west of Kusinārā. They were destined to rise to the greatest height of power in the subsequent period. At present there is little doubt as to their identification with the Imperial Mauryas of the fourth century B.C. But we are still in darkness about their earliest history. They were thought to be of Sakiyan origin.

About the Kalingas we find that during the reign of Nimi, King of Videha, Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra and Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, they were very powerful. The Dīghanikāya makes Sattabhū, king of Kalinga, a contemporary of Reṇu, king of Mithilā and of Dhataraṭṭha, king of Kāśi, mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5.4.22). Thus it is evident that the Kalingas possessed an independent territory. According to the Mahābhārata (iii. 114.4) the country comprised the whole coast from the river Vaitaraṇī in Orissa to the borders of the Andhra State. The southern boundary of the country was not well-defined. It reached Yellamanchili and Chipurupalle in the Vizagapatam district and at times even Piṣṭapura and Piṭhapuram, northeast of the Godāvari, but not the river itself which flowed through the Andhra country. Pargiter said

244 Saṁyuttanikāya, iv. 341.
245 Law, B. C. Tribes in ancient India, p. 288.
246 Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, p. 270.
that Kaliṅga as a state appeared to have occupied properly the plains between Eastern Ghats (Mahendra range) and the sea. But its kings exercised suzerainty over the jungle people who lived on the hills of the Amarakaṇṭaka range, in which the Narmada rises. The names of the ancient capital of Kaliṅga were Dantapura,247 Rājapura,248 Simhapura249 and Kāṇcanapura250.

Very little is known today about other clans. The Kirātas probably formed a ‘tribe of jungle men’251. Their language was classed with those of the Okkalas,252 the Andhakas, the Yonakas, and the Damīlas, as a language of the Milakkhas (Non-Aryan)253. They had their settlements not only in the north-east and north-west extremities, but also in other parts of India254. In one of the Nāgarjuna-konḍa Inscriptions, the Kirātas (Kirātas) are connected with the Činas255.

The Maddas (Madras) had their territory in the central Punjab with Sāgala or Sākala (modern Sialkot) as their metropolis. King Milinda with his capital at Sāgala is said to rule over the kingdom of Madda. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (vii, 14.3) we find that the Uttarakuravas and Uttaramadras as two peoples introduced a special kind of sovereignty called Vairājya and dwelt in the countries beyond

248 Mahābhārata, xii. 4.3.
249 Mahāvastu, ed. by Senart, p. 432.
250 Indian Antiquary, 1891, p. 375.
252 Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 78; Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 31.
253 Sūmaṅgalavilāsini, i, p. 176 (Milakkhanaṃ bhāsā).
254 Law, B. C. India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism (1941 ed.), p. 86.
255 Epigraphia Indica, vol. xx, pt. i.
the Himavanta. The Pāli Commentaries also relate that Uttaramadda was situated side by side with Uttarakuru and that the queen of a king overlord was a princess either from Uttarakuru or from the royal house of Madda. Thus it is evident that the Maddas like the Kurus were originally a trans-Himalayan people. Dr. B. C. Law thought: “As in their original home, so when they migrated to India, they settled down in the Punjab as neighbours of the Kurus.”

The Maddas had a monarchical form of government and their capital became in course of time a flourishing emporium of trade.

Mention also is found of the sixteen Bhoja-puttas of whom very little is known. Bhīma, the king of Vidabbha (modern Berar) is found to be a Bhoja king. According to the tradition the powerful

<table>
<thead>
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<th>TABLE No. 6</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) SĀKIYAS—Kapilāvatthu</td>
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<tr>
<td>(ii) BHAGGAS—Sumsumāragiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) BULIS—Allakappa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) KĀLĀMAS—Kesaputta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) KOLIYAS—Devadaha &amp; Rāmagāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) MORIYAS—Pipphalivana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) KALINGAS—Dantapura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) SOVIRAS—Roruka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ix) KIRĀTAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(x) MADDAS—Sāgala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xi) BHOJAPUTTAS—Kumbhavati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xii) SUPPĀRAKAS—Suppāraka</td>
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</table>

256 Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, ii, p. 626; Papañcasūdanī, ii, p. 950; Paramatthajotikā, i, p. 173.
257 Law, B. C. India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism (1941 ed.), p. 89.
258 Milindapañha, pp. 1-2.
259 Saṃyuttanikāya, i, pp. 61-62; Law, B. C. Geography of early Buddhism, p. 62.
king Daṇḍakī of the kingdom of Daṇḍaka in the Vindhyā region had his capital at the city of Kumbhavatī. He was probably a Bhoja king. The sovereignty of Daṇḍaka was established over the whole of the Vindhyā region, extending as it did from Vidabbha to Kāliṅga.

Among the peoples of the Aparānta we find mention of the Suppārakas or Suppārikas (Saurpārakas) who were the citizens of Suppāra or Suppāraka (modern Șopārā in the Thana district near Bombay), the capital of the kingdom of Sunāparanta. It is said that they were fierce and violent. Through the vigorous activities of Puṇṇa, a disciple of Buddha, many male and female lay-devotees of this country were converted to Buddhism.

B. GEOGRAPHICAL

To remodel the methodical geography of ancient India the first four Nikāyas yield us immense materials. They contain some portions giving a fairly correct description of not only the different territorial divisions of India but also of her ports, cities, mountains, rivers, forests and lakes. The geographical account of these Nikāyas is more or less the same, and the narrative in one is often reproduced in another; in some instances a longer description is condensed into a smaller one. Although the texts or narratives of purely geographical nature are wanting in the

260 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 378.
262 Law, B. C. India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 76.
263 Majjhimanikāya, iii, pp. 268-269 (Punnovādasuttaṃ); Saṃyuttanikāya, iv, p. 61 f.
Nikāyas, yet the scattered geographical details embodied therein are most authentic and trustworthy. As for instance, regarding the geographical position of the sixteen Mahājanapadas which comprise the most precious chapter of Indian history and geography of those early centuries, the Aṅguttara Nikāya, as we have already observed, is the main source of our knowledge. So it would be our aim to show in the subsequent pages that the Dīgha-, Majjhima-, Samyutta-, and Aṅguttara Nikāyas are the veritable mines of geographical information which is amply supported by the archaeological excavations and other literary documents.

Conception of Jambudīpa

The geographical unit which is today known as India and Pakistan, was designated most curiously by the Buddhists as Jambudīpa (Jambudvīpa) which figured as one of the four mahādīpas or the four great continents, while the Jainas and the Brāhmaṇas called it Bhārahavāsa and Bhāratavarṣa respectively. Childers also points out that when opposed to Sihaladīpa, Jambudīpa referred to the continent of India. The Minor Rock Edict No. 1 of Asoka records Jambudīpa as the vast country ruled over by that great emperor. In Jambudīpa there were pleasant parks, groves, grounds and lakes, but their number was not many. Besides, there

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264 Law, B. C. India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 1.
267 Aṅguttaranikāya, i (P.T.S., 1885 ed.), p. 35.
were numerous steep precipitous cliffs, unfordable rivers, inaccessible mountains and dense thickets of stakes and thorns. Buddhaghosa, the great commentator, said that Jambudīpa was 10,000 yojanas in extent. Of these 10,000 yojanas 4,000 were covered by the ocean, 3,000 by the forest of the range of the Himalayan mountains and 3,000 were inhabited by human beings. The five great rivers, namely, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī, after watering Jambudīpa used to fall into the ocean. We are further informed that gold was collected from the whole of Jambudīpa. The Exalted One predicted that Jambudīpa would be mighty and prosperous; its villages, towns, and royal cities would be so close that a cock could fly from each one to the next; it would be pervaded by mankind even as jungle was by reeds and rushes with 84,000 towns—Ketumati being the royal city. In the Purāṇas, Jambudvīpa is counted as one of the seven dvīpas or mythical continents into which the Earth, as then known, was divided. Bhāratavarṣa was just one of the nine varṣas or countries comprising the nine main divisions of Jambudvīpa. The Jaina text Jambudīvapāṇṇatti narrates seven Varṣas as constituent divisions of Jambudvīpa. Thus the Jaina and Brāhmaṇa authors

268 imasmin Jambudipe ārāmarāmaneyyakaṁ vanarāmaneyyakaṁ bhūmirāmaneyyakaṁ pokkharānirāmaneyyakaṁ, atha kho etad eva bahutaram yadidaṁ ukkuḷavikūlaṁ nadi-viduggaṁ khānukanṭakādhānaṁ pabbata-visamaṁ.
269 Sumaṅgalalavāsini, ii (P.T.S.), p. 429.
272 Dīghanikāya, vol. iii (P.T.S.), p. 75.
273 Law, B. C. Historical geography of ancient India, p. 10.
used the term Jambudvipa in a much wider sense than it was known to the Buddhists. Bhāratavarṣa, among the Varṣas of Jambudipa, lay most to the south. Such detail and specific information about Jambudipa is, however, not available in the Nikāyas. The term ‘Jambudipa’ is used here occasionally and refers roughly to modern geographical areas which are marked by India and Pakistan.

Physiography

The physical outline of India to the south of the Himalayas is vividly described in the Mahāgovinda Suttanta which states that India was of the shape of a bullock-cart with its face towards the south. Such a metaphorical representation of the shape of India shows that India was broad on the north, while in the south it was narrow and divided into seven equal parts. It points further that king Renu’s country held the central position there. This shape of India agrees to some extent with the actual shape of the country and also may be identified with the description given by the Chinese author Fah-Kai-lih-to who recorded that India was broad towards the north and narrow towards the south. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta further furnishes us with the names of seven cities, viz., Dantapura, Potana, Māhissati, Roruka, Mithilā, Campā, and Vārānasī. The mention of these seven important cities is very significant.

274 Dīghanikāya, ii (P.T.S.), p. 234. (Ko nu kho, bho, pahoti imaṃ mahā-paṭhavīṃ uttarena āyataṃ dakkhinena sakaṭamukhaṃ sattadhā samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhajītena’’ ii).
275 tatra sudāṃ mājhe Renussa raṇño janapado hoti.
276 Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 235.
Dantapura was probably the ancient capital of the Kalingas. This city is so called (i.e. Tooth-City) because the sacred tooth of Buddha was said to have taken to Ceylon from here. It was believed to be a prominent city even before the days of Buddha. Dantapura has been identified with Rajmahendri (Rajahmundry) on the Godāvari. According to some it was Purī in Orissa. But Subba Rai holds that it may be identified with the ruins of the fort of Dantapura, situated on the southern bank of the river Vīṃśadharā, three miles from Chicacole Road Station. Cunningham, however, identifies it with modern Dantan (चाचन) on the Kāsā. Potana is modern Paithan on the north bank of the Godāvari. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta mentions it as the capital of Assaka or Aśmaka. Māhissatī or Māhiṣmatī, the ancient capital of Avanti, may be identified with Mahēśvara or Mahesh, on the right bank of the Nerbuda, forty miles to the south of Indore. The country, of which Māhissatī became the capital, was called during the Buddhist period Avanti-Dakhini-patha. Roruka was one of the important cities of Western India. Cunningham identifies it with Eder, a district in the province of Gujarat at the head of the gulf of Cambay. Mithilā, the ancient capital of Videha, is identified with modern Janakapura, a small town within the Nepal border, north of which the

277 Jātaka, ii, p. 367, 371, 381.
278 Mahāvastu, iii, 361.
279 Law, B. C. Historical Geography of ancient India, p. 149.
281 Cunningham, A. Ancient geography of India p. 735.
283 ibid, p. 120.
284 Bhandarkar, D. R. Ancient history of India, pp. 45, 54.
Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet. The size of Mithilā is frequently given as seven leagues, about fifty miles, in circumference\(^{285}\). Campā or rather Campāpurī being the capital of Āṅga was situated at a distance of about four miles to the west of Bhagalpur. The city of Vārāṇasī was situated on the left bank of the Ganges, between the Varuṇā Nāḍī on the north-east, and the Asi Nālā on the southwest\(^{286}\). Abul Fazal had also mentioned Banaras which was a large city situated between two rivers, the Varuṇā and the Asi\(^{287}\). It is interesting to note that Buddha had made a prophecy about this city as follows: “Among such humans the Vārāṇasī of our day will be named Ketumati, a royal city, mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded and well fed. Among such humans in this India there will be 84,000 towns, with Ketumati the royal city at their head. Among such humans, at Ketumati the royal city, there will arise Saṅkha, a wheel-turning king, righteous and ruling in righteousness, lord of the four quarters, conqueror, protector of his people, possessor of the seven precious things”\(^{288}\).

**Divisions of India**

The first four Nikāyas provide us with very little information as to the systematic territorial divisions of India. The Bhuvanakoṣa section of the Purāṇas and the Kāvyamīmāṃsā mention five traditional

\(^{285}\) Rhys Davids, T. W. Buddhist India (Susil Gupta Ltd., 1955 ed.), p. 22.
\(^{286}\) Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 220 ff.
\(^{287}\) Abul Fazl. Aīyīn Akbarī, ii, p. 28.
\(^{288}\) Dīghanikāya, iii, p. 75. (Vārāṇasī Ketumati nāma rājadhānī bhavissatī).
divisions of India, which are: Madhyadeśa, Uttarapatha, Prācyā, Dakṣināpatha, and Aparānta. It should be noted that the similar division of the country into five parts was also adopted by the Chinese. A. Cunningham observes: “In the official records of the Thang dynasty in the seventh century, India is described as consisting of ‘Five Divisions’ called the East, West, North, South and Central, which are usually styled the ‘Five Indies’.”

Huen-tsang also maintained the same divisions which included (a) Northern India consisting of the Punjab, including Kashmir and the neighbouring hill States, with the whole of eastern Afghanistan beyond the Indus and the present Cis-Satlej States to the west of the Sarasvatī river, (b) Western India comprising Sindh and Western Rajputana with Cutch and Gujarat, and a part of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narbadā river, (c) Central India consisting of the whole of the Gangetic territory from Thaneswar to the head of the delta, and from the Himalaya mountains to the banks of the Narbadā, (d) Eastern India comprising Assam and Bengal proper, including the whole of the delta of the Ganges together with Sambalpur, Orissa, and Ganjam, (e) Southern India consisting of the whole of the Peninsula from Nasik on the west and Ganjam on the east to Cape Kumārī (Comorin) on the south, including the modern districts of Berar and Telingana, Maharashtra and the Konkan, with Hyderabad, Mysore, and Travancore, or very nearly the whole of the Peninsula to the south of the

289 Law, B. C. Geography of early Buddhism, p. xx.
290 Cunningham, A. Ancient Geography of India, ed. by S. N. Majumdar, p. 11.
Narbadā and the Mahānadi rivers. Thus it is evident that the Chinese system of five divisions was borrowed from the Purāṇas and the Kāvyamīmāṃsā. In the Nikāyas, however, instead of such ‘five divisions’ of India, is found, as we have already observed, a list of sixteen Mahājanapadas of Jambudīpa. These sixteen great states were Āṅga, Magadha, Kāśi, Kosala, Vijji, Malla, Ceti, Vamsa, Kuru, Paṇcāla; Maccha, Sūrasena, Assaka, Avantī, Gandhāra and Kāmboja; each of them received the name from the people who resided there. Dr. Malalasekera thinks that the first fourteen were included in the Majjhimaṇḍesā, while the last two in Uttarāpatha. The Dīghanikāya, however, presents a list of twelve excluding the last four. As already stated, Mahāvastu also supplies us with a list of sixteen Mahājanapadas, that includes Śibi and Daśarṇa but excludes Gandhāra and Kāmboja. From numerous references to the sixteen Mahājanapadas mentioned above it is evident that at least Northern and Central India was then geographically divided into sixteen units. Below is given a brief geographical account of these great states, of which history has been discussed in the foregoing pages:

291 Cunningham, A. Ancient Geography of Ancient India, ed. by S. N. Majumdar, pp. 13-14.
293 Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 213; iv, pp. 252, 256, 260-261.
294 The Jaina Bhagavati-Sūtra offers a slightly different list mentioning Āṅga, Baṅga, Magadha, Malaya, Mālava, Accha, Vaccha, Kocchaka, Pādha, Lādha, Baijji, Moli, Kāśi, Kosala, Avaha and Sambhuttara—Saya XV Uddesa I (Hoernle. The Uvāsagadāsa, II, Appendix).
Aṅga comprised the modern district of Bhagalpur and Mongyer, and a portion of the district of Santal Parganas\textsuperscript{297}. The capital called Campā of Aṅga was probably situated at the confluence of the river of the same name (modern Cāndan) and the Ganges, at a distance of sixty yojanas from the Videhan capital Mithilā. Its actual site was marked by the villages named Campānagara and Campāpūrī which are still found near Bhagalpur\textsuperscript{298}. The reference was found of Bhaddiya as a town of Aṅga. The areas of Aṅga, however, varied at different periods. Sir George Birdwood thought that Aṅga included also the districts of Birbhum, Murshidabad, and Manbhum. But its northern boundary had always been the same. The Śaktisāṃgama Tantra relates that Aṅga extended from Baidyanātha to Bhuvaṇeśa,\textsuperscript{299} which has been identified with Bhuvaṇeśvara\textsuperscript{300} in Orissa. But these limits of the country are misleading. If Baidyanātha was the northern limit, then Aṅga might have excluded Campā which was the capital situated far to the north of Baidyanātha. Similarly Bhuvaṇeśa or Bhuvaṇeśvara obviously could not have been the southern boundary of both the countries of Aṅga and Gauḍa\textsuperscript{301} at the period when the Tantra was written, and there is no authentic record to show that Aṅga ever extended to Orissa.

The country of Magadha roughly corresponded to the modern Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar.

\textsuperscript{298} Law, B. C. Historical Geography of ancient India, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{299} Śaktisāṃgama Tantra, ch. vii.
\textsuperscript{300} Viśvakoṣa, s.v. Aṅga.
\textsuperscript{301} Śaktisāṃgama Tantra, vii.
Its capital was Rājagaha or Giribbaja which was surrounded by five hills, namely Isigili, Vepulla (Vaṅkaka and Supana), Vebhāra, Paṇḍava and Gijjhakūta. The Ganges formed the boundary between the kingdom of Magadha and the republican country of the Licchavis, while the river Campā flowing between Aṅga and Magadha formed the boundary between the two countries on the other side. Numerous references in the Nikāyas are found to Rājagaha, the ancient capital of Magadha.

The kingdom of Kūśa with an area of three hundred leagues was a very prosperous country. Its capital city Vārānasī, as we have already seen, was bounded by the rivers Varuṇa and Asi respectively on the north and the south. It is modern Vārānasī which lies eighty miles below Allahabad on the north bank of the Ganges.

The ancient kingdom of Kosala corresponding to modern Oudh was encircled on the west by the Gumti, on the south by the Sarpikā or Syandikā (Sai) river, on the east by the Sadānirā which separated it from Videha and on the north by the hills of Nepal. Its capital was Sāvatthi. Ayojihā, Sāketa, Setabba, Ukkaṭṭha, Kiṭāgiri, Daṇḍakappaka,
Naḷakapāṇa,\(^{312}\) Paṅkadha\(^{313}\) were some important cities of Kosala.

The Vaḷji territory lay to the north of the Ganges and extended as far as the Nepal hills. It was separated from the Mallas and the Kosalas by the river Gaṇḍak on the west and extended up to the forest that skirted the river Kośī and the Mahānandā on the east. The Licchavi capital was at Vesālī which is identified with the ruins at Basārh or Basar (to the east of the Gaṇḍak) in the Muzaffarpur district, North Bihar. Mithilā which has been identified with Janakpur within the Nepal border, was the capital of the kingdom of the Videhas.

The Mallaratṭha was divided into two portions which had Kusāvatī or Kusinārā and Pāvā as their capital cities. Pāvā is identified by Cunningham with the village named Padaroana, twelve miles, to the north-east of Kasia, separated from it by the Bādhī Nālā (identified with the ancient Kakutthā)\(^ {314}\). But Carlileye proposed to identify Pāvā with Fazilpur, ten miles south-east of Kasia and separated from it by the Kuku\(^ {315}\). Kusinārā may be identified with Kasia on the smaller Gaṇḍak and in the east of the Gorakhpur district. This has been testified by the discovery of a copper-plate incising ‘(Parini) rvāṇa-caitye tāṃrapaṭṭa iti’ in the large stūpa behind the Nirvāṇa temple near Kasia\(^ {316}\). It is said that Kusinārā was also called Kusāvatī. It was a capital city, and was twelve yojanas in length from east to west,

\(^{312}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, v, pp. 122 ff.
\(^{313}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 236.
\(^{314}\) Cunningham, A. Ancient Geography of India (1924 ed.), p. 498.
\(^{315}\) ibid., p. 493.
\(^{316}\) Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1911-12, p. 17 ff.; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Great Britain), 1913, p. 152.
and seven yojanas in width from north to south. Kusinārā was at a distance of twenty-five yojanas from Rājagaha. It was surrounded by seven ramparts (sattahi pākārehi), seven rows of palm trees (sattahi tālapantihī parikkhittā) and was decorated by gates of fine colours. Besides, within the city there were seven kinds of instruments which yielded a pleasant and sweet sound. Mention is also found of Anupiyā as a town of the Mallas. The Śāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana (outskirt or suburb) of Kusinārā, was on the Hiraññavatī river. In the neighbourhood lay a vast forest known as Mahāvana.

The Cedi or Ceti kingdom was located in modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region. Its capital was Sotthivatīnagara which may be identified with the city of Śukti or Śuktimatī of the Mahābhārata. Among other important towns of the Cedi kingdom mention may be found of Tripuri and Sahajāti which stood on the right bank of the Yamunā.

Vamsa or Vatsa was a country situated on the south of the Ganges. Kosambī, its capital, is at present represented by modern Kosam on the right bank of the Yamunā near Allahabad. The excavations (1957-1959) at Kosambī had revealed the existence of the Ghositārāma, the high rampart around

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317 Dīghanikāya, ii, pp. 146-147.
319 Dīghanikāya, ii, pp. 170-172.
321 Bhandarkar, D. R. Carmichael Lectures, i, p. 52.
322 It was situated near modern Jabalpur. cf. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1895 p. 249.
the city and the stone fortress of Udayana. Oldenberg identifies the Vamsas with the Vaśas of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

The Kuru janapada may be located in the districts of Sonapat, Amin, Karnal and Panipat and was situated between the Sarasvatī on the north and the Drśadvatī on the south. It was divided into two portions namely, Uttarakuru and Dakkhinakuru and was 8,000 yojanas in extent. In the Majjhimanikāya it is said that there was a janapada named Kuru and its kings used to be called the Kurus. Its capital was Indapatta (Indrāprastha) near modern Delhi, extending over seven leagues.

Pañcāla had also two divisions—northern and southern—with their capitals at Ahicchatra or Chatravatī identified with modern Ramnagar near Aonlā in the Bareilly District, and Kāmpilla evidently Kampil in the Farrukhabad District. The city of Kāmakujja or Kanauj was located in the kingdom of Pañcāla. We find that “Pañcāla was originally the country north and east of Delhi from the foot of the Himālayas to the Chambal. It roughly corresponds to modern Budaun, Farukhabad and the adjoining districts.”

The Maccha or Matsya country occupied an extensive territory between the hills close to the Chambal and the forests that skirted the Sarasvatī, the centre of which was Virāṭanagara or Bairat in Jaipur.

Oldenberg, H. Buddha, p. 393 fn.
Jātaka, no. 537 (sattayojanikā Indapattanagare ...).
Law, B. C. Historical Geography of ancient India (1954 ed.), p. 51.
Surasena with its capital at Mathurā which stood on the Yamunā may be identified with Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the present town of Mathurā.

Assaka had its capital at Potana (Podana) or Potali which is identified with Bodhan in the Nizam’s dominions. In the Nikāyas Assaka is found to be associated with Avanti. This kingdom might have included, during the period of compilation of the Nikāyas, Mūlaka and some neighbouring districts and so it extended upto the southern frontier of Avanti. It may be presumed that Assaka, either it was identified with Mahārāṣṭra or situated on the Godāvari, lay outside the pale of the Middle Country.

The kingdom of Avanti approximately corresponded to the Ujjain region together with a part of the Narmadā Valley from Māndhātā to Maheswar, and a certain adjoining districts. It was divided into two portions by the Vindhyas—the northern portion being drained by the Śiprā and other rivers had its capital at Ujjayinī and the southern portion being washed by the Narmadā had its centre at Māhissatī (Māhiṣmatī) which may be identified with the rocky island of Māndhātā. The southern portion was called Avanti-Dakkhiṇāpatha, probably

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333 Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures (1918 ed.), pp. 53-54.
334 Law, B. C. Historical Geography of ancient India, p. 52.
335 Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. iii, p. 9 ; Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 123.
337 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Great Britain), 1910, pp. 444 f.
referring to the Avanti country in the Dakhinapatha. Among the cities of Avanti mention may be made of Kuraraghara and Sudarshanapura\textsuperscript{338}.

Gandhāra\textsuperscript{339} or Gandharva-visaya consisted of the modern districts of Peshawar (Puruṣapura) and Rawalpindi with its capital Takkhasilā (Takṣaśilā) or modern Taxila, which lay 2,000 leagues from Vārāṇasi. It sometimes included Kāsmira also.

In the Nikāyas and in other Buddhist texts as well as in the inscriptions Gandhāra and Kāmboja are mentioned pari passu\textsuperscript{340}. The kingdom of Kāmboja\textsuperscript{341} might have been included in the Uttarapath, i.e., Far North of India. But it should be distinguished from Kāmbuja (i.e. Cambodia) in the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula. Kāmboja was probably located in some area of north-west Indo-Pakistan sub-continent close to Gandhāra. Thus the Kāmbojas probably occupied roughly the province round about Rajaori or ancient Rājapura including the Hazara district of north-west Indo-Pakistan and possibly extended as far as Kafristan.

**Physical features**

India with her extensive geographical area presents an extra-ordinary variety of physical features. With mountains, deserts, seas, plains, rivers, forests, etc. it really offers unique features which are of great importance to a serious geographer. A detailed study on this subject is, therefore, an urgent necessity.

\textsuperscript{338} Law, B. C. Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya tribes, p. 148.
\textsuperscript{339} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 213; iv, pp. 252, 256, 260.
\textsuperscript{340} Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 261.
\textsuperscript{341} Sumanagalañvilāsinī, vol. i, p. 124.
Rivers—The four Nikāyas refer to numerous Indian rivers, some of which may easily be identified with their modern counterparts. But curiously enough details about them are still lacking. We get only incidental references to them.

The seven sacred rivers of the Buddhist Majjhimaṃdesa were Bāhukā (Bāhudā), Adhikakkā, Gayā (Phalgu), Sundarīkā, Sarassatī, Payāga, and Bāhumati. These were regarded as "holy waters in which the people bathed to wash away their sins and impurities, Gayā being represented as the chief of all". But the Visuddhimagga, a later work, differs widely as to the names of rivers. It mentions Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarabhū (Sarajū), Sarassatī, Aciravatī, Mahī and Mahānadi. The Āṅguttara Nikāya also gives a list of great rivers which were well-known to the Buddhists. This list mentions Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī. It further states that these rivers used to flow to the ocean and to lose their former names as well as their identities to be reckoned simply as the ocean. Thus it seems that all these rivers used to merge with the ocean.

Bāhukā or Bahuka or Bāhudā is identified by Pargiter with the modern Rāmagāṅgā which connects the Ganges on the left near Kanauj. It corresponded to the river Dhavalā, now called Dhumela or

342 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 39.
343 Law, B. C. (A) History of Pāli literature, vol. i, p. 120.
344 Visuddhimagga, i, p. 10.
346 Āṅguttaranikāya, iv (1899 ed.), pp. 198-199, 202 (Gaṅgā Yamunā Aciravatī Sarabhū Mahī tā mahāsamuddampattā jahanti purimāni nāmagottāni mahāsamuddo tveva saṃkhaṃ gaṇchati).
347 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 39.
Burha-Rapti, a feeder of the Rapti in Oudh. Buddha took his bath in this river which was believed to remove sins. The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa mention a river with the same name in the Deccan. Adhikakkā is not yet identified with any river. The river Gayā was no other than the Pha'gu forming just a united flow of the Neraṇjanā and the Mahānādi. This river met the Ganges in the district of Monghyer, north-east of Lakhisarai. It had two tributaries—one in the district of Patna and the other in the district of Monghyer. The Sundarīkā was a sacred river in Kosala and probably a tributary of the Aciravatī or Rāpti. The Sarassatī was a Himalayan river which disappeared at Vinasana. It used to flow southwards through Simla and Sirmur forming a bulge. The Payāga was and still is the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Allahabad. The Gaṅgā was known by several names, such as, Alakanandā, Dyuḍhunī, Dyunadī, Bhāgīrathī or Jāhnavī, which used to issue from the Anotatta lake. The Bhāgīrathīgaṅgā issues from the Gaṅgotrī in the district of Garhwal. From Hardwar down to Bulandshahar the Ganges has a southerly course after which she flows in a south-easterly direction upto Allahabad where she is connected with the Yamunā. The Gaṅgā has an easterly course from Allahabad down to Rajmahal and enters Bengal at Rajmahal. The Yamunā takes its rise in the Himalayan range below Mount Kamet and cuts a valley

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349 De, N. L. (The) Geographical Dictionary, p. 16.
350 Law, B. C. India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 22.
351 Barua, B. M. Gayā and Buddhagayā, i, p. 87 f.
352 Law, B. C. Historical geography of ancient India, p. 251.
through the Siwalik range and Garhwal before it enters the plains of northern India flowing parallel to the Ganges. It follows a south-eastern course till it meets the Ganges forming the famous confluence at Payāga or Allahabad. The Bāhumati\(^{354}\) may be identified with the Bāgmati which is a sacred river in Nepal. The Sarabhū is the modern Sarayū which is mentioned in the Milindapañha as a sacred river issuing from the Himālayas\(^{355}\). It is also known as the Ghagrā or Gogrā, a tributary of the Ganges. It meets the Ganges in the district of Chapra, Bihar. The Aciravatī\(^{356}\) is also known as the Airavatī which is identified with the Rāpti in Oudh, on the western bank of which stood the ancient city of Sāvatthī or modern Saheth-Maheth. It is a tributary of the Sarayū and flows through the districts of Bahraich, Gonda, and Basti and connects the Sarayū or Ghar-gharā, west of Barhaj in the district of Gorakhpur. During the summer it dries up leaving a bed of sand only\(^{357}\). But the Saṃyuttanikāya relates that it was a deep river as its water was immeasurable\(^{358}\). We learn that once Buddha went to Manasākaṭa, a brāhmaṇa village in the Kosala country and dwelt at the Ambavana on the bank of the Aciravatī to the north of Manasākaṭa\(^{359}\). The Mahī is a tributary of the Gandak\(^{360}\). The Mahānāḍī is the Phalgu river of the district of Gayā\(^{361}\). It may be

\(^{355}\) Milindapañha, p. 114.
\(^{357}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 101.
\(^{358}\) Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. v, p. 401.
\(^{360}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 101; Milindapañha, p. 114; Suttanipāta, p. 3.
\(^{361}\) Dey, N. L. Geographical dictionary of ancient and mediaeval India, (1927 ed.), p. 117.
noted that there is still a river of the same name in Orissa. The Hiraṅṇavatī is the Little Gaṅḍak flowing through the district of Gorakhpur, about eight miles west of the Great Gaṅḍak and falling into the Gogra (Sarayū).

Apart from these, mention is also found of Kaddamdaḥa, a river on the bank of which Mahākaccāna took up his residence for some time. Sappinī is recorded as a river at Rājagaha. Buddha once went from Gijjhakūṭa mountain at Rājagaha to the bank of the river Sappinī to meet the wanderers. The name Sappinī means a snake which has more than one tongue. The Paṅcāna (Sans. Paṅcānana) river having several branches and being winding in its course was probably the ancient Sappinī. Sutanu is also described as a river on whose bank Anurudha stayed for sometime. It is said that Mandākini, a river, rises in the mountains of Kedāra in Gbarwal being a tributary of the A'aka-nandā. It is the Kālīgaṅgā or the western Kā'ī or Mandāgni. Cunningham, however, identifies it with Mandākin, a small tributary of Paisundi in Bundelkhand, which flows by the side of the Mount Citra-kūṭa. Sundarīkā is said to be a river located in Kosala. The river Vetaranī is sometimes referred

to as the river of Yama. The rivers mentioned above all belong to Northern India and are regarded as very sacred by the Brāhmaṇas, the Buddhists and the Jainas. The Nikāyas mention some other rivers of minor importance. As for instance, the Dīghanikāya relates that Kukutthā, a river near Kuśinārā, appears to have formed a boundary between the two Malla territories. Kukutthā is a small stream called Barhi which falls into the Little Gaṇḍak, eight miles below Kasia. Carlyle has identified it with the river Ghāgī, 1½ miles to the west of Chitiyaon in the Gorakhpur district.

Mountains, Hills, Rocks—Among the mountains mention is frequently made in the Nikāyas of the Sineru which is also known as the Meru, Sumeru, Hemameru and Mahāmeru. It is the highest mountain which forms the centre of the earth. The Aṅguttara Nikāya describes it as the king of mountains with the length and breadth of the same size, namely, eighty-four thousand leagues. It is immersed in the sea to a depth of eighty-four thousand leagues or yojanas and is surrounded by seven mountain ranges, namely, the Yugandhara, the Īṣadharā, the Karavīka, the Sudassana, the Nemindhara, the Vinataka and the Assakanna.

The Himavā or the Himālayan mountain occupies a very important place in the Nikāyas. It was often called the pabbata-rāja and was also known

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372 Law, B. C. Rivers of India, p. 23.
373 Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, (1899 ed.), p. 100.
374 Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 152.
as the Hemavata and Himācala being one of the seven mountain ranges that surround the Gandhāmādāna\(^{375}\).

According to a reference in the Dīghanikāya\(^{376}\) the Corapapāta seems to be a hill near Rājagaha. The Kuraragharpabbata was located in Avantī. Mahākaccāna once dwelt on this mountain\(^{377}\). The Pipphaliguhāpabbata\(^{378}\) seems to be situated at Rājagaha. The Śumsumāragiri, the mountain, is also found to be connected with the Bhagga country\(^{379}\). The Setapabbata lies in the Himalayas to the east of Tibet\(^{380}\). The Isigili Sutta\(^{381}\) offers an interesting account of the mountains which surround Rājagaha. It mentions Veṭhāra, Paṇḍava, Vepulla, Gijjhakūṭa and Isigili. The Veṭhāra extends southwards and westwards ultimately to form the western entrance of Rājagaha with the Sonagiri. The Paṇḍava may be corresponded to modern Udayagiri. The Vepulla which is a massive hill\(^{382}\) stands on the north-eastern side of the hot springs and to the north of the Gijjhakūṭa hill that is a part of the Śailagiri, the Vulture Peak of Fa-hien and Indasīlāguhā of Hiuen-tsang, lies two miles and a half to the south-east of Rājagaha. The Isigili stands on the south-western side of the hills in the same city. About this hill the Papaṅca-suṇāṇi, a commentary on the Majjhimanikāya, relates: "Once upon a time five hundred Pacceka-

\(^{377}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. v, p. 45.
\(^{378}\) Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. v, p. 79.
\(^{379}\) Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. iii, p. 1.
\(^{380}\) Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 67.
\(^{381}\) Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, p. 68.
\(^{382}\) Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. ii, p. 185 (akkhāto Vepullo pabbato mahā).
buddhas dwelt for a long time on this Isigili mountain. They were seen as they were entering this mountain, but once they had entered they were not seen. People seeing this spoke as follows: 'this mountain swallows these seers' (isi gilat) \(^3\)\(^3\)\(^3\)\(^3\). In addition to the five hills of Rājagaha the Dīghanikāya mentions Kālisīla, a black rock on a side of Isigili,\(^3\)\(^4\) while the Saṃyuttanikāya refers to the Paṭibhāṇakūṭa as an echoing peak in the vicinity of Gījjakūṭa\(^3\)\(^5\). Reference also is found to Indakūṭa near Gījjakūṭa\(^3\)\(^6\) and Vediyaka hill, identified by Cunningham with the Giriyek.

\textit{Caves}—The caves situated on the hills surrounding the famous city of Rājagaha were probably the earlier ones. In course of time, however, the primitive and simple caves have become elaborately decorated and ornamented. Below is given an account of some caves mentioned in the Nikāyas.

We find that Indasālaguhā or the cave named Indasāla takes its name from an Indasāla tree standing at its entrance\(^3\)\(^7\). The Sakkapañha Sutta also refers to this cave\(^3\)\(^8\). The Indasālaguhā is located in the Vediyaka mountain situated on the north of the village called Ambasaṇḍa. Cunningham identifies the Vediyaka mountain with the Giriyak hill, six miles from Rājagaha\(^3\)\(^9\). In one of the Nikāyas it is further stated that when the Exalted One stepped into the Indasālaguhā, it became even, wide and

\(^3\)\(^3\)\(^3\)\(^3\) Papañcasūdanī, iv, p. 127.
\(^3\)\(^4\) Dīghanikāya, ii, pp. 116-117.
\(^3\)\(^5\) Saṃyuttanikāya, v, p. 448.
\(^3\)\(^6\) Saṃyuttanikāya, i, p. 206.
\(^3\)\(^7\) Sumanāgalavilāsini, iii, p. 697.
\(^3\)\(^8\) Dīghanikāya, ii, pp. 203-209.
\(^3\)\(^9\) Cunningham. Ancient Geography of India, pp. 540-541.
lighted as if by the supernatural power of the gods. The Sattapança or Sattapanñi cave where the First Buddhist Council was held, derives its name from Saptaparnī creeper serving as its cognizance. Traditionally it was located on the northern side of the Veṅhāra hill of Rājagaha. It is identified with the Son-Bhāṇḍār cave. The Dīghanikāya mentions it close to the Isigili mountain. But detailed information about this cave is lacking in the Nikāyas. The Majjhimanikāya refers to another cave called the Varāhaguhā which was a natural cave on the Gijjhakūṭa mountain. Dīghanakha, a paribbājaka (wanderer), met Buddha here in course of his wandering.

Lakes—The first four Nikāyas refer also to a few lakes of ancient India. According to their origin lakes were of two types: natural and artificial. The natural lakes were those which came into existence through a natural process, while the artificial ones were artificially dug. We are, however, concerned here with the natural lakes.

The Āṅguttaranikāya presents a list of some important lakes which were the sources of great rivers like the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Aciravatī, the Sarabhū and the Mahī. The lakes mentioned in that list are: the Anotattā, the Sihapapāta, the Rathakāra, the Kannamunḍa, the Kuṇāla, the Chaddanta and the Mandākī. Among them, however, the Anot-

390 Dīghanikāya, ii, pp. 269-270.
391 Dīghanikāya, ii, pp. 55-71.
392 Law, B. C. Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 25.
393 Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 497-501; Pāṇācasūdana, iii, p. 203; Sāratthapākāsīnī, iii, p. 249.
attā is of much significance as it was frequently visited by Buddha, the Compassionate One. It was located in the Uttarāpatha and is supposed to be the same as Rawanhrad or Langa. Anotattā was a lotus lake with four outlets on its four sides, from each of which flowed a river. The outlets were known as the Śīhamukha, Hatthimukha, Assamukha and the Usabhamukha. Anotattā was also called the Anavatapta (the Unheated) and lay on the top of the Himālayas. From this lake four rivers, namely the Gāṅgā, the Sindhu, the Vakṣu (Oxus) and the Sītā (Tarim) came out. The Kaṇṇamunda or Kaṇṇamunḍaka is also mentioned as one of the seven great lakes of Himavā. Its waters never became hot. It is said that Buddha with a large company of the Sākiyas once visited the Kuṇāla lake. This lake also lay in the Himālayan region. It is said that the sunrays never reached the waters of this lake. The lake called Chaddanta was also located in the Himālayas and was fifty leagues in length and fifty in breadth being surrounded by seven ranges of mountains, viz., Cullakāla, Mahākāla, Udaka, Candapassa, Suriyapassa, Manipassa and Suvaṇṇapassa. On the western side of this lake there was the Kāṅcanaguhā, twelve leagues in extent, where the elephant king used to live. Occasional references to Rathakāra and Mandākinī are also found in the Nikāyas. It seems that they also lay in the Himālayan region.

Forests=Vanas or forests occupied a very important place in the economic geography of ancient India. They used to supply wood, timber, animals, birds,

395 ibid., p. 101.
snakes and other precious materials. The four Nikāyas devote quite a few pages to describe some natural forests (sayamjāta vana). It should be noted that no detailed description of such forests is found in these texts. The Majjhima Nikāya gives a list of forests. These forests were the Daṇḍaka, Kaliṅga, Mejjha and Mātaṅga. Among them the Daṇḍaka forest was known to all and lay along the Vindhya mountains. It separated the Middle Country from the Dakkhiṇapatha and covered practically the whole Central India from the Bundelkhand region to the river Kṛṣṇā. But according to the great epic, the Mahābhārata, it was confined up to the source of the Godāvari and not up to the Kṛṣṇā. The forest of Kaliṅga lay between the Godāvari river on the south-west and the Gaoliya branch of the Indravati river on the north-west. But Rapson locates it in a place between the Mahānadi and the Godāvari. The exact identification of neither Mejjharaṅga nor Mātaṅgaraṅga is known yet. Apart from these four forests references have also been made to the forest of Guṇḍā (Guṇḍāvana) which became well-known due to its association with venerable Mahākaccāna, a prominent disciple of the Exalted One. But no information is obtained in the Nikāyas about its actual location. The Majjhima Nikāya mentions a forest called Baliharāṇa Vanasanda (‘Wood of the offerings’) which was probably situated near Kusinārā. This forest was so called

397 Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, p. 378 (Upālisuttaṁ).
399 Mahābhārata. Sabhāparva xxx, 1169; Vānanparva lxxv, 8183-4.
because the people brought oblations there for creatures. Reference to this forest is also found in the Aṅguttara Nikāya\textsuperscript{403}. Gosingasālavana was situated near Nāḍikā. The Papañcasūdanī, a commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya, relates that this forest thus was known because the branches grew up like the horns of a cow from the trunk of a big sāla tree that existed in this forest\textsuperscript{404}. The two forests called the Mahāvana of Vesālī and of Kapilavatthu are also mentioned as natural woods. The Mahāvana of Vesālī lay outside the town of Vesālī and continued upto the Himālayas. It was called Mahāvana for its extensive area\textsuperscript{405}. As regards the Pārileyyakavana it is said that this forest was an elephant-forest lying near Kosambī on the way to Sāvatthi\textsuperscript{406}. The exact identification of this wood is not yet finalised. Mention is further found of the Nāgavana in the Vajji territory and near Hatthigāma,\textsuperscript{407} the Sālavana of the Mallas of Kusīnārā on the bank of the river Hiraṇṇavati,\textsuperscript{408} the Bhesakalāvana\textsuperscript{409} (known also as Kesakalāvana\textsuperscript{410}) in the neighbourhood of Sumsumāragiri of the Bhaggas, the Sītavana at Rājagaha,\textsuperscript{411} Jātiyavana in the country of the Bhaddiyas,\textsuperscript{412} Pāvariaka-ambavana at

\textsuperscript{403} Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 174; v, p. 79; Gradual Sayings, i, p. 251; v, p. 55.
\textsuperscript{404} Papañcasūdanī, vol. ii, p. 235.
\textsuperscript{405} Saṃyuttanikāya, i, pp. 26, 29-30; Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, vol. i, p. 309.
\textsuperscript{406} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 320; Saṃyuttanikāya, ii, p. 95.
\textsuperscript{407} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iv, p. 213.
\textsuperscript{408} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 137.
\textsuperscript{409} Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. iv, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{410} Majjhimanikāya, vol. ii, p. 91.
\textsuperscript{411} Saṃyuttanikāya, vol. i, pp. 210-212.
\textsuperscript{412} Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. iii, p. 36.
Nālandā, the Andhavana at Savatthī, the Makkaraṅgaṭa-arañña of Avantī, the three forests called Siṃsapāvana situated near Ālavi, in Kosambi, and to the north of Setavya, and lastly the Pippalivana of the Moriyas. Apart from these natural forests mention is also found of some reserve and artificial forests. Among them, however, Makkhādeva’s mango-grove which was situated in Mithilā and named after the king of Mithilā, Veluvana at Rājagaha, Jetavana of Sāvatthī, the Anjanaṇavana in Sāketa, Jivaka’s Ambavana at Rājagaha, Ambapālivana (a mango-orchard donated by Ambapālī, a courtesan) in Vesālī, Ambāṭakavana, the Ichchānaṅgalavanasanḍa in Kosala, the Laṭṭhivana, and Moranivāpa at Rājagaha were important.

Places mentioned

We now propose to give a geographical account of a few places mentioned in the Nikāyas. Indeed these Pāli texts throw a flood of light

413 Dīghanikāya, vol. i, p. 211.
416 Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. i, p. 156.
419 Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 146 ff; Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 95; ii, p. 91; Saṁyuttanikāya, v, p. 457; Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 213.
420 Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, p. 52.
422 Saṁyuttanikāya, i, p. 54; v, pp. 73 ff., 219.
424 Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 94.
on numerous towns, cities and villages. Most of them became, however, noteworthy due to their frequent association with Buddha and his disciples. Curiously enough the Nikāyas lack detailed information as regards their actual location and physical features. But occasional references to them show that they occupied distinctive position in the history of Buddhism. Below is given a short account of them in an alphabetical order:

Ālavaka—The realm of Ālavaka⁴²⁸ was situated near the Ganges and was probably identical with the Chanchu territory visited by Hiuen-tsang. Cunningham and Smith identify it with the Ghazipur region.⁴²⁹ The name of the country was derived from the capital Ālavi⁴³⁰ which has been identified with Newal or Nawal in the Unāo district in Uttar Pradesh⁴³¹. We find that Buddha visited the Aggālave shrine at Ālavi, which lay on the way between the capitals of Kosala and Magadha⁴³².

Ambalaṭṭhikā=Ambalaṭṭhikā was a Buddhist site in and about Rājagaha⁴³³. It was the first resting place on the high road extending from Rājagaha to Nālandā and further east and north-east⁴³⁴.

Ambasanḍā=Ambasanḍā (Āmrakhaṇḍa) was a brāhmaṇa hamlet located in the east of Rājagaha to the north of the Vediyaka mountain and the Inda-

⁴²⁸ Sacred Books of the East, x, ii, 29-30.
⁴²⁹ Watters. On Yuan Chwang, ii, pp. 61, 346.
⁴³⁰ The Book of the Kindered Sayings, vol. i, p. 275.
⁴³¹ Law, B. C. Historical Geography of ancient India, p. 24.
⁴³² Gradual Sayings, iv, p. 147.
sālaguhā\textsuperscript{435}. It was so called because there were mango-orchards not far from it\textsuperscript{436}.

\textit{Andhakavinda}=Andhakavinda was a village which presumably lay between Vārāṇasī and Rājagaha. In the Aṅguttara Nikāya it is mentioned as one of the villages of the Magadhān kingdom. It is said that once the Exalted One was dwelling among the Magadhās at Andhakavinda.

\textit{Aṅguttarāpa}=According to the Sāratthapakāsinī, a commentary on the Samyutta Nikāya, Aṅguttarāpa lay to the north of Aṅga across the river Gaṅgā\textsuperscript{437}. This Aṅguttarāpa should be identified with the modern Purnea and Saharsa districts. It seems that the whole area remained submerged under water for the major part of the year as the term “Aṅguttarāpa” means “the waters to the north of Aṅga.”

\textit{Āpana}=Āpana was a city of Aṅga\textsuperscript{438} or more precisely in Aṅguttarāpa,\textsuperscript{439} which was probably an integral part of Aṅga. It may be presumed that Āpana was situated to the north of the Gaṅgā in the modern Purnea or Saharsa district. The Papaṅcasūdanī, a commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya, describes that the place was so called because there were twenty thousand bazars\textsuperscript{440}. It may have been a market-place connecting north and south Bihar.

\textsuperscript{435} Dīghanikāya, vol. ii, p. 263.

\textsuperscript{436} Samaṅgalavilāsini, vol. iii, p. 697.

\textsuperscript{437} Sāratthapakāsinī, vol. ii, pp. 437, 439.

\textsuperscript{438} Samyuttanikāya, vol. v, p. 225.

\textsuperscript{439} Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, pp. 359, 447; vol. ii, p. 146.

\textsuperscript{440} Papaṅcasūdanī, vol. ii, p. 586.
Assapura—It was a nigama in the kingdom of Án̄ga, which was to the east of the Cedi kingdom. It is quite likely that Assapura to the south of Sāvatthi was another place.

Aṭṭhikamagara—It was probably a village which may be identified with a village called Hathagaon on the Bāgmatī river.

Ayojjhā—Buddha once resided in Ayojjhā on the bank of the Ganges (probably on the bank of the Sarayū river). Ayojjhā may be identified with Ayodhyā of the Rāmāyaṇa and A-yu-te of Hiuen-tsang who placed it 600 li to the south-east of the neighbourhood of Navadevakula city identified with Newal in Unao district. It lay at a distance of only a mile from Fyzabad and corresponded roughly to modern Oudh. This city subsequently became an important centre of Buddhism.

Beluvagāma—The village of Beluva was located in Vesali.

Bhagga—The exact location of the Bhagga territory is not yet finalised. But Dr. Malalasekera locates it between Vesāli and Sāvatthi. Its capital

441 Majjhimanikāya, vol. i, pp. 271, 281.
443 Samyuttanikāya, vol. iii, p. 140.
446 Samyuttanikāya, vol. v, p. 152.
Sumsumāragiri⁴⁴⁸ is identified with the present Chunar hills⁴⁴⁹. Dr. Jayaswal thinks that the seat of power of the Bhaggas was somewhere in or about the district of Mirzapur⁴⁵⁰. There can be no doubt about the fact that it was used as a fort⁴⁵¹.

*Bhandagāma*= Bhandagāma was situated in the country of the Vajjis⁴⁵².

*Bhoja*= References to Bhoja in the Nikāyas are not uncommon⁴⁵³. Bhoja may be identified with Berar or ancient Vidarbha and Cammaka, four miles south-east of E'ichpur in the Amroati District.

*Dāndakappa*= In the Aṅguttaranikāya it is mentioned as the Kosalan town which was visited by the Master when he was wandering among the Kosalas. Venerable Ānanda with a number of monks went to the river Aciravatī of Dāndakappa to bathe⁴⁵⁴. Thus it is apparent that Dāndakappa was situated on the bank of the Aciravatī river.

*Devadaha*= It was a market-town of the Sākiyas and is frequently mentioned in the Nikāyas as "Sakkānāṃ nigamo"⁴⁵⁵ which lay near the Lumbini Grove and which was visited by Buddha⁴⁵⁶.

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⁴⁴⁸ Majjhimanakāya, i, p. 332; ii, pp. 91-97; Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 61.
⁴⁴⁹ Ghosh, N. N. Early History of Kausāmbi, p. 32.
⁴⁵⁰ Jayaswal. Hindu Polity, p. 49.
⁴⁵¹ Dighaniṅka, ii, p. 167.
⁴⁵³ Saṁyuttanikāya, vol. i, pp. 61-62.
⁴⁵⁵ Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 214. (Devadahassuttaṃ); Chaudhury, B. N. Buddhist Centres in ancient India (1969 ed.), p. 47.
⁴⁵⁶ Saṁyuttanikāya, iii, p. 5; v, p. 124; Pāpañcasūdanī, iv, p. 1.
Ekanālā=Reference is also found of a brāhmaṇa village called Ekanālā\textsuperscript{457} which was probably located in Magadha. The Exalted One once stayed on the Dakkhiṇagiri at Ekanālā\textsuperscript{458}.

Ekasālā=We know that Buddha once dwelt among the Kosalās at the brāhmaṇa village of Ekasālā which was evidently situated in Kosala\textsuperscript{459}.

Gayā=Gayā is at present the headquarters of the Gayā district, at a distance of about sixty miles due south of Patna. Buddha-Gayā where Gotama attained the perfect enlightenment is six miles to the south of Gayā. It is said that yakkha Suciloma threatened to harm Buddha who was dwelling at Gayā, if the latter could not answer his questions. The Exalted One, however, replied to his questions and stated that all passions proceeded from the body\textsuperscript{460}.

Haliddavasana=Haliddavasana which was visited by the Exalted One\textsuperscript{461} was a village in the Koliya country which lay to the east of the Sākiya territory.

Hatthigāma=Mention has also been made of Hatthigāma\textsuperscript{462} which was located in the Vajji country. It is said that Buddha in course of his journey from Rājagaha to Kuśinārā passed through Hatthigāma.

Icchānakalam=It was a brāhmaṇa village and was situated in Kosala. Buddha and his five hundred

\textsuperscript{457} Samyuttanikāya, i, p. 172.
\textsuperscript{458} Sāratthapakāsini, vol. i, p. 242.
\textsuperscript{459} Samyuttanikāya, i, p. 111.
\textsuperscript{460} Suttanipāta, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{461} Samyuttanikāya, v, p. 115.
\textsuperscript{462} Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 123; Samyuttanikāya, iv, p. 109.
disciples arrived at this village during their sojourn in the Kosala country.\footnote{Dighanikāya, i, p. 87; Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, pp. 30, 341; iv, p. 340.}

Isipatana=It was at Isipatana Migadāya that the Blessed One for the first time preached his doctrine, delivered the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta, and converted the Pañcavaggiya bhikkhus.\footnote{Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 170 ff.; Saṃyuttanikāya, v, pp. 420 ff.} The Migadāya was situated at Isipatana which was six miles away from Vārānasī.

Jetavana=It was a royal garden which became a favourite retreat of Buddha\footnote{Dighanikāya, i, p. 178.} and an early centre of Buddhism. It was situated at a distance of one mile to the south of Sāvatthī (modern Saheṣṭh-Mahēṭh)\footnote{Law, B. C. Historical Geography of ancient India, p. 87.} A famous Buddhist monastery was erected and dedicated to Buddha here by Anāthapiṇḍika, a lay-disciple\footnote{Aṅguttaranikāya, i, (1885 ed.), p. 47.}

Kajaṅgala=The country of Kajaṅgala marked the eastern boundary\footnote{Vinayapitaka, ii, p. 38.} of the Buddhist Majjhima Country just beyond which was a brāhmaṇa village called Mahāsāla. Hieun-tsang related that the country of Kajaṅgala, 2,000 li in circuit, was bounded on the north by the Ganges;\footnote{Beal, Buddhist Records, ii, p. 193 f.} the kingdom of Pundravarādhana could be reached from its capital by journeying about 600 li eastward across the Ganges. The Aṅguttara Nikāya relates that there was a bamboo-grove at the town of Kajaṅgala,\footnote{Aṅguttaranikāya, v, p. 54 f.} while the Majjhima Nikāya speaks of the Mukheluvana situated at
Kajaṅgala\textsuperscript{471}. At the south-east of this country, the river known as Salalavatī used to flow. Cunningham identifies Kajaṅgala (modern Kankjol) with the petty state that comprises the whole of the hill country to the south and west of Rajmahal, with the plains lying between the hills and the Bhāgīrathī river as far south as Murshidabad. The circuit of this country was about 300 miles according to Huien-tsang\textsuperscript{472}.

**Kakkarapatta**—We find mention of Kakkarapatta in the Āṅguttara Nikāya as a market-town of the Koliyas who had their capital at Rāmagāma,\textsuperscript{473} about forty miles east of Kapilavatthu. Kakkarapatta literally means jungle-cock’s feather.

**Kammāssadhamma**—There is a reference in the Majjhima Nikāya to a market-town called Kammāssadhamma of the Kurus. This town was often visited by the Exalted One\textsuperscript{474}. Kammāssadhamma was also spelt as Kammāsadhamma or Kammassadhamma. The Jātakas refer to two townships by the name, Kammāsadhamma,—one was called Mahā and the other was known as Cūla\textsuperscript{475}.

**Kesaputta**—The Āṅguttara Nikāya associates the Kālāmas with a place called Kesaputta\textsuperscript{476}. Buddhaghosa, however, in his commentary related that both Kālāma and Kesaputta were townships. But he

\textsuperscript{471} Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 298.
\textsuperscript{472} Cunningham, A. Ancient Geography of India, p. 549.
\textsuperscript{473} Āṅguttaranikāya, iv, (1899 ed.), p. 281. (Kakkarapattām nāma Koliyānam nigamo).
\textsuperscript{474} Diḥghanikāya, ii, pp. 55, 290; Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 55, 501; ii, pt. i, p. 261; Saṃyuttanikāya, iii, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{475} Jātaka, v, pp. 35, 411.
\textsuperscript{476} Āṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 188.
did not give their proper location. Kesaputta was probably situated in Kosala.

Kotigāma = we find that Kotigāma was a village of the Vajjians. Buddha is said to pass through Kotigāma during his journey from Rājagaha to Kusinārā. The village was probably on the bank of the Gaṅgā and served as a port, opposite Pāṭaliputta.

Kuraraghara = It was a town in Avanti adjoining the Papātapabbata.

Khanumata = Khanumata was a brāhmaṇa village in Magadha and here the Exalted One lodged in the Ambalatthikā pleasance. It is said that Kūṭadanta, a Brāhmaṇa, dwelt at Khanumata, a place teeming with life. This village was covered by grassland and woodland. There is, at present, a village called Khanpur in the Silāo Police area. It lies in the vicinity of Rājagaha. Similarity in name suggests that the present village was probably previously called Khanumata.

Khemavatī = It was the capital of king Khema’s kingdom. The exact identity of the place is not yet known.

Mathurā = Mathurā was the capital of the

478 Law, B. C. Historical Geography of ancient India, p. 98.
480 Dīghanikāya, ii, pp. 90-91.
481 Saṃyuttanikāya, iii, p. 9, 12; iv, p. 115 f.; Aṅguttanikāya, v. p. 46.
482 Dīghanikāya, i, p. 127. (Kūṭadanta Sutta).
Sūrasena country. It was built by Rāma’s brother Śatrughna after killing the Yadava Lavana at the site of the Madhuvana by cutting down the forest there. Mahākaccāyana, Buddha’s disciple, Upaguta, the Guide of king Asoka, Guṇaprabha, a disciple of Vasubandhu, Dhruva and Vāsavadattā were all connected with Mathurā. In the Nikāyas it is recorded that the roads of Mathurā were uneven and full of dust, ferocious dogs, wild animals, and demons. Even alms were not easily procurable in Mathurā. The ancient city of Mathurā is identified by Cunningham with the present district of Mathurā, with the small states of Bharatpur, Khiraoli, and Dholpur, and the northern half of the Gwalior territory. To the east it would have been bounded by the kingdom of Jijhaoti, and on the south by Malwa.

Medalumpa = It was a Śakiya township (nigama) where the Exalted One passed several days and nights. Pasenadi, the king of Kosala, himself paid a royal visit to the Master who was then residing there.

Morānivāpa = It was a village on the bank of the Sumāgadhā that was probably a tank, in Rājagaha. There is no village at present near Rājagaha, which may be identified with this place, but at a little distance in the Silāo police area there is a village
called Mora that may be an abbreviation of the ancient name Morānivāpa.

Nālaka= Nālaka was a village located in Magadha. Śāriputta dwelt among the Magadhas at Nālagāmakā which was not far from Rājagaha and which may be identified with Nālaka. In the Mahāsudassana Jātaka the name of the village where the elder Śāriputta was born is given as Nāla.

Nālandā= Nālandā in the Nikāyas is said to be influential and prosperous, full of folk, crowded with people devoted to the Exalted One. It was a suburb of Rājagaha in Magadha. The distance of Rājagaha to Nālandā was one yojana. It is identified with modern Baragaon, seven miles to the north-west of Rājgir in the district of Pātna. There was a road from Rājagaha to Nālandā and the Exalted One took this path in course of his journey. The word ‘Nālandā’ derived its name from the name of a dragon of the tank in the Mango Park. But Hiuen-tsang thought that ‘Nālandā’ actually referred to the phrase “Insatiable in giving” (na-alam-dā), a title obtained by the Exalted One in a former existence as the ruler of this country.

Nālikā= It was a village which was also called

492 Saṃyuttanikāya, iv, p. 151.
494 Jātaka, i, p. 391.
495 Dīghanikāya, i, p. 211.
496 Law, B. C. Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 241.
497 Cunningham, A. Ancient Geography of India, p. 537.
498 Saṃyuttanikāya, ii, p. 220.
Nādiṅka. Hiuen-tsang seems to refer to this village as Na-te or Nataka between Vesālī and Magadha. Nāṅgaraka = It was a township bordering on the Sākiya territory and was included into the Kosalan Country.

Paṅkadhā = Paṅkadhā was a famous township which was situated in Kosala. It is said that the Buddha visited this city also.

Paṭitthāna = It was situated on the north bank of the Godāvari in the Aurangabad district of Hyderabad. It was the same as Potana which is described as the capital city of the Assakas in the Pāli Nikāyās. It was also the capital of king Sātakarnī (Sālavāhama or Sālivāhana) and his son Saktikumāra.

Paṭaliputta = Paṭaliputta (Pāṭaliputtra), during Buddha’s time, was known as Pāṭaligāma. It was still then a little village which actualised the prophecy of the Exalted One in the later periods being a busy and important city in India. The prophecy about it, which was made by Buddha to Ānanda runs as follows: “And as far, Ānanda, as Aryan people resort, as far as merchants travel, this will become the chief city, Paṭaliputta, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares. But three dangers will hang over Paṭaliputta, that of fire, that of water, and that of dissension among friends.”

502 Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 119.
503 Paṅkadhānāma Kosālānam nigamo.
505 Dighanikāya, ii, pp. 87-88 (Mahāparinibbānasuttanta).
Asoka’s period Pāṭaliputta became the Magadhan capital. He had a daily income of four hundred thousand kahāpanas from the four gates of this city. Pāṭaliputta was situated near modern Pātnā and was also called Kusumapura and Puṣpadur as numerous flowers used to grow in its royal enclosure. Pāṭaliputta was built near the confluence of the great rivers of mid-India, viz., the Ganges, Son and Gāndak, but now the Son has receded some distance away from it.

Pubbajira = It was a village in the Vajji Territory. But its exact identification has not been finalised.

Rājagaha = It is identified with modern Rajgir near Patna in Bihar. The Exalted One gave the topography of Rājagaha, the ancient capital in the following manner: “Now, how pleasant, Ānanda, is Rājagaha; how pleasant the Vulture’s Peak; how pleasant the Banyan tree of Gotama; how pleasant the Robbers’ cliff; how pleasant the Sattapāṇi cave on the slope of Mount Vebhāra; how pleasant the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili, how pleasant the mountain cave of the Serpents’ Pool in the Sitavana Grove; how pleasant the Tapodā Grove; how pleasant the Squirrels’ Feeding Ground in the Bamboo Grove; how pleasant the Dear Forest at Maddakucchi!” Curiously enough this topographical statement contains almost all the important Buddhist spots in Rājagaha.

508 Sāmantapāśādikā, i, p. 52.
507 Law, B. C. Historical Geography of ancient India, p. 249.
509 Dighanikāya, ii, pp. 116-117.
Rāmagāma = Mention is often found of Rāmagāma of the Koliyas. Rāmagāma may be identified with modern Rāmpur Deoriyā in the district of Basti in Oudh.

Sāketa = It was the capital city of northern Kosala and was probably Sogeda of Ptolemy and Shachi of Fa-hien. Sāketa could be reached from Sāvatthī by a chariot drive with seven relays of the best of the steeds. The exact location of Sāketa would be somewhere near modern Oudh.

Sāmagāmaka = It was probably located in the Sākiya realm. It is said that Buddha dwelt at Sāmagāmaka in the country of the Sākiyas on the bank of a tank and delivered the Sāmagākasutta.

Sāpūga = Sāpūga as a place was associated with Ānanda, one of the chief disciples of Buddha, who used to dwell at this township of the Koliyas.

Sāvatthī (or Srāvastī) = The ancient site of Sāvatthī may be identified with modern Sāhetth-Māheth which lies on the borders of Goṇḍa and Bāhraich districts of Oudh in Uttar Pradesh. Sāvatthī is mentioned in the Nikāyas as the capital of the kingdom of Kosala. It finds mention as a prominent stopping place on the highroad starting from Rājagaha and extending as far south-west as

511 Legge. Travels of Fa-hien, p. 54.
512 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 149.
513 Āṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 309.
514 Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 243.
515 Āṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 194.
Alaka and Assaka. There must have been another high road by which one could travel from Sāvatthi to Varānasī via Kitāgiri\(^{516}\). The city of Sāvatthi\(^{517}\) was situated on the bank of the Aciravatī. The famous Jetavana monastery and the Pubbārāma were situated on the south of this city\(^{518}\).

**Senānīgāma**—It was a village located in the neighbourhood of Uruvelā on the bank of the Neraṇjanā and evidently covered a large area of the Uruvelā tract\(^{519}\). The term ‘Senānīgāma’\(^{520}\) shows that it might have been inhabited by soldiers at an early period. In the Saratthapakāsinī, a commentary on the Saṃyutta Nikāya, the village is described as nigama or market town, which shows that it had grown fairly important. The actual identification of Senānīgāma is not known yet. But it was undoubtedly included in present Bodh-Gayā.

**Setavyā**—Setavyā was a Kosalan township near Ukkaṭṭha. A road passed from Ukkaṭṭha to Setavyā\(^{521}\). Kumārakassapa went to Setavyā or Setavya with a large number of monks and converted Pāyāsi, the chief of Setavyā\(^{522}\).

**Sumbha**—Sumbha was the land of the Sumbhas with Setaka, Sedaka or Desaka as the chief town\(^{523}\).

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\(^{516}\) Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 473.


\(^{518}\) Dighanikāya, i, p. 235; Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 16.


\(^{520}\) Saratthapakāsinī, vol. i, p. 135.

\(^{521}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 37.

\(^{522}\) Dighanikāya, ii, p. 316 ff.

\(^{523}\) Saṃyuttanikāya, v, p. 89; Jātaka, i, p. 593.
Prof. R. C. Majumdar identifies Sumbha with Suhma (modern Midnapur District in West Bengal)\textsuperscript{524}.

*Thullakotṭhitam* = It was a renowned township (nigama) in the Kuru realm. Some brāhmaṇa householders of this nigama became devotees of the Exalted One\textsuperscript{525}.

*Ukkācela* = It is said that the Exalted One stayed among the Vajjians at Ukkācela on the left bank of the river Ganges together with a great company of bhikkhus, not long after the passing away of Sārīputta and Moggallāna\textsuperscript{526}. He delivered here the Cūḷagopālakasutta. The Papañcasūdanī, a commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya, tells that once the people used to catch fish at this place with the help of lights, made of burning clothes dipped into oil; so the place was named Ukkācela\textsuperscript{527}.

*Ukkaṭṭhā* = It was at Ukkaṭṭhā that the brāhmaṇa Pokkharasādi dwelt. This place was included in the Kosalan country during the reign of king Pasenadi\textsuperscript{528}.

*Uruvelā* = It was located in the kingdom of Magadha. Uruvelā was probably a forest tract that covered a large area to the south of the Gayāśīrṣa (Brahmayoni) during the period of Buddha, and may have spread on both banks of the Phalgu or Neraṅjana\textsuperscript{529}. Gotama dwelt here at the foot of the

\textsuperscript{524} Law, B. C. India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{525} Majjhimanikāya, ii, pt. i, p. 54 (Ratṭhapālakasuttaṃ).
\textsuperscript{526} Saṃyuttanikāya, v, p. 163.
\textsuperscript{527} Papañcasūdanī, vol. i, p. 447.
\textsuperscript{528} Dighanikāya, i, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{529} Barua, B. M. Gayā and Buddha Gayā (1931 ed.), p. 105.
Ajapāla banyan tree on the bank of the river Nirañjanā. Uruvelā (or Uruvela or Uruvilva) may be identified with modern village of Urel near BodhGayā in Bihar.

Veḥhalīṇgām = The Perfectly Enlightened One in course of his discourse mentioned the village-market-place (gāmanigama) Veḥhalīṇgām. He stated that this township was situated in Kosala in old days. Kassapa the Buddha used to dwell here in his monastery. In the township of Veḥhalīṇgām Ghāṭīkāra, a potter and the chief attendant of Kassapa the Buddha, and his most intimate friend, Jotipāla lived.

Veḷuvana = Veluvana (or Venuvana) was a charming grove at Rājagaha, which was surrounded by bamboos. The full name of the place was Veluvana Kalandakanivāpa, the second part of the name indicates that the squirrels used to roam freely here and found a beautiful feeding spot.

Veṇāgāpura = Venāgāpura was a prosperous brahmaṇa township (brāhmaṇanigama) which was located in the kingdom of Kosala.

Veṛaṅja = It was situated near Madhurā (Mathurā). Buddha once stopped on the way leading to Veṛaṅja from Madhurā and delivered a sutta to a householder. The Exalted One spent the

530 Saṃyuttanikāya, i, 103 ff., 122; v, pp. 167, 185.
534 Paṇḍasūdana, ii, p. 134.
535 Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 180.
rainy season at Verañja and at the end of the rainy season he left it and reached Vārāṇaśī.

**Vesāḷi**—Even during the 6th century B.C. Vesāḷi or Vaiśāḷī was the large capital-city of the Licchavis. It is identified by Gen. Cunningham with the present village of Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district, in Tirhut. T. W. Rhys Davids, too, opines that the ancient site of Vesāḷī may be identified to a place somewhere in Tirhut. But Dr. W. Hoey inclines to locate it in Cherand in the Chapra or Saran district. Vesāḷī, the magnificent city, was closely connected with Buddha and Buddhism. Many important discourses were delivered here by Buddha. The Dīghanikāya offers us the topography of Vesāḷī. Once the Exalted One addressing venerable Ānanda said: “How delightful a spot, Ānanda, is Vesāḷī, and how charming are the Udāna Shrine, the Gotamaka Shrine, the Sattambaka Shrine, the Bahuputta Shrine, the Sārandada Shrine and the Cāpāla Shrine”.

Besides all these important places, the Nikāyas mention names of some other cities and villages of

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538 Davids, Rhys. Buddhist India, p. 41.
541 Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 227-37; Saṃyuttanikāya, v. pp. 889-90; Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, pp. 190-94; 200-202; iii, pp. 75-78, 167-68.
542 Dīghanikāya, ii, pp. 102, 118 (Ramaṇīya, Ānanda, Vesāḷī, ramaṇīya Udaṇṇaṃ Cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīya Gotamakaṃ Cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīya Sattambakaṃ Cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīya Bahuputtaṃ Cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīya Sārandadaṃ Cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīya Cāpālaṃ Cetiyaṃ); Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 309.
ancient India. It is said that when the Exalted One desired to expire at Kusinārā Ānanda, one of the dearest disciples of Buddha, entreated him to choose one of the great and prosperous cities of the then India. Indeed there were numerous towns, villages and territories in India during the period of the compilation of the Nikāyas. But most of them due to lack of detailed information still remain unidentified.
APPENDIX ONE

MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE FOUR NIKĀYAS

The Suttapiṭaka of the Pāli Canon consists of the five Nikāyas or Collections, namely, Dīghanikāya, Majjhimanikāya, Saṃyuttanikāya, Aṅguttaranikāya and Khuddakanikāya¹. The Nikāya-texts are composed in the prose of the dialogues and narratives, as well as in sayings and songs, representing “the greatest literary works which Buddhism has produced”.

The Dīghanikāya includes discourses consisting of similes, parables, anecdotes which are of utmost significance from the points of view of sociological data, objective observation and religious admonition. Indeed this text may be regarded as a literary composition which is “drawn up as a uniform whole”². The compiler of this Collection probably desires to arrange the suttas according to some principles, classing together such discourses as seemed to belong together by reason of association of ideas or wording. Thus an ideal of life may be traced in the discourses of this Nikāya³. The Majjhimanikāya sums up religious and philosophical controversies and discusses the brahmanical claim to the social

² Dīghanikāya, p. xlii.
supremacy. The suttas of the Majjhimanikāya differ from those of the Dīghanikāya only in being, on the whole, shorter. Still in this Collection also each discourse forms a complete whole and the suttas are as different in kind as they are in importance. The Saṃyuttanikāya describes the behaviour of groups and individuals who are associated with Buddha. The Aṅguttaranikāya provides numerical categorisations; all types which are found in this collection have been arranged from one to eleven subdivisions. The Khuddakanikāya, on the other hand, consists of fifteen books of diverse forms and subjects, which are: Khuddakapāṭha, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Suttaniṇīta, Viṃṇana-vatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Jātaka, Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Apadāna, Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka.

The classification of this Piṭaka into the above mentioned four Nikāyas appears to have been purely formal one due to convenience in committing to memory, the groupings being into (a) long suttas, (b) medium suttas, (c) grouped suttas, and (d) suttas arranged on a numerical principle. It is not surprising that there should be other doctrinal works which do not fit into this fourfold scheme. So Theravāda Buddhism arranges these into the fifth Nikāya, called the Khuddakanikāya.2. Buddhaghosa informs us that the whole Tipiṭaka and not the Suttapiṭaka alone is divided into five Nikāyas. He, therefore, counts the Vinayapāṭaka and the Abhidhammapiṭaka with the Khuddakanikāya.

As regards the mutual relationship among the first four Nikāyas, it may be remarked that these Nikāyas are cognate as well as homogeneous in nature\textsuperscript{5}. The Khuddakanikāya is excluded from our present study, because it assumes a quite different character. Indeed the Dīgha-, Majjhima-, Saṁyutta-, and Aṅguttara Nikāyas are mutually inter-related. This fact may be confirmed on the following grounds:

(i) \textit{Some of the suttas reappear in two or more of these Nikāyas.} It will generally be difficult to find out whether a discourse originally occupies a place in the one or the other Nikāya. For instance, if the discourse on the three evils which lead women to hell, occurs in the Saṁyuttanikāya as well as in the Aṅguttaranikāya, it equally fits well into the first named Collection in the "Section on women"\textsuperscript{6} as into the latter Collection in the "Section on three"\textsuperscript{7}. Further some sections of the Saṁyuttanikāya are presented like extensions or illustrations of the Aṅguttaranikāya\textsuperscript{8}. Likewise it seems that the suttas of the Dīghanikāya often give the impression of having originated through the extensions of shorter texts. So the Satipaṭṭāna Sutta\textsuperscript{9} of the Majjhimanikāya, for instance, reappears literally in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna\textsuperscript{10} of the Dīghanikāya, only

\textsuperscript{6} Saṁyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iv, pp. 238-251.
\textsuperscript{7} Aṅguttaranikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 101-304.
\textsuperscript{8} cf. Saṁyuttanikāya, xxxvii, 4 with Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, 127 and Saṁyuttanikāya, xxxvii, 5-9 and 14, 24 with Aṅguttaranikāya, v, 250 and 115-120.
\textsuperscript{9} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 55-63.
\textsuperscript{10} Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 290-315.
### TABLE No. 7

NIKĀYAS IN THE PĀLI CANON

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<td>(ii) Khandhaka: Mahāvagga &amp; Cullavagga.</td>
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(a) Dighaniṅkāya (=Dirghā-gama); 'Sumaṅgalavilāsini' of Buddhaghosa is its commentary; it consists of 34 suttas which are divided into Silakkhandhavagga, Mahāvagga and Pāṭika-vagga.

(b) Majjhimanikāya (=Madhyamāgama); its commentary is the 'Papañcasūdanī' of Buddhaghosa; it includes 152 suttas.

(c) Samyuttaniṅkāya (=Sam-yuklāgama); 'Sāratthapakasini' of Buddhaghosa is its commentary; it arranges suttas in 5 vaggas divided into samyuttas or groups and into smaller vaggas of separate suttas: Sāgattavagga, Nidānavagga, Khandhavagga, Saḷāyatana-vagga & Mahāvagga.

(d) Aṅguttaranikāya (=Ekottarikāgama); its commentary is 'Manorathapūranī' of Buddhaghosa; it consists of 11 nipātas or groups, each divided into vaggas, which usually contain 10 suttas.
with a few additions after the style of a commentary. Even some portions of the Dīghanikāya undoubtedly fit better into the Aṅguttaranikāya. Besides, a large number of discourses in the Aṅguttaranikāya comes into existence in the same way as in the Saṃyutta-nikāya. Indeed the fact that many suttas in these two Nikāyas may be explained primarily by variations of one and the same theme with numerous repetitions, cannot be ignored and this is occasionally the case in the Dīghanikāya and the Majjhima-nikāya also. Inspite of such suttas drawn out to inordinate length owing to the abundant repetitions, there are side by side some brief and terse dialogues, in which idea is presented with the utmost brevity, nicety and lucidity. Such dialogues may be traced in all the four Nikāyas, which belong to the earlier portions of the Pāli Canon.

(ii) There is very little difference in doctrines which these four Nikāyas contain. Thus the four-
fold noble truth, the law of dependent origination, the eightfold noble path, theory of kamma or deed, belief in not-self (anatta), impermanence (anicca) and suffering (dukkha) are discussed in detail or in brief in all these four Nikāyas. The ideal of the Arahat and the conception of the Nibbāna or final emancipation form the end and aim of Buddhist doctrines presented here. Even in several suttas the discussions on morality (sīla), concentration (samādhi) and wisdom (pāññā) have elaborately been made. All these texts relate that Gotama Buddha is a Tathāgata who has trodden the path of emancipation in order to encourage his disciples to tread the same way and that the doctrine of the path leading to Nibbāna is the nucleus of these Nikāyas. Indeed the doctrines enumerated in these Nikāyas are not different in nature and in this respect also these texts bear a stamp of affinity and relation.

(iii) In style and language also there is no essential difference among the four Nikāyas as such. Even the same mode of discussion prevails in all these texts. The suttas or discourses which are either speeches of the Blessed One or of his earliest disciples form the contents of these Nikāyas. Such speeches are preceded by a brief prologue, in which we are informed of the venue and the occasion of a particular discourse. Each sutta has, therefore, a typical beginning with the words: “Evam me sutam. Ekam samayam Bhagavā Sāvatthiyam (or Vesāliyam and the like) viharatīti”—“Thus have I heard.

11 Bhagwat, N. K. Readership Lectures, 1924-25: The Buddhistic Philosophy of the Theravāda School, as embodied in the Pāli Abhidhamma (Patna, Patna University, 1929), pp. 35-69 (The Philosophy in the Nikāyas, or the Dhamma of the Buddhist Trinity).
At one time the Lord is staying at Sāvatthī (or Vesālī and the like)”. Prof. Winternitz writes: “Even the best real dialogues in the Nikāyas will rarely remind us of the dialogues of Plato, but very often indeed of the dialogue of the Upaniṣads and the Itihāsa dialogues, with which we became acquainted in the Mahābhārata”12. The discourses collected in these Nikāyas are generally composed in prose, although verses (gāthās) which are partly quotations and partly interposed verses appear in between the prose passages for elevating the prose on a grave occasion. Thus, for example, when the verses are introduced by the words: “tatth’etam vuccati”—“here the following is told”, these are evidently the quotations, and when some important utterances in verse with the introduction: “Thus speak the Master” or “The Lord addressed himself in the following verses” are put in the mouth of the Blessed One, these verses are composed by the compiler of the sutta himself. Again in all these discourses when Buddha carries on a discussion with an opponent who is either a brāhmaṇa or a member of the heretical sect, he displays the same refined, skilful, polite and amiable disposition. First, he puts himself entirely in the place of his opponent sect out from the same points of view as he does, makes use of the same expressions, and often also uses the same technical terms, and imperceptibility, which lead his opponent over to the opposite standpoint.

(iv) The literary merits which are common to the suttas of the four Nikāyas reveal that these

12 Winternitz, Maurice. (A) History of Indian Literature, vol. ii (Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1933), p. 76.
texts are compiled from essentially the same materials and hence are mutually related. The suttas of the Nikāyas are embellished with similes and parables which have tremendous effect on the mind and intellect of the hearer. Thus these Nikāyas form a veritable mine of similes which are foremost in investing these speeches with a literary character and artistic significance. A pleasing instance of a convincing simile is supposed by the dialogue of Buddha with the son of Māluṅkya. Similarly no less apt are the parables of the Tevijja Sutta. In the Samaññaphala Sutta also Buddha mentions a series of beautiful similes. A very popular and frequently applied simile is that of the oil lamp. To the question of a village elder as to why Buddha though says to be benevolent and compassionate towards all beings, yet preaches his doctrines thoroughly to some, but less thoroughly to others, he answers with the following parable: As the former first cultivates the good field, then the moderately good one, and finally the bad one, so Buddha preaches his doctrine first to the monks and nuns, then to the lay-adherents and only last of all to the non-adherents. Such parables are not merely illustrative and argumentative but also didactic, so that these frequently include a positive teaching.

14 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 432-437.
16 Dighanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 47-86.
17 Saṁyuttaniṅkāya, xii, 53.
18 Saṁyuttaniṅkāya, xlii, 7, 1-8.
Humour, too, is not lacking in the parables of the Nikāyas.

(v) The first four Nikāyas as such contain very old as well as more modern elements. Thus the Aṅguttanikāya may be somewhat later than the other Nikāyas; there should not be a very much interval of time between it and others. Even there is less foundation of the statements like “the Dīghanikāya is the earliest accessible source of Buddhist writing” or “the Majjhimanikāya is perhaps the most profound and impassioned of all the Nikāyas and also the oldest.” In fact, the earliest “accessible sources” of Buddha’s doctrines are only a few isolated suttas which are collected in different Nikāyas, are not afforded by any single collection and practically may be culled from almost all Buddhist texts composed either in Sanskrit or in Pāli.

The above study reveals that the first four Nikāyas are mutually related and are quite different in nature and contents from the fifth one, i.e., the Khuddakanikāya. Indeed their homogeneous character has attributed to them a distinction. Wherever a doctrine is to be proved, we cannot find much more than accumulation of synonyms and dogmatic classifications and enumerations, which form the most particular characteristic of all the four Nikāyas.

APPENDIX TWO

TREATMENT OF SIMILES IN THE
FOUR NIKĀYAS

Similes occupy a considerable portion in the first four Nikāyas which are rich stores of the sense-images of speech. Indeed an individual who is interested in literary forms will be able, on the basis of such similes which are remarkable for the range in imagery and for the degrees of repetition, to group out the variety of ways in which the compiler of the Nikāyas has presented the images. In these works it is noticed that "instruction by means of similes is a favourite device, whether one simile is spun out though an entire speech, or whether a whole series of similes runs through a speech in order to impress one and the same doctrine again and again". It is certainly a part of the teaching method of Gotama Buddha to enthrall and convince his audience by means of similes which although bear no strength of arguments, but often have more effect on the mind and intellect of the hearer then a thousand terse dry-as-sand arguments. The Blessed One is much aware of this and so he embellishes his speeches with similes. In the suttas of the Nikāyas, therefore, a veritable flood of similes which add a literary atmosphere to these dry speeches, may be witnessed. Occasionally the similes are presented in a very pleasing and homely manner in a particular situation.

1 Winternitz, Maurice. (A) History of Indian Literature, vol. ii (Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1933. p. 46.)
The term 'Simile' (Pāli Upamāṇa) generally means the resemblance between two objects, namely, the Upamāṇa, i.e., the object with which the comparison is made and the Upameya, i.e., the object compared. But here it has been used in a wider sense to signify "not only the tale or fable, and the parable, but also the swifter single figure, even when compressed into one adjectival term". Thus the words like 'bhūtapubbam' and 'seyyathāpi', introducing the former kinds, here stand cheek by jowl with the more poetic particles attending single metaphors as yathā, iva and va. Still it should be admitted that some similes which are found in the four Nikāyas belong to the vocabulary of other Pāli texts, too. As the tope of 'desire' which is the origin of all sufferings is discussed, the term 'thirst' that leads from existence to existence, is used. At such migration from birth to re-birth, i.e., saṃsāra, there is the 'ocean', on the 'further shore' of which Nibbāna beckons. Desire and sin together form a 'flood' and an individual who has attained Nibbāna is 'rescued from the flood'. The result of good and evil deed is the 'fruit', and as

   (a) Saddthagamā—where the similarity is expressed by words,
   (b) Atthagamā—where it is to be known from meaning,
   (c) Vākyatthagamā—where it is dependent on both word and meaning (Saddatthagamā vākyattha-visayātī ca sā tihā, verse no. 176).

the deed or kamma is treated, the simile of seed and fruit is frequently utilised.

The similes of the Nikāyas are of the utmost significance from the point of view of social history, because these often introduce us into the midst of the daily life of the ancient Indians, of the artisans, agriculturists and merchants, of whom brāhmanical texts, which move almost entirely in the circles of priests and warriors, has so little to say. Thus are found the similes of the coachman, charioteer, dice-player and the preparation of sesame-oil. These similes further record the object and events, in the environing scenes of nature and of human contrivance, throwing a fresh light on time, place and contemporary culture. It is to be noted that the simile of "river, notably the Ganges" recurs in these texts with the greatest frequency. Other similes of mountain, animals like elephant, cow who is the "chief friend of ours", deer, lion, and moon, sun, tree, loltus, house, way or path, field, seed, plough, ship or boat, vehicle, driver, snare, trap and hook, also occur indiscriminately in these Nikāyas.

In the form of a classified index Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids has endeavoured "to present a fairly exhaustive list of the figures of speech, both simple and compound, occurring in the Sutta Piṭaka". But as we are concerned here primarily with the first

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6 kuṇjara, gaja, nāga, and hatthī.
7 yathā mūḍhī, pīṭhī, bhāṭā.
8 uppala, kumuda, paduma, puṇḍarika, pokkhara.
four Nikāyas—Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta and Aṅguttara—we are reproducing in the following pages only those similes which are found in abundance in these canonical texts. Such similes may serve to help in following with sympathy and intelligence the views taken by the Buddhist thought of the problems of life and conduct. Having considered in this light Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids has arranged the said index in the following manner: “Metaphors common to folk-philosophy generally, and to Indian folk-philosophy in particular. Similes illustrating problems of thought and conduct resembling those in other religious literatures. Similes illustrating problems of thought and conduct distinctively Buddhist”. Below are mentioned, in an alphabetical order, the similes which occur frequently in the first four Nikāyas:

akkha (axle): ... Ratho ... jhānakkho.10

akkha (die): (a) yathā sākaṭiko ... visamām maggam āruhaya, akkhachinno va jhāyati.11

(b) appamatt (ak)o ayam kali/yo akkhesu dhanaparājayo.12

akkhadhutta (one who has the vice of gambling):

(c) bhūtapubbam dve akkhadhuttā.13

(d) seyyathāpi akkhadhutto ... puttam pi jiyetha.14

akkhika (one who takes up a mesh): seyyathāpi akkhika-hārako gantvā.15

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10 Samyuttanikāya, v, p. 6.
11 Samyuttanikāya, i, p. 57.
12 Samyuttanikāya, i, p. 149; Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 3; v, pp. 171, 174.
13 Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 348.
14 Majjhimanikāya, iii, pp. 170, 178.
15 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 383.
agāra (house): (a) seyyathāpi katthañ ca paticca ... agāran teva samkhām gacchati.  
(b) seyyathāpi purisassa agāram ekādas-advāram.  
(c) seyyathāpi assu dve agārā sadvārā.  
āgantukāgāra (reception hall for strangers or guests): seyyathāpi āgantukāgāram tattha puratthimāya disāya āgantvā.  
aggi (fire): (a) seyyathāpi yam yadeva paccayam paticca aggi jalati.  
(b) seyyathāpi aggi sa-upādano jalati.  
(c) sakalikaggissa ... aṇṇa'va acci.  
(d) seyyathāpi puriso aggittihiko aggigavesi.  
(e) cakkhu, rūpam ... rāgagginā ... mohaggginā ādittam.  
(f) seyyathāpi sukke tinadāye aggi mutto.  
aggika (one who worships the fire): bhūtapubbam aggiko jaṭilo araṇṇāyatanē ... vasati.  
āngāra (charcoal): (a) āngārakāsūpamā kāmā vuttā.  
(b) seyyathāpi āngārakāsu sādhikaporisā pur’ āngārānam.  
(c) seyyathāpi āngārāni ādittāni ... sītāni.
accharika (the sounds of an acchāra or heavenly nymph): seyyathāpi ... accharikāṃ pahareyya\textsuperscript{30}. aja (goat): ajapado daṇḍo\textsuperscript{31}. aṭṭhi (bone): aṭṭhikaṅkalūpama kāmā\textsuperscript{32}. anda (egg): seyyathāpi puriso andaḥārako gantva\textsuperscript{33}. andakosa (shell of eggs): seyyathāpi ... kukkuṭa-potakāṇam paṭhamataram ... andaḥkosam padāletvā\textsuperscript{34}. adassanakāmo (not desirous of seeing): seyyathāpi cakkhumā ... adassanakāmo assa\textsuperscript{35}. antopūṭibhāva (condition of inner filth): na antopūṭi bhavissati ... katamo ca antopūṭibhāvo\textsuperscript{36}? andu (fetter): paṅca kāmagunā ... andūti pi vuccanti\textsuperscript{37}. andha (blind): puggalo andho\textsuperscript{38}. andhakāra (darkness): seyyathāpi ... andhakāre telepajjotām dhāreyya\textsuperscript{39}. andhabhūta (ignorant): avijjāgatā pajā andhabhūta pariyanaddho\textsuperscript{40}. andhaveni (a blind row): sabbam ... cakkhu ... mano andhaveni\textsuperscript{41}. abbhokāsa (open air): abbhokāso pabbajjā\textsuperscript{42}.

\textsuperscript{30} Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 299. 
\textsuperscript{31} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 134. 
\textsuperscript{32} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 150; Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, p. 97. 
\textsuperscript{33} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 583. 
\textsuperscript{34} Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 176. 
\textsuperscript{35} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 120. 
\textsuperscript{36} Sāmyuttanikāya, iv, pp. 179, 180. 
\textsuperscript{37} Dīghaniṃkāya, i, p. 245. 
\textsuperscript{38} Aṅguttaranikāya, i, pp. 128, 129. 
\textsuperscript{39} Dīghaniṃkāya, i, p. 85. 
\textsuperscript{40} Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 132. 
\textsuperscript{41} Sāmyuttanikāya, iv, pp. 20-21. 
\textsuperscript{42} Dīghaniṃkāya, i, p. 63; Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 179.
abhikkhaṇa (often): abhikkhaṇa ... sattham ādāya⁴³.
abhidosa (the evening before, last night): seyyathāpi abhidose ... āloko antarahito⁴⁴.
amarāvikkhepa (eel-wriggling): ime sāmaṇabrāhmaṇā Amarāvikkhepiṇā ... āpaṇjanti Amarāvikkhepaṁ⁴⁵.
amba (mango): seyyathāpi ambapindiyā vaṇṭ-acchinnāya⁴⁶.
ambakamaddarī (a kind of bird): seyyathāpi ambakamaddarī pussukaravitāṃ ravissamitti⁴⁷.
ambuja (fish): chetvā jālam va ambujo⁴⁸.
ayo (iron): ayo dantehi khādatha⁴⁹.
ayokatāha (iron-receptacle)⁴ seyyathāpi ... santatte ayokatāhe ... udakaphusitāni nipāteyya⁵⁰.
ayokapāla (iron pot): seyyathāpi divasasantatte ayokapāle hānṇamāne⁵¹.
ayogula (iron ball): (a) seyyathāpi divasasantattam ayogulām ādittam⁵².
(b) seyyathāpi ayo-gulo divasam santatto lahutaro⁵³.
ayosīṅghataka (iron ring in the shape of a square or
triangle): seyyathāpi purisassa ayosiṅghātakam kāṇṭhe vilaggam.

aruka (having a heart like a sore of a man in anger): seyyathāpi duṭṭhāruko ... ghaṭṭito ... āsavaṁ deti.

arūṇa (the dawn): suriyassa udayato etam pubbamgamam.

alagadda (a kind of snake): seyyathāpi puriso alagaddathiko ... alagaddam passeyya.

alāta (a firebrand): seyyathāpi tindukālātām ... ghaṭṭitaṁ ... cicciṭāyati.

asi (sword): seyyathāpi ... asīṁ kosiyā pabbāheyya.

asisūnā (slaughter-house): ukkhipa asisūnam, pajahā paṁca kāmagnūne.

asita (unattached): asītam (va) bhāgaso pavibhajja.

assa (horse): (a) aso va jīnno nibbhogo.

(b) assabhadro kāsām iva.

assakhaḷuṇka (inferior horse): tayo assakhaḷuṇke desessāmi.

assadamaka (horse-trainer): seyyathāpi assadamako bhadrām assājāniyam labhitvā.
assapaniyanam: seyyathapi puriso udayaththiko assam poseyya.
assatarī (she-mule): seyyathapi assatarī attavadhāya gabbam ganhāti.
assasadassa (a noble stead of the horse kind): tayo assasadasse desessāmi.
assājāniya (a thoroughbred horse): cattāro bhaddā assājāniyā lokasmim.
ahi (snake): seyyathapi ahim karandā ud-dhareyya.
ākāsa (sky): seyyathapi puriso lakham vā... ādāya... ākāse rūpāni likhissāmi.
ācariya (teacher): seyyathapi ācariyo... antevāsissa.
ājāniya (good race): ājāniyo vata... Gotamo.
ādāsa (mirror): (a) seyyathapi itthi vā... ādāse vā... paccavekkhamāno.
(b) kimatthiyo ādāso.
ādicca (the Sun): virocamānaṃ... ādicco iv'antalikkhe.
ānanyya (freedom from debt): seyyathapi ānanyam... nīvarane pahīne.

66 Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 199.
67 Saṃyuttanikāya, ii, p. 241; Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 73.
68 Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 289; iv, p. 397 (in comparison with purisa).
69 Aṅguttaranikāya, i, pp. 77, 244; ii, pp. 113-114, 250; iii, pp. 248, 282; iv, pp. 188, 397; v, pp. 166, 323.
70 Majjhimanikāya, ii, pp. 17, 18.
71 Majjirimani, i, p. 127.
72 Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 107.
73 Saṃyuttanikāya, i, p. 28.
74 Dighanikāya, i, p. 80; Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 100; Aṅguttaranikāya, v, pp. 92, 94, 97, 98.
75 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 415.
76 Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, p. 239.
77 Dighanikāya, i, p. 73; Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 276; Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, p. 354.
āpo (water, cohesion): āpaṁ ce nāssa kvāsā patiṭṭhitā.
ābādhiko (affected with illness, a sick person): seyyathāpi puriso ābādhiko assa ... ābādha mucceyya.
ābhā (shine, splendour): esā ābhā anuttara.
ārogya (absence of illness): seyyathāpi ... ārogyam ... nīvarane pahīne.
āloka (light): paṁśāloko ...
āvattā (turning round): āvaṭṭabhayan ti ... kāma-guṇānam adhivacanaṁ.
āvaranā (hindrance): paṁca nīvaranā ... āvaraṅā ti pi nīvaranā ti pi vuccanti.
āvudha (weapon): viveko yassa āvudham.
āsaya (refuge, abode): kavi gāthānam āsayo.
āsava (certain specified ideas which intoxicate the mind): āsavānam khayaṁānāya.
āśīvīsa (snake’s poison): cattāro 'me āśīvisā ... āgataviso na ghoraviso.

78 Dīghānīkāya, iii, p. 228; Majjhimaṁkāya, i, pp. 187, 422; Saṁyuttaṁkāya, ii, p. 103; iii, pp. 54, 207; Aṅguttarānīkāya, iv, pp. 312, 375.
79 Dīghānīkāya, i, p. 72; Majjhimaṁkāya, i, p. 275; Aṅguttarānīkāya, iii, pp. 189, 238.
80 Saṁyuttaṁkāya, i, p. 15, 47.
81 Dīghānīkāya, i, p. 73; Majjhimaṁkāya, i, p. 276.
82 Aṅguttarānīkāya, i, p. 164; ii, p. 139.
83 Majjhimaṁkāya, i, pp. 382, 461; Saṁyuttaṁkāya, i, p. 32; iv, pp. 179, 180; Aṅguttarānīkāya, ii, p. 123.
84 Dīghānīkāya, i, p. 246; Saṁyuttaṁkāya, v, p. 93; Aṅguttarānīkāya, iii, p. 63.
85 Dīghānīkāya, iii, p. 219; Majjhimaṁkāya, ii, p. 100; Saṁyuttaṁkāya, v, p. 7; Aṅguttarānīkāya, iv, pp. 107, 110.
86 Saṁyuttaṁkāya, i, p. 38.
87 Dīghānīkāya, i, p. 156; Saṁyuttaṁkāya, ii, pp. 29, 214; Aṅguttarānīkāya, i, pp. 107, 123, 232; ii, pp. 6, 36, 44; iii, pp. 69, 114; v, pp. 10, 36.
88 Aṅguttarānīkāya, ii, pp. 110, 111.
*ina* (debt): seyyathāpi puriso inam ādāya.

*indakhīla* (Indra's post or column): chetvā khilām chetvā palighaṃ indakhīlaṃ uñhaccamanēja.

*iriyāpatha* (mode of movement): seyyathāpi puriso . . . evam assa . . . yan nuna aham sañikam gaccheyya.

*isikā* (reed): seyyathāpi muñjamhā isikām pavāheyya.

*issāsa* (archer): seyyathāpi issāso . . . yoggam karitvā.

*ucchaṅga* (hip or lap): seyyathāpi purisassa ucchaṅge nānākhajjakāni . . . ucchaṅgapuñño.

*udaka* (water): (a) cattār' imāni bhayāni udakām orohantassa . . . umi . . . kumbhāla . . . āvaṭṭa . . . susukā.

(b) seyyathāpi parittām gopade udakām.


*udapāna* (place for drinking water, well): seyyathāpi gambhīre udapāne udakatārakā . . . dissanti.

*udabindu* (drop of water): udabindu va pokkharā.

*uddhata* (raised): uddhatam cittam hoti.
uddhumāyikā (of blown-up appearance): kodhupa-yāsass' etam adhivacanam

uppala (water-lily): seyyathāpi uppalam vā ... janassa piyam

uppalinī (lotus-pond): seyyathāpi uppaliniyam ... appekacce uppalāni va ... antonimuggaposiṇī.

ulūka (owl): seyyathāpi ulūko rukkhasākhāyam musicām magayamāno

usabha (bull): seyyathāpi usabho chinnavisāno ... anvahindanto

usabhacamma (hide of bull): seyyathāpi usabha-cammaṃ saṃkusatena suvihatam

ussāvabindu (deew drop): seyyathāpi tiṇagge ussa-vindu suriye uggacchante

ūmi (wave): katamaṇ ca úmibhayam?

ekako paribhuṇjana (eating food alone): Lohicco ... Pasenadi ... ekako paribhuṇjeyya ... evam-vādī ... antarāyakaro hoti

elakā (wild goat): seyyathāpi dīghalomikā elakā kaṇṭakagahanam paviseyya

oka (water): odaheyya okacaram

oghā (flood of water): oghassa hi niṭṭharaṇattham anekavihitam maggam akkhāsi

101 Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 142, 144.
102 Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 20.
103 Dīghanikāya, i, p. 75; Majjhimanikāya, i, 277; ii, p. 16; iii, p. 93; Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, p. 26.
104 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 334.
105 Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 376.
106 Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 105.
107 Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 137.
108 Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 459-460; Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 123.
109 Dīghanikāya, i, pp. 228-229.
110 Sāṁyuttanikāya, ii, p. 228.
111 Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 118-119.
112 Sāṁyuttanikāya, i, p. 198.
οὖθηπάδα (camel’s hoof): seyyathāpi oṭṭhapadam evam evam evam me anisadam

οδάνα (boiled rice): seyyathāpi sālinām odana vicitakālako

ονάха (covering): ime pāṇca nīvarāṇa... onāha... pariyonaha ti pi vuccanti

οβχāsα (effulgence of light): paññobhāsa

οράβχικο, urabhaghātaka (butcher of sheep): seyyathāpi orabhiko vā urabhaghātako vā... urabbhām... ādiyamānam pahoti hantum

οσαdhīrakā (star of healing): seyyathāpi... osadhitaraka bhāsate

κακάκα (saw): imam... kakacūpamam ovādham... manasikareyyātha

κακκατάκα (crab): seyyathāpi gāmassa... avidūre pokkharani, tatr'assa kakkaṭako.

κακκαχά (tortoise): seyyathāpi... ekacchigalam yugam samudde pakkhippyya... tatr'assa kāno kacchapo

καγκανα (gold): muttam selā va kaçcanam

καννā (maiden): seyyathāpi... kaṇṇa... pannara-savasuddesikā vā... paramā... tasmi'm samaye subhā

κανθα (piece of wood): seyyathāpi kaṭṭham... puriso uttarāranīm ādāya.

113 Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 80, 245.
114 Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 231.
115 Dīghaniṃkāya, i, p. 246.
116 Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 139.
117 Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 251.
118 Saṃyuttanikāya, i, p. 65.
119 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 129.
120 Saṃyuttanikāya, i, p. 123.
121 Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 169; Saṃyuttanikāya, v, p. 455.
122 Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, p. 346.
123 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 88.
124 Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 241-242; ii, p. 93; iii, p. 95.
kantaka (thorn): seyyathāpi bahukaṇṭakam dāyam paviseyya, ... purato pi kaṇṭako paccchato pi\textsuperscript{125}. kantāra (waste land): seyyathāpi puriso sadhano ... kantāraddhanamaggam paṭipajjeyya ... tam kaṇṭāram nitthareyya\textsuperscript{126}. karandaka (basket): seyyathāpi rañño ... dussakaranandako pūro assa\textsuperscript{127}. karavikā (Indian cuckoo): seyyathāpi Himavante pabbate karavikā nāma sakunajātī\textsuperscript{128}. kalambukā (bamboo): seyyathāpi nāma kalambukā\textsuperscript{129}. kaliggaha (far ing badly in both worlds): ubhayaṭṭha kaliggaho andhassa\textsuperscript{130}. kaliṅgara (wooden block used for putting one’s head on when sleeping): kaliṅgarūpadhānā etarahi bhikkhū viharanti\textsuperscript{131}. kasi (agriculture): seyyathāpi kasi kammaṭṭhānam\textsuperscript{132}. kassaka (cultivator): idha kassako khettaṃ sukaṭṭham karoti\textsuperscript{133}. kamsa (bell-metal): seyyathāpi kamsapāti ābhata āpanā va ... malena ca pariyonaddhā\textsuperscript{134}. kāka (crow): kāko va selam āsajja\textsuperscript{135}.

\textsuperscript{125} Saṁyuttaniκāya, iv, p. 189. \textsuperscript{126} Dīghanikāya, i, p. 73. \textsuperscript{127} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 215, 218; Saṁyuttaniκāya, v, p. 71; Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 230. \textsuperscript{128} Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 20. \textsuperscript{129} Dīghanikāya, iii, p. 87. \textsuperscript{130} Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 403, 406; iii, p. 170; Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 129. \textsuperscript{131} Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 449, 451; Saṁyuttaniκāya, ii, pp. 267-268. \textsuperscript{132} Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 198; Saṁyuttaniκāya, i, pp. 172-173. \textsuperscript{133} Dīghanikāya, i, p. 61; Saṁyuttaniκāya, i, p. 172; Aṅguttaranikāya, i, pp. 229, 239, 241. \textsuperscript{134} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 25. \textsuperscript{135} Saṁyuttaniκāya, i, p. 124.
kāya (body): seyyathāpi ayam kāyo ... anāhāro no tiṭṭhati136.
kitava (cheat): nikacca kitavass’eva bhuttam theyyena137.
kukkuṭapatta (wing of a cock): seyyathāpi kukkuṭapattam ... aggimhi pakkhattam139.
kukkuti (hen): seyyathāpi kukkuṭiyā anḍāni ... (na)sammā adhisayitāni140.
kukkura (hound): seyyathāpi caṇḍassa kukkurassa nāsāya pittam bhindeyyum141.
kukkula (hot ashes, embers): rūpaṃ ... viṇṇānam kukkuḷam142.
kuṇjara (elephant): ... araṇnāṃ iva kuṇjaram bandhitvā ānayissāma143.
kutṭhi (leper): seyyathāpi kutṭhi puriso ... aṅgārakāsuyā kāyam paritāpeyya144.
kuthāri (axe): purisassa ... kuthāri jāyate mukhe145.
kuṇapa (corpse): seyyathāpi itthi ... abikuṇapena vā kukkurakuṇapena vā manussakuṇapena vā kaṇṭhe āsathena146.
kumāra (young boy): seyyathāpi daharo kumāro mando ... muttakarisena kīlāti147.

136 Saṃyuttanikāya, v, pp. 64-67.
137 Saṃyuttanikāya, i, p. 24.
138 Saṃyuttanikāya, iv, p. 193.
139 Aṅguttaraniṅkāya, iv, p. 47 ff.
140 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 104. 357; Saṃyuttanikāya, iii, p. 153; Aṅguttaraniṅkāya, iv, p. 125.
141, Saṃyuttanikāya, ii, p. 242.
142 Saṃyuttanikāya, iii, p. 177.
143 Saṃyuttanikāya, i, p. 124.
144 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 506.
145 Saṃyuttanikāya, i, p. 149; Aṅguttaraniṅkāya, v, pp. 171, 174.
146 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 120; Aṅguttaraniṅkāya, iv, p. 376.
147 Aṅguttaraniṅkāya, v, p. 203.
kumbha (round jar): seyyathāpi kumbho anādhāro hoti ... sādhāro\textsuperscript{148}.
kumbhatthenaka (thief, “who steals by means of a pot”): suppadhamsiyo ... kumbhatthenakehi\textsuperscript{149}.
kumbhīla (crocodile): katamañ ca kumbhīlabhayām\textsuperscript{150}?
kumma (tortoise): udakarahade mahākummakulam ... ahoṣi\textsuperscript{151}.
kulāni (good family): seyyathāpi yāni ... kulāni bahutthikāni ... appitthikāni\textsuperscript{152}.
kulla (raft): kullam hi jano pabandhati\textsuperscript{153}.
kusa (a kind of grass): kuso yathā duggahito hattham evānukantati\textsuperscript{154}.
kotthu (jackal): seyyathāpi kotthu nadītīre macche magayamāno\textsuperscript{155}.
kolaṅkola (going from clan to clan): tiṇṇam saṁyojanānam kolaṅkolo hoti\textsuperscript{156}.
khattiya (name of a social grade): seyyathāpi khattiyo ... nihitapaccāmitto na kutoci bhayām\textsuperscript{157}.
khāribhāra (shoulder-yoke): māno ... khāribhāro\textsuperscript{158}.
khipa (a throw): seyyathāpi nāḍāmukhe khipam uḍḍeyya\textsuperscript{159}.
khīra (milky fluid): khīrodakibhūtā\textsuperscript{160}.

\textsuperscript{148} Saṁyuttanikāya, v, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{149} Saṁyuttanikāya, ii, p. 264.
\textsuperscript{150} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 460; Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 124.
\textsuperscript{151} Saṁyuttanikāya, ii, p. 227.
\textsuperscript{152} Saṁyuttanikāya, ii, p. 264.
\textsuperscript{153} Saṁyuttanikāya, i, pp. 49-50.
\textsuperscript{154} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 334.
\textsuperscript{155} Saṁyuttanikāya, i, p. 287.
\textsuperscript{156} Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 233.
\textsuperscript{157} Dīghanikāya, i, p. 69.
\textsuperscript{158} Saṁyuttanikāya, i, p. 169.
\textsuperscript{159} Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 287.
\textsuperscript{160} Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 206; ii, p. 120.
khettā (field): seyyathāpi sakāṁ khettaṁ ohāya paramā khettaṁ niddāyitabbaṁ\(^{161}\).
kheḷapinḍa (spittle): seyyathāpi puriso ... kheḷapinḍaṁ vameyya\(^{162}\).
gaggarī (blacksmith's bellows): seyyathāpi ... kammāragaggariyā dhamamānāyā saddo\(^{163}\).
ganda (swelling): gaṇḍo ti kāmānaṁ adhivacananām\(^{164}\).
gadrabha (ass): seyyathāpi gadrabho vahacchinno sandhisamala-saṅkatāre jhāyati\(^{165}\).
gandha (odour): tīṇ’ imāni gandhajātāni yesaṁ anuvātaṁ\(^{166}\).
gahana (deep, thick): gahanam manussā, uttaṇakam hasavo\(^{167}\).
gahapati (householder): seyyathāpi gahapati ... api nu so devaputto\(^{168}\).
gāma (village): seyyathāpi puriso sakamhā gāmā aṅnāṁ gāmam gaccheyya\(^{169}\).
giri (mountain): girim nakhena khadatha\(^{170}\).
gūṭha (excrements): seyyathāpi appamattakaṁ pi gūtho ... lohitām duggandham\(^{171}\).
go, gāvī (cow): (a) go va bhiyyo palāyinām\(^{172}\).
    (b) seyyathāpi gāvī pabbateyya bālā ... paṇḍita\(^{173}\).

\(^{161}\) Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 231.
\(^{162}\) Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 300.
\(^{163}\) Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 243; Saṁyuttanikāya, i, p. 106.
\(^{164}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, p. 311; iv, p. 289.
\(^{165}\) Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 334.
\(^{166}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 225.
\(^{167}\) Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 340.
\(^{168}\) Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 505.
\(^{169}\) Dighanikāya, i, p. 81; Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 278; ii, p. 20.
\(^{170}\) Saṁyuttanikāya, i, p. 127.
\(^{171}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 34.
\(^{172}\) Saṁyuttanikāya, i, p. 221.
\(^{173}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, pp. 418-419.
gokāṇa (a large species of deer): seyyathāpi gokāṇā pariyanantarini antamantān' eva sevati.\[^{174}\]

goghātaka (one who kills cows): seyyathāpi dakkho goghātako ... catummahāpathe bilaso paṭivi-bhajitvā.\[^{175}\]

gona (bullock): seyyathāpi ... gono kiṭṭhādo adum kiṭṭham otareyya.\[^{176}\]

gopānasī (beam supporting the framework of a roof): seyyathāpi jārasālāya gopānasīyo ollugaviluggā bhavanti.\[^{177}\]

gopāla(ka) (cowherd): seyyathāpi gopālako sāyanhasamayam sāmikānam gāvo niyyā detvā.\[^{178}\]

gomayapiṇḍa (lump of cowdung): Bhagavā parittam gomayapiṇḍam pānīna gahetvā.\[^{179}\]

ghatikā (stack of twigs): seyyathāpi puriso ... caturaṅgulam ghatikām karitvā.\[^{180}\]

cakka (wheel): brahma-cakkaṃ pavatteti.\[^{181}\]

cakkhu (eye): puggalo ekacakkhu.\[^{182}\]

cakkhumā (of clear sight, intuition or wisdom): seyyathāpi cakkhumā puriso uparipāsādavaragato.\[^{183}\]
candāla (outcaste): seyyathāpi candālo kumārako vā ... nigamam pavisanto.\[^{184}\]
canda, candima (the moon): (a) seyyathāpi tada-huposathe cātuddase na hoti ... vimati vā: ūna no kho cando.\[^{185}\]

\[^{174}\] Dīghanikāya, iii, pp. 38, 53.
\[^{175}\] Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 294; Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 91.
\[^{176}\] Saṃyuttanikāya, iv, p. 196.
\[^{177}\] Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 81, 245.
\[^{178}\] Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 205.
\[^{179}\] Saṃyuttanikāya, iii, p. 144.
\[^{180}\] Saṃyuttanikāya, ii, p. 178.
\[^{181}\] Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 71; Saṃyuttanikāya, ii, p. 27.
\[^{182}\] Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 129.
\[^{183}\] Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 213.
\[^{184}\] Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 376.
\[^{185}\] Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 276.
(b) pabhāseti abhā mutto va candima\textsuperscript{186}. candana (sandal tree): seyyathāpi ... rukkhajātāni candanaṃ tasam aggaṃ akkhāyati\textsuperscript{187}.
cirīlika (cricket): seyyathāpi vanasāṇḍe ... cirīlika-saddo antaradāyaya\textsuperscript{188}.
cora (thief): corā gāmaghātakā ... channāṃ bāhirāṃ āyatanaṃ tad avacanaṃ\textsuperscript{189}.
chava (wretched): chavo chavāya saddhim\textsuperscript{190}.
chāyā (shadow): seyyathāpi yaṃ chāyā jahati, tam ātapo paharati\textsuperscript{191}.
chārika (ashes): seyyathāpi sappissa vā neva chārika pānāyati\textsuperscript{192}.
chidda (hole): cha lokasimīṃ chidāni\textsuperscript{193}.
chindati (cuts off): sabbāṃ chindati bandhanam\textsuperscript{194}.
jatā (tangle of lust): jaṭāya jaṭitā pajā\textsuperscript{195}.
janapada (province): bhūtapubbhi aññataro janapadāṃ vuṭṭhāsi\textsuperscript{196}.
janapadakalyāṇī (country-beauty, i.e., the most beautiful girl in the province): seyyathāpi puriṣa evam vadeyya ... janapadakalyāṇī tam icchāmi\textsuperscript{197}.
janetti (mother): seyyathāpi janetti evam Sārīputto, seyyathāpi jatassa āpādetā evam Moggallāno\textsuperscript{198}.
jambali (dirty pool at the entrance to village):

\textsuperscript{186} Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 104.
\textsuperscript{187} Aṅguttarānikāya, i, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{188} Aṅguttarānikāya, iii, p. 395.
\textsuperscript{189} Saṁyuttanikāya, iv, pp. 173-175.
\textsuperscript{190} Aṅguttarānikāya, ii, pp. 57, 59.
\textsuperscript{191} Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 235.
\textsuperscript{192} Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 164.
\textsuperscript{193} Saṁyuttanikāya, i, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{194} Saṁyuttanikāya, i, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{195} Saṁyuttanikāya, i, pp. 13, 165.
\textsuperscript{196} Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 349.
\textsuperscript{197} Dīghanikāya, i, pp. 193, 241.
\textsuperscript{198} Majjhimanikāya, iii, p. 248.
seyyathāpi jambāli ... yāni āyamukhāni tāni pidaheyya ... tāni vivareyya\(^{199}\).

jayampatikā (lady of the house and her husband): seyyathāpi dve jayampatikā parittam sambalam ādāya\(^{200}\).

jātarūpa (gold): seyyathāpi ... ukkāmukham vā pan' āgamma jātarūpam\(^{201}\).

jāti (birth): yato ariyāya jātiyā jāto\(^{202}\).

jāla (net): seyyathāpi dakkho kevaṭto ... sukhumacchikana jālena ... attha-, dhamma-, brahma-jālam\(^{203}\).

jālinī (ensnarer, witch): tānham va desessāmi jālinī\(^{204}\).

joti (radiance): tamo tamaparāyano, tamo joti-parāyano, joti tama- ... joti joti-parāyano\(^{205}\).

dayhati (burning): dayhamāne va matthake\(^{206}\).

tacasāra (the best, i.e., bark tree): tacasāram va samphalam\(^{207}\).

tacchaka (carpenter): dārum namayanti tacchaka\(^{208}\).

tamo (darkness): tamokhandhena āvata\(^{209}\).

tarati (gets to the other side): ye taranti anñavam saram setum katvāna visajja pallalāni\(^{210}\).

talāka (pond): seyyathāpi ... mahantaḥ talākam ... devo vuṭṭho sippisambukam\(^{211}\).

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\(^{199}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 166.

\(^{200}\) Saṁyuttanikāya, ii, p. 98.

\(^{201}\) Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 38.

\(^{202}\) Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 108.

\(^{203}\) Dighanikāya, i, pp. 45-46.

\(^{204}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 211.

\(^{205}\) Saṁyuttanikāya, i, p. 93; cf. Aṅguttaranikāya, ii, p. 85.

\(^{206}\) Saṁyuttanikāya, i, pp. 13, 53.

\(^{207}\) Saṁyuttanikāya, i, p. 70.

\(^{208}\) Majjhimanikāya, ii, p. 105.

\(^{209}\) Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 168; ii, p. 93.

\(^{210}\) Dighanikāya, ii, p. 89.

\(^{211}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, iii, p. 395.
tāna (protection): jarūpanītassa na santi tānā²¹².
tāla (palmyra tree): seyyathāpi tālo mattha-
kachinno²¹³.
tālapakka (palm fruit): seyyathāpi tālapakkaṃ
tsampatibandhanā muttaṃ²¹⁴.
tīna (grass): seyyathāpi imasmīṃ Jetavane tīna-
kaṭṭha-sākhā-palāsam tam jano hareyya²¹⁵.
tittakalābu (bitter goard): seyyathāpi tittakalābu
āmakacchinno²¹⁶.
tittha (fording place): seyyathāpi ... visamaṃ ... samamaṃ titthamaṃ parikkamanāya²¹⁷.
tīla (sesame plant & its seeds): seyyathāpi visati-
khāriko Kosaloko tilavāho tato ... ekam tilama
uddhareyya²¹⁸.
tira (farther side of a river or occean): appakā ... 
pāragāmino ... tiram evāṇudhavati²¹⁹.
turiya (musical instruments): seyyathāpi ... turi-
vassa ... saddo hoti²²⁰.
tulā (weighing scale): seyyathāpi va ... tulama
paggahetvā²²¹.
teto (flame): seyyathāpi tejo sucim pi ādahati ...
na ca tena atṭiyati²²².
telo (sesamum-oil): seyyathāpi telena samsandati²²³.

²¹² Saṃyuttanikāya, i, pp. 2, 55.
²¹³ Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 250, 331, 464.
²¹⁴ Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 181.
²¹⁵ Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 141.
²¹⁶ Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 80, 245.
²¹⁷ Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 43.
²¹⁸ Aṅguttaranikāya, v, p. 173.
²²⁰ Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, pp. 263, 265.
²²¹ Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, pp. 282, 287, 323.
²²² Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 424; Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 375.
²²³ Saṃyuttanikāya, ii, p. 158.
daṇḍa (stick): seyyathāpi daṇḍo upari vehāsam khitto.\(^{224}\)
daṇḍarājī (measuring stick): seyyathāpi udake daṇḍarājī ... paṇḍivigacchati.\(^{225}\)
daḷidda (poor): seyyathāpi puriso daḷiddo ... tassa ekam agārakam.\(^{226}\)
dāyāda (heir): Bhagavato bhāsitassa dāyādo.\(^{227}\)
dārūkkhandha (pile of wood): seyyathāpi dārūkkhando na orimantīram upagacchati.\(^{228}\)
dāsa (slave): seyyathāpi puriso dāso assa ... dāsavyā mucceyya.\(^{229}\)
dīśā (quarter): cha dīsāya veditabbā. Purimatthimā disā mātāpitā.\(^{230}\)
dīpa, padīpa (lamp): seyyathāpi telappadīpassa jhāyato accī.\(^{231}\)
dīpa (island, refuge): (a) kodhena abhibhūtassa na dīpaṃ hoti.\(^{232}\)
(b) attadīpa viharatha attasa ranā.\(^{233}\)
dutiyā (associate of): sādhā dutiyā purisassa hoti.\(^{234}\)
dundubhī (kettle-drum): āhaṁchaṃ amatadundubhim.\(^{235}\)
dūta (messenger): tīṅ imāni devadūtānī.\(^{236}\)

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\(^{224}\) Saṃyuttanikāya, ii, p. 184; v, p. 439.
\(^{225}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 137.
\(^{226}\) Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 450.
\(^{227}\) Saṃyuttanikāya, iv, p. 72.
\(^{228}\) Saṃyuttanikāya, iv, p. 179.
\(^{229}\) Dīghanikāya, i, p. 72; Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 275.
\(^{230}\) Dīghanikāya, iii, sec. 12.
\(^{231}\) Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 295.
\(^{232}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, iv, p. 97.
\(^{233}\) Dīghanikāya, ii, p. 100; Saṃyuttanikāya, iii, p. 42; v, p. 163-164.
\(^{234}\) Saṃyuttanikāya, i, pp. 25, 38.
\(^{235}\) Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 171; ii, p. 93; iii, p. 67.
\(^{236}\) Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 138.
deva (god): bhūtapubbam devāsurasamgāmo samupabbulho ahosi. 

dvaṅgula (two-finger breadth): na tam dvāṅgula-paññāya sakkā pappotum itthiyā. 

dvāra (door): apārutā amatassa dvāram. 

dvidhāpatha (twofold way): dakkhisasi dvidhāpatham... vicikicchāya adhvacanam. 

dhūma (smoke): kodho dhūmo bhasmani mosavajjam. 

dhovana (washing): atthi dakkhiṇesu janapadesu dhovanam nāma... ariyam dhovanam desessāmi. 

nagara (city): seyyathāpi rañño paccantimam nagaram... ekadvāram. 

nadi (river): sighasotāya vā nadiyā pavahemi. 

nāga (elephant): mahallako ce pi rañño nāgo adanto... kālam karoti. 

nāvā (boat): ekarukkhikā nāvā. 

nigrodha (banyan tree): nigrodpamarinḍalo. 

nekkha (golden ornament): nekkham jambonadass' eva ko tam ninditum arahati. 

pathavi (the earth): seyyathāpi... mahāpathaviyā satta kolaṭṭhimmattiyo gulika.
*panḍu* (pale-red or yellow, grey): seyyathāpi saraṃ bhadrapañḍum parisuddham hoti.  
*paduma* (lotus): padumam yathā kocanadam sugandham.  
*pabbata* (mountain): seyyathāpi nigamassa avidūre mahāpabbato.  
*pātāla* (abyss): pātāle gadham esatha.  
*pāsa* (snare): odahī migavo pāsam.  
*pundarīka* (white lotus): yathā pi udake jātam pundarikam pavaḍḍhāti.  
*phenapinda* (lump of foam): ayam Gaṅgā nadi ... phenapindam āvaheyya.  
*balivadda* (ox): cattāro’me balivaddā ... balivaddupamā puggalā.  
*bīja* (seed): bijāni vuttāni yathā sukhette.  
*brāhmaṇa* (member of the brāhmaṇa caste): bhūtapubbaṃ brāhmaṇassa jīnnassa.  
*bhamara* (gadfly, bee): panḍito ... bhamarass’eva iriyato.  
*bhisakka* (physician): bhisakko sallakatto Tathā-gatassa adhivacanam.  
*makkata* (monkey): atthi Himavato ... desā yathā n’eva makkaṭanām cāri.
maga (animal for hunting antelope): seyyathāpi arāṅṅako mago baddho pāsarāsimādhisayeyya.

magga (way): ariyo āṭṭhaṅṅiko maggo.

mani (gem, jewel): seyyathāpi maniveluriyo ... tatra sūḍamā āvutam.

miga (wild animal): seyyathāpi arāṅṅako migo manusse divā vanena vanam ... papatati.

mūsika (mouse): cattasso imā mūsikā ... cattāro mūsikūpamā puggalā.

megha (cloud): yathā pāvussako meghathanayanto savijjuko.

yaṅṅa (brāhmānic sacrifice): nirārambham yaṅṅam upasānakamanti arahanto.

yāṭrā (travel): cattacakkam navadvāram ... katham yāṭrā bhavissati.

yāna (vehicle): āṭṭhaṅṅikassa maggassa adhivepacanam brahmayānam.

raja (space, as region of mist & cloud): seyyathāpi cātummahāpathe ... devo vassanto rajam antara-dhāpeyya.

ratana (jewel, gem): paṅṅā narānam ratanam.

ratha (chariot): seyyathāpi subhūmiyam cātumma-hāpathe ājaṅṅa-ratho.
rahada (lake): dhammo rahado ... silatiṭṭho.

rukkha (tree): seyyathāpi rukkho visame bhūmi-bhāge jāto tanupattapalāso kabaracchāyo.

łatukikā (Indian quail): seyyathāpi-latukikā sakunikā pūtilatāya bandhanena baddhā.

lekhā (scratch): seyyathāpi pāsāne lekhā na khrippam lujjati.

loka (world): sabbo ādipito loko ... padhūpito, pajjalito, pakampito.

vajira (thunderbolt): seyyathāpi vajirassa n’atthi kiicci abhejjam.

vattha (cloth): navam Kāsikam vattham vanna-vantam.

vana (jungle): ucchinnamūlam me vanam.

vānīja (merchant): seyyathāpi vānījassa vānījjāya gacchato.

vāta (wind): vāto va sedakaṁ.

vāri (water): jalantam eva vārinta.

viṇā (Indian lute): seyyathāpi rañño ... viṇāya saddo assutapubbo.

sakunā (bird): bhūtapubbam sāmuddikā vānijā tiradassim sakunam gahetvā.

samuddo (ocean): seyyathāpi puratthima-samuddā pacchimo samuddo.
samyojana (fetter, bond): diṭṭhi-samyojana.289
sasa (hare): seyyathāpi mahā-udakarahado, atha āgaccheyya hatthināgo ... saso vā bilāro vā ... rahadam appatīsamkhāya pakkhandeyya.290
siha (lion): puthū sihā va sallinā.291
suka (parrot): seyyathāpi sāli-suko vā yava-suko micchā panihitaṃ.292
suriya (the sun): yā va candimasuriyo loke (n)uppajjanti.293
hattha (hand): seyyathāpi purisassa hatthapādā chinnā.294

These and numerous other similes which we frequently come across are aptly utilised in the first four Nikāyas to reveal the inner import of the thoughtful sayings of Buddha and his immediate disciples. Apart from their literary significance, these similes are of utmost importance from the sociological point of view also. It is to be noted that quite a large number of similes may be looked upon as having originated in the Blessed One himself. In fact, the naturalness, the lucidity and the aptness of these similes and parables place them in a class by themselves. Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids in her learned paper295 has mentioned more than six hundred similes. Indeed a detailed study on the treatment of the similes is of prime necessity to evaluate the Nikāyas as the perfect works of art and literature.

289 Majjhimanikāya, i, pp. 8, 486.
291 Dighanikāya, ii, p. 255.
292 Aṅguttaranikāya, i, p. 8.
293 Sāmuyuttanikāya, v, p. 442.
294 Majjhimanikāya, i, p. 523.
APPENDIX THREE

BRIEF CONTENTS OF THE SUTTAS IN THE FOUR NIKAYAS

The First Four Nikayas, i.e., Digha-, Majjhima-, Samyutta-, and Anguttara Nikayas, consisting of the suttas or discourses which are either speeches of Buddha or dialogues in prose occasionally diversified by verses form the main sources of the original tenets of primitive Buddhism. A brief survey of the suttas included in these Nikayas will, therefore, reveal that they contain discussions on doctrinal points and on contemporary socio-ethical problems.

Digha Nikaya

The Dighanikaya which includes longer suttas or discourses is the first book of the Sutta Pitaka. It consists of thirty-four suttas or suttantas which are distributed into three sections, namely, Silakkhandha, Mahavagga and Pathaya or Patikavagga. Below are supplied brief contents of such discourses of this Collection:

(i) The Brahmajala Sutta is the very first sutta

1 The terms 'Sutta' and 'Suttanta' in Pali are synonyms (sutta eva suttanto). Indeed 'Suttanta' is a collective term formed from 'Sutta'. Both these terms signify thread, string, dialogue, discourse, rule or aphorism. Still we may mean by the word 'Sutta' simply a discourse, while by the term 'Suttanta' we may trace a longer discourse on more grave doctrinal points of Buddhism. This difference may appear due to the usage of different classes of reciters of portions of the Buddhist Scriptures.

of the Digha Nikāya. The title of this discourse may be rendered into English as the “Excellent Net”, “Perfect Net” or the “Net whose meshes are so fine that no folly of superstition, however, subtle, can slip through”. In the sutta Buddha has himself suggested its alternative titles, e.g., Atthajāla (the net of advantage), Dhammadajāla (the net of doctrine), Diṭṭhijāla (the net of theories and views), Anutta-rasamgāma-vijaya (the means of glorious victory in war). The appropriateness of the first title “Brahmajāla”, which is evidently a metaphorical expression, is explained in the text of the sutta itself as follows: “Seyyathā pi, bhikkhave, dakkho kevaṭṭo vā kevaṭṭantevāsī vā sukhumacchikena jālena parittam udaka-daham otthareyya . . . evam eva kho, bhikkhave, ye hi keci samaṇa vā brāhmaṇa vā pubbanta-kappikā vā aparanta-kappikā . . . pubbāntāparantam ārabbha aneka-vihitāni adhivutti-padanī abhivadanti, sabbe te imeh’ eva dvā-saṭṭhiyā vatthūhi anto-jāli-katā, ettha sītā va ummujjamāna ummujjanti, ettha pariyāpannā anto-jāli-katā va ummujjamāna ummujjanti” — Just as by dragging a fine meshed net in a pond or lake it is possible to expect that all fishes of big size will not escape, but will be caught in it, so by means of this sutta one may expect to catch hold of all types of theories and views which are inconsistent with Buddha’s doctrine. In other words, the main purpose of this discourse is to furnish Buddha’s disciples with a knowledge of various types or modes of living and thinking, which fall short of the standard approved by the Blessed One. In this connection it may be noted that the Brahmajāla Sutta never has an ostensible object of supplying a bird’s eye
view of the contemporary non-Buddhist views. It has no presumption of that type. Otherwise the doctrine of the six Titthiyas, not to speak of the Upaniṣadic thoughts, will not have been excluded from such a discussion. So the main object of this discourse is to draw up a list of the possible theories about the world and the soul, which may haunt the minds of the bhikkhus who, by meditating according to the Buddhist method, have acquired some powers, but do not reach the highest state. Thus the sixty-two views mentioned herein are really a systematic exposition of the experiences of a bhikkhu and have very little to do with the contemporary non-Buddhist doctrines. Still the sutta has served the following two purposes, viz., (a) disabusing our minds of many deep-rooted current notions about the world, soul and their ultimate condition, and (b) cautioning us against interpreting the doctrine of Buddha in the light of our pre-conceived notions. It again serves as an excellent guide for the comprehension of the sense of some enigmatical expressions found in other suttas. Though the sutta contains many statements of doubtful value, it may serve to remove many of our misconceptions.

The events described in the opening portion of the sutta are significant from the point of view of the history of religion. The discourse begins with the declaration that Buddha’s teachings are applicable for all individuals irrespective of their caste and creed. Mention has been made herein of the Three Jewels (Tiratana), i.e., Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, and of the Three Refuges (Tisarāna), i.e., refuges to the Blassed One, Doctrine and Order. It is said that Suppiya who is a disciple of Saṁjaya, the
paribbājaka, follows Buddha with his pupil, Brahmadatta. On the way he is speaking ill of Buddha, while his pupil is praising him. Thus the conversation held between Suppiya and Brahmadatta forms the introductory part of the discourse.

The sutta next enumerates the silas or moral principles in three successive sections: Cūla (the short paragraphs on conduct), Majjhima (the medium paragraphs on conduct), and Mahā (the longer paragraphs on conduct). It is made here clear that the keeping of the moralities, though essential, is not an end in itself; there are other and higher points which should be taken into consideration.

The discourse in this connection throws a flood of light on the general life, arts, anthropology, folklore, handicrafts, sports, pastimes, sacrifices, professions, astronomy, astrology, arithmetic, accountancy, polity, medicine, surgery, architecture, palmistry, divining by means of omens and signs, fortune-telling from marks of the body, counting on the figures, counting without using figures, summing up large totals, sophistry, practising as an occultist, practising as a surgeon, fixing a lucky day for marriage or giving in marriage, fixing a lucky time for the conclusion of treaties and for the outbreak of hostilities, auguries drawn from thunderbolts and other celestial portents, prognostication by interpreting dreams, sacrificing to the fire, looking at knuckles, muttering a charm for the lucky or unlucky birth of a person, determining a suitable site for a house, advising on customary law, laying ghosts, knowledge of the charm to be used when lodging in an earth house, foretelling the number of years that a man has yet to live, using charms to procure abortion, incantations to
bring on dumbness, keeping a man’s jaws fixed by charms, and fixing on lucky sites for dwellings and consecrating sites.

The Brahmajāla Sutta describes also various speculations about the world and the soul, e.g., Sassatavāda (Eternalism of the world and the soul maintained on four grounds), Ekaccasassata and Ekaccasassatavāda (Semi-Eternalism—Eternalism of something and Neo-Eternalism of something maintained on four grounds), Antānanta (Extentionism), Amarāvikkhepa (Eel-wriggling), Adhicca-samuppāda (Fortuitous Origination), Uddhamāghātana (Condition of soul after death), Ucchedavāda (Annihilationism), and Diṭṭhadhamma-nibbānavāda (Doctrine of happiness in the present life). In such an enumeration of these views on the eternity or otherwise of the ‘self’, we get an account of the jhānic states, each of which in succession appears to the individual experiencing it to be the final form of liberation. Of the variety of theories mentioned by Buddha, has one main argument against them, and this he states in his enunciation of the “Chain of the Dependent Origination” (Paticcasamuppāda) which is described in the present discourse in the barest outline.
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<td>ii. Actions (Sankhara, Samskara)</td>
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<td>iii. Consciousness (Vijnanam, Vijnana) [] Moment of Conception</td>
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Herein it is also emphasized that from the contact of the five physical senses and their corresponding objects, and from the contact of mind with ideas, there is the reaction of feeling and from feeling there appears craving, from craving comes a grasping for support, from grasping of support comes the whole process of life, from the process of life comes birth, and from birth appears death, together with the arising of grief, lamentation, ill, suffering, and all troubles. Of these factors, those which is emphasized in the general teaching is craving, sometimes termed 'thirst', with 'feeling' perhaps as the second in importance. Thus the Paṭicca-samuppāda touches, on the one hand, the Buddhist tenet of the Impermanency of things (anicca) and on the other the theme of Suffering and leads to the teaching of detachment, not merely with regard to mundane things but with regard to theories. In this sutta, therefore, the following notable observation has been made: “These view-points will have for result future rebirth. That the Tathāgata knows and he knows immeasurably beyond. But he is not attached to the knowledge and from lack of attachment has found out for himself even the final bliss. Having come to know, as they really are according to the Truth, the origin of feelings, their passing away, their satisfaction and disadvantages, and the way of departure from them, the Tathāgata, from not grasping, is freed”. All the above-mentioned philosophical views and reasonings which do not lead one, according to Buddha, towards the supreme attainment, together with their reasonings are traditionally known as the sixty-two views (dvāsaṭṭhiyo diṭṭhiyo). These views have been, as above, reduced to eight
main types. Of these sixty-two views some are relating to (a) the Pubbanta-kappikā, i.e., which are relating to the ultimate beginning of beings and things, and some are connected with (b) the Aparānta-kappikā, i.e., which are connected with the ultimate end of the world. To the former group belong the Sassatavāda, Ekacca-sassatavāda, Antānantavāda, Amarāvikkhepavāda, and Adhiccasarappadavāda, while the later group consists of the Uddhamāghātavāda, Ucchedavāda, and Diṭṭha-dhamma-nibbānavāda. These views have been arranged in this sutta according to the following scheme:

(a) Sassatavāda—4 grounds of,
(b) Ekacca-sassatavāda—4 grounds of,
(c) Antānantavāda—4 grounds of,
(d) Amarāvikkhepavāda—4 grounds of,
(e) Adhiccasarappadavāda—2 grounds of,

Total = 18 grounds or views (relating to the Pubbanta-kappikā)

(f) Uddhamāghātanika-saṅnivāda—16 grounds of,
(g) Uddhamāghātanika-asāṅnivāda—8 grounds of,
(h) Uddhamāghātanika - nevasaṅñi - nāsaṅñivāda 8 grounds of,
(i) Ucchedavāda—7 grounds of,
(j) Diṭṭha-dhamma-nibbāna-vāda—5 grounds of,

Total = 44 grounds (relating to the Aparānta-kappikā)

Though such views are termed as ‘Micchādiṭṭhi’, these are criticised by Buddha not as wrong views, but views which are right only as far as they go and fall short of perfection, hence are deficient and incomprehensible. Because each of them gives only a
partial or fragmentary view of the truth and reality. According to T. W. Rhys Davids, this grand sutta sets out in sixty-two divisions various speculations or theories in which theorisers, going out always from various forms of the traditional view of the 'soul'—a sort of subtle manikin inside the body but separate from it and continuing, after it leaves the body as a separate entity—attempt to reconstruct the past or to arrange the future. But all such speculations are condemned in strong terms. This sutta presents also in a serious manner the most fundamental tenets, ethical and philosophical views about life of Buddha.

This suttanta further mentions two kinds of gods, namely, the Khiḍḍa-padosikā and the Mano-padosikā who belong to a rather low order. Buddha himself says that the Khiḍḍa-padosikā gods spend their hours in laughing, playing and enjoying sensual pleasures. That is why they lose control over mind, as a consequence of which they fall down from their position and are reborn as human beings. The Mano-padosikā gods, on the other hand, think much of one another. But due to excessive thinking their mind becomes polluted and consequently falling down from that situation they are also reborn as human beings.

The same discourse records also that at the inception of a new world system a being falls from the Ābhassaraloka (the World of Radiance) which is one of the higher Brahmalokas, on account of loss of life or merit and he is reborn in the Brahmavimāna which becomes then empty. That being dwells there with his mental body, living in joy, having a lustrous body and moving in the sky. This being, according to Buddha, is the Great Brahmā. The
Blessed One considers himself superior to other gods of the Ābhassaraloka.

Thus, as already observed, the Brahmajāla Sutta is of first-rate importance from the point of view of the history of religion, not only for Buddhism, but for the entire religious life and thought of contemporary India.

(ii) The Sāmaññaphala Sutta or the “Discourse on the fruits of an ascetic life” which is the second discourse of the Collection is a valuable piece of evidence for ancient Indian life and thought at the time of Buddha, as it acquaints us with the views of a whole series of eminent non-Buddhist teachers and founders of religious sects. It begins with the dramatic description of the meeting between Buddha and Ajātasattu. Buddha, as the sutta relates, is staying at Rājagaha in the mango-grove of Jīvaka with many disciples. On a fullmoon night Ajātasattu of Magadha asks his ministers as to which samaṇa or Brāhmaṇa should be worshipped to pacify his disturbed mind. The king is advised by some to meet the six contemporary religious teachers, viz., Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali-Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambalī, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, and Sañjaya Belaṭṭhi-putta. But Jīvaka requests him to visit Buddha. Ajātasattu consents to this suggestion and being moved very much by the personality of the Exalted One becomes converted to Buddhism and makes note-worthy progress in his spiritual attainment; but due to his sin of killing his father he cannot reach even the first stage of sanctification. This introductory portion of the sutta, in

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3 Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 47-86; (The) Dīghanikāya (Nālandā, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 41-75.
which the king explains how he has put the questions to those six teachers and has received answers from them, is an interesting proof of views held by the compilers of the Nikāyas as to the beliefs prevalent in the contemporary society. Buddha’s reply to the question put forward by the king is designed in the form of a counter-question. The Sāmaññaphala Sutta, thus, like the Brahmajāla Sutta, prepares a psychological situation in the garb of a historical happening that suffers from an anachronism in so far as it represents all of the six teachers as persons who can be interviewed by king Ajātasattu. It may further be noted that the literary art of this sutta is plagiarized later on in the Milinda-pañha. This sutta bears supporting arguments for establishing the Saṅgha and enunciating the Vinaya rules by which the Buddhist ascetic life is guided, presents a lively discussion on joy and seclusion, freedom and safety, miracle, divine ear, memory of one’s own former births, knowledge of other people’s previous births, and similar other topics. In this discourse may also be found that Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, has laid much stress on the fourfold restraint (cātuyā-masamvara) and that Makkhali-Gosāla divides actions into act, word, and thought—thought being regarded as half Kamma. This sutta in this connection relates Gosāla’s main thesis rather narrowly as the former one states that fools and wise alike wandering in transmigration make an end of pain. In a long list it further mentions some persons who adopt different professions for their livelihood in the Gangetic valley during the period of compilation of the Nikāyas. They are: elephant-riders, cavalry, charioteers, archers, slaves, cooks, barbers, bath-atten-
dants, confectioners, garland-makers, washermen, weavers, basket-makers, and potters. King Ajātasattu, as the sutta records, admits that he will show unconditional honour and respect to any individual who has joined the Buddhist Confraternity. Next, Buddha unveils the advantages of the life of a recluse who is not necessarily a follower of his own. What he says will apply as much to his strongest opponents as to the members of his Saṅgha. The Sāmaññaphala Sutta only purports to set forth the advantages the early followers of Buddhism held to be the likely results of joining, from whatever motive, such an Order of their own.

The title "Sāmaññaphala" is taken from the constantly repeated phrase "Sandiṭṭhikāṁ Sāmaññaphalam" appeared in the sutta. The "Sāmaññaphala" means the fruit or benefit of a samaṇa or recluse and the term "Sandiṭṭhikāṁ" implies that which is visible in this world. Hence king Ajātasattu’s question is: "Sakkā nu kho me bhante evaṃ eva diṭṭh'eva dhamme sandiṭṭhikāṁ sāmaññaphalam paññāpetun ti?"—"Can you, Lord, declare to me any such immediate advantage, visible in this very life, of the life of a recluse?" Buddha’s reply in this regard is in the affirmative. So the sutta is of paramount significance. Buddha includes in his list of the fruits the realization of the Four Noble Truths. Evidently it follows that the Cessation of Suffering may be realized in the present life, and so Nibbāna is realizable in this very life. Still the realization of the Fourfold Noble Truth is the last of the fruits listed here; of the earlier fruits, many are already known to the recluses and brāhmaṇas of the day, but have not been arranged in any logical sequence.
So Buddha enumerates these to show the following progression: (i) the necessity of continuous and diligent practice of the Moralities and the confidence resulting therefrom, (ii) the practice of guarding the doors of the senses, of being mindful and aware, of being content with little, of freeing oneself from the five hindrances (nivarana) to mental development and insight (covetousness of the world, ill-will, sloth and torpor, agitation and worry, uncertainty), and experience of the jhanic states, (iii) the wisdom and insight by which are realized the impermanence of the body and its inter-relation with consciousness (nanadassana), the ability to attain, if the student so desires, the occult powers (iddhi), the destruction of the asavas and realization of the Fourfold Noble Truth. As regards the realization of the impermanence of the body and its inter-relation with consciousness an outline of the state of affairs from which may exactly be seen what happens in the event known as 'death'. Having understood that the body is impermanent and fragile, subject to dissolution, that its origin lies in parentage and its means of subsistence is material food, further that it is bound up, one may consider the statement made by the student who becomes able to look back on his previous existences. The asavas, on the destruction of which is contingent the realization of the Four Noble Truths, are here numbered as three, viz., sensual desires, love for the process of life, and ignorance. Buddha further in this sutta compares in a series of similes the happiness of the recluse who is liberated from worldly fetters with the comfortable feeling of the debtor who has succeeded not only in discharging his debt, but also in earning a surplus for
the maintenance of his family; of the invalid who, after severe pain, recovers his health; for him who, having pined in captivity, at length regains his freedom; of the slave who is set free by his master; of the traveller who, on a dangerous road, wanders through a wilderness and at last reaches a hamlet inhabited by human beings. And like a lake which receives its water from a spring, into which no water flows from any direction, on which the rain never falls, so that its water is received only from the cool spring and it is filled throughout only with cool water, the recluse is thoroughly impregnated and permeated with blissful calm. Now that the importance of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta is considered by the compilers of the Nikāyas is evident since it is quoted in each of the succeeding suttas upto and including the Subha Sutta (No. X), the source of quote being mentioned.

(iii) The Ambattha Sutta⁴ deals mainly with the castes. Still it cannot be safely utilized as a source-material for a study on the caste-system prevalent in ancient India. From the manner of the interrogation and rejoinder between Buddha who is an "incomparable religious teacher" and Ambattha, a brāhmaṇa youth, who is versed in the three Vedas, it is found that the compilers of the Nikāyas have made a fool of Ambattha who goes to Kapilavatthu on business and has an opportunity to visit the motel-hall of the Sākiyas. Ambattha observes there the young and the old seated on grand seats. The population of the country is divided into four vāṇā, colour or complexions, viz., Khattiya,
Brāhmaṇa, Vessā and Suddā. It is evident from the comparative frequency of the discussions on the matter of brāhmaṇic pretension that the subject of caste is a burning question during the period of the compilation of the Nikāyas. Because no other social problem is so often referred to and the brāhmaṇas would not be so frequently represented as expressing astonishment or indignation at the position taken up as regards it by the early Buddhists unless there has really been a serious difference on the subject between Buddhism and Brahmanical faith. On the whole, in this discourse, the disastrous effects from the ethical, social and political points of view, of the existing caste-system have been grossly exaggerated and its benefits are ignored. The Ambatṭha Sutta also contains discussions on the pride of birth, asceticism and luxury of the brāhmaṇas.

It is said, as the sutta relates, that Buddha dwells at Ichānaṅgala, a brāhmaṇa village, in Kosala, while Pokkharasāti, a rich and honoured brāhmaṇa, directs his disciple Ambatṭha to approach the Blessed One and ascertain if he really possesses the greatness attributed to him. Ambatṭha with a batch of fellow-disciples goes to the place where the Lord is staying. He enters the verandah and knocks at the door which is in no time opened and they all are admitted inside. But out of his haughtiness, Ambatṭha does not behave properly and starts blaming the Sākiya clan of having a low descent and of being disrespectful to the brāhmaṇas. In answer Buddha traces the history of the origin of Ambatṭha’s family (i.e. Kaṅhāyana) and shows that Ambatṭha is a descendant of a slave of the Sākiyas, originated from Kaṅha, a bastard son of the famous king Okkāka, an
ancestor of the Sākiyas. At this, Ambaṭṭha is silenced and put to shame. As Buddha observes him embarrassed, he takes compassion on him and proclaims that the said Kaṇha is a great sage, possessed of superhuman power, and encourages Ambaṭṭha to be proud of him. The Exalted One next refers to the existing social customs in case of intermarriage between a Brāhmaṇa son and a Khaṭṭiya daughter, or a Khaṭṭiya son and a Brāhmaṇa daughter, and proves the superiority of Khaṭṭiya over the Brāhmaṇa. He further quotes an utterance of Brahmā Sanaṅkumāra, which substantiates the same observation: “Khaṭṭiya is the highest, for those who follow the hierarchy of family; but, truely it is Buddha, possessed of wisdom and discipline, who is the highest of all, gods and men”. Thus Ambaṭṭha becomes fully convinced of the greatness of Buddha when he traces all the thirty-two marks of a superman in his person. He returns to his teacher Pokkharaṇāti and reports him all about his visit to the Blessed One. Being himself elated, Pokkharaṇāti also approaches Buddha and having listened to his preaching accepts his discipleship.

For the history of the Indian caste-system and the attitude of Buddha towards the problem of caste, the Ambaṭṭha Sutta is of the utmost significance. On account of its references to the history of the Sākiya race and to the Rṣi Krṣṇa (Kaṇha), a mythological and probably even historical interest, is attached to this discourse.

(iv) The Sonadānda Sutta which is the fourth discourse of the Dīghanikāya, describing the essen-

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tial qualities of a Brāhmaṇa relates that a person who is well born on both sides, of pure descent, through the father and mother, back through seven generations, with no slur put upon him, and no reproach in respect of birth—a repeater of the sacred words, knowing the mystic verses by heart, one who has mastered the three Vedas with indices, the ritual, phonology, and the exegesis, and with the legends as a fifth, one who is learned in the etymologies of the words and in the grammar, versed in nature-lore or sophistry, and in the theory of the signs on the body of a great man, may generally be called the Brāhmaṇa. But the person who possesses wisdom and knows conduct, who is finally and permanently out of the jungle and in the open, quite beyond the stage of wasting, has wonder on the fabulous soul, has attained to and remains in this state of Nirvāṇa or Arahatship, is not only in Buddhist terminology called a Brāhmaṇa but is, in fact, declared to be the only true Brāhmaṇa. Thus the doctrine of Brāhmaṇic supremacy is intellectually defended in this sutta. It is indeed quite inconsistent with the ethical standard of the period, which the brāhmaṇas in common with the rest of the people fully acknowledge. "It is clear", writes T. W. Rhys Davids, "that the word 'Brahmin' in the opinion of the early Buddhists conveyed to the minds of the people an exalted meaning, a connotation of real veneration and respect".

(v) The Kūṭadanta Sutta\(^6\) discusses right and wrong modes of sacrifices and suggests a gradation of those according to the superior and inferior spiri-

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tual significance. In this sutta, Kūṭadanta is very likely meant to be rather the hero of a tale than an historical person. It may be noted that whoever puts the Kūṭadanta Sutta together must have been deeply imbued with the spirit of subtle irony which plays no lesser part in the suttas than it does in so many of the Jātakas. T. W. Rhys Davids attaches much importance to this discourse as it deals with the right understanding of early Buddhist teaching and of a constant appreciation of this sort of subtle humour that is not at all intended to raise a laugh, scarcely even a smile. Further, this sutta is merely the oldest extant expression, in so thorough and uncompromising a way, of an ancient and widely accepted trend of opinion regarding lokāyata or casuistry. It may be noted that the view upheld in this discourse is in some ways similar to the idea that may be witnessed in the Vedas and Upaniṣads, especially Chāndogya.

The sutta relates that the Blessed One, while going on a tour in Magadha, reaches Khāṇumata, a brāhmaṇa village, and dwells there in a mango grove. An honoured brāhmaṇa leader called Kūṭadanta who has the privilege of receiving rich grants of land and property under the patronage of king Bimbisāra, also lives there. Now Kūṭadanta is going to perform a Great Sacrifice, for which a large number of bulls, calves, goats and other animals are brought before the sacrificial post for being killed. He has heard that Buddha is conversant with the three modes and sixteen accessories of a sacrifice and so having approached requests the Blessed One to explain the same. Buddha narrates to him how king Mahāvijita, of the past, has performed an ideal sacrifice,
with its three modes and sixteen accessories. The king is, first of all, advised by his brähmana priest to remove poverty in his kingdom. Because affluence alone is the sure protection against corruption, theft and such other evils. Mahāvijīta possesses all necessary qualities required in one who intends to perform a sacrifice. He is born in a noble family which is purified both maternally and paternally and has the most powerful army at his command, bears a great liberality of heart, has mastery over the different branches of learning, and possesses insight into the nature of reality. The brähmana priest also is possessed of similar qualities. The king is advised not to feel disheartened at the heavy expenses involved in the performance of the sacrifice, or at the arrival of bad persons, or at the baseless complaints of the people. Neither cows, goats, hens and pigs are killed in that sacrifice nor servants are harassed and punished. The subordinate kings who are invited on this occasion bring much riches with themselves which they give out in charity to the needy on the four corners of the sacrificical pyre. Indeed this is an ideal sacrifice that king Mahāvijīta has performed. Still, according to Buddha, there is a nobler sacrifice than this, which consists in organising centres for giving out charity to the needy. The noblest of all noble sacrifices, however, is the fulfilment of the noble eightfold path—of right view, right resolution, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. As Kūṭadanta desires to know the three modes in which the ritual is to be performed, it is said that these three modes are simply three conditions of mind or rather one
condition of mind at three different times, the harbouring of no regret either before or during or after the sacrifice at the expenditure involved. It is the hearty cooperation of the people: the nobles, officials, brāhmaṇas and householders—the four articles of furniture—with the king of four divisions. The eight personal qualifications of the king himself are also the eight articles of furniture and the four personal qualifications of his advising brāhmaṇas make up the total of the sixteen articles required. In such a sacrifice no living object, either an animal or vegetable, is injured and the labour becomes voluntary. This sutta, therefore, shows that the true sacrifice which is meritorious and productive of good results does never consists in the killing of animals to the accompaniment of elaborate ritual, nor does it involve suffering to any living being. The Exalted One enumerates sacrifices of various types in the following ascending order of merit, namely, (a) perpetual gifts by a family to persons who observe the moral rules and go out into the homeless life, (b) construction of the monastery for the use of the members of the Buddhist Confraternity approaching from whatever direction, (c) taking refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, (d) remembering the Five Precepts, and (e) following the discipline as set out in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, with the final accomplishment of the realisation of the Fourfold Noble Truth.

Thus in the Kūṭadanta Sutta Buddha with refined, but almost inoffensive irony, ridicules the brāhmaṇical cult with its bloody sacrifices and the striving of the Veda knower for union with the Brahman and contrasts with them Buddhist ‘sacri-
fices' and ideals of life. So this discourse is most instructive regarding the relation between the old and the new faith, Brāhmanism and Buddhism.

(vi) The Mahāli Sutta⁷ that deals with the means of the attainment of divine eye and ear, contains discussion about the identity of body with the soul. It relates that Mahāli, a Licchavi, listens to Buddha's exhortation and rejoices over it. Buddha although appreciates the mode of thinking which leads one to have either a positive or a negative view on the matter. He on his own part does not follow this mode of thinking at all.

The form of treating of the subjects in the Mahāli Sutta is somewhat remarkable. Herein are discussed two distinct topics. The question of the ability to see heavenly sights and hear heavenly sounds being raised, Buddha says that it is not for the sake of acquiring such powers that people join the Order under him, and being asked what their object then is, he gradually leads the questioner on the arhatship as the aim, along the Eightfold Path. Buddha next raises a totally different question—whether the soul and the body are the same; but he offers no answer and leads the discourse again up to arahatship, along the series of mental states set out in the Sāmañña-phala Sutta. The Mahāli Sutta contains also a discussion on the sīlas in its second part. T. W. Rhys Davids presents, on the basis of this discourse, a list of eight different modes of speaking of or to a person: (a) a nickname arising out of some personal peculiarity, (b) a personal name that has got nothing to do with the personal peculiarity, (c) the name of the

gotra or a surname or family name, (d) name of the clan or the kulanāma, (e) name of the mother, (f) name of the position in the society or the occupation of the person addressed, (g) a mere general term of courtesy or respect, and (h) local name. It is to be noted that the name of the father is not used here. Describing the stages which lead to the ‘Path’, this sutta states that one such stage is that of the sotāpanna, or ‘stream-winner’, a person who has ‘entered the stream’. This stage is reached on the destruction of three of the five fetters (sāmyojana), viz., (a) the belief in personality (sakkāyadiṭṭhi), (b) sceptical doubts (vicikicchā), (c) belief in the efficacy of rules and ritual (sīlabbata-parāmasa), (d) sensuous craving (kāmarāga), and (e) ill-will (vyāpāda). The destruction of these fetters is covered by the annihilation of the āsavas, which follows immediately. According to the Mahāli Sutta, the stage of sotāpatti may be reached when the first three of the above fetters is broken. With the weakening of the fourth and fifth fetters the sotāpanna becomes a sakadāgāmi, i.e., he knows that he will return to the present existence only once more. With the complete breaking of all five fetters he becomes opapātika, i.e., one who is capable of spontaneous existence. Finally, by the destruction of the āsavas, sense-desires, love of the process of life, and lack of the higher knowledge, he attains to the goal that is enunciated here. It may be noted in this connection that all the Buddhist texts mention the stages of the Path almost in the above scheme. But there is generally no mention of the opapātika. The goal, as described in this sutta, is as follows: “Attainment to freedom of mind and
freedom through wisdom, having thoroughly understood and realized them for oneself, here among the things of the present existence”. This goal may be achieved by following the Noble Eightfold Path, which is the fourth of the Four Noble Truths, i.e., the Way to the cessation of suffering.

(vii) The Jāliya Sutta⁸ presents a discussion on soul and body. The question of distinguishing the soul from the body becomes the most important problem in this discourse. It may be that the Mahāli Sutta should have already included the Jāliya episode. Because there would otherwise be no reason for the Mahāli Sutta being put into the Silak-khandhavagga, the ūlas being contained only in that episode.

(viii) The Kassapasīhanāda Sutta⁹ which is the eighth sutta of the Dīghanikāya records Buddha’s conversation with a naked ascetic regarding asceticism. It alludes to some peculiar practices of the naked ascetics, which characterise the life of the ājīvikas. We find herein that Kassapa goes to Buddha, exchanges friendly greetings with him and subsequently becomes an arahat. Buddha thinks, as recorded in this sutta, that the insight, self control, and self-mastery of the path or of the system of intellectual as well as moral self-training laid down for the bhikkhus, are indeed harder than the merely physical practices. The episode of Nigrodha mentioned in this sutta has elaborately been described in the Udumbarikasīhanāda Sutta of the present Nikāya. Both courtesy and dignity have been

⁸ Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 159-160; (The) Dīghanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 136-137.
⁹ Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 161-177; (The) Dīghanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 138-149.
employed in the method of the present discourse. It is evident that when this sutta is compiled, the practices of self-mortification have already been carried out to a considerable extent in India. So this discourse takes up the theme of ascetic practices already mentioned in the Ambattha Sutta, though the detail of these is of considerable historical importance—the main purport here associates with the ideas which give rise to the practices. These practices should not be considered as merely providing the ascetic with opportunity for self-denial though that aspect is prominent, but, for instance, in refusing to accept food specially prepared for him in case it should have caused inconvenience to the would-be donor, or in case he should be depriving some other person or an animal, or in refusing to drink cold water in case he should be depriving some other person or an animal, or in refusing to drink cold water in case he should injure any form of life within it, the ascetic practice is obviously related to non-injury; taken in the former case the practices are declared by the Exalted One to be valueless, while in the latter case he points out the real significance of non-injury. Mentioning things which are wholesome, Buddha speaks of the Noble Eightfold Path and the ultimate goal. The idea that mere adoption of a certain mode of living is, of itself, useless in one's advancement to the goal, is emphasized in this sutta. It is only in one's mind that one can claim to be making the search for the truth, and this the recluse and brāhmaṇas both profess to be making; other formalities do not affect the search.

(ix) The Potthapāda Sutta\(^\text{10}\) deals with the

\(^{10}\) Dighanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 178-203; (The) Dighanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 150-168.
mastery of trance, the question of soul and the infinity as well as eternalism of the world. As the Blessed One stays at the Jetavana Monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika, a paribbājaka or wandering teacher called Poṭṭhapāda visits the ārāma of Mallikā there with a large number of his followers. Later, Buddha comes to Poṭṭhapāda who receives the former one with proper respect. The sutta supplies a list of topics discussed by the paribbājaka, that is of much historical importance. It indicates the manner in which the way for the science of polity in India is gradually paved. The continuous transformation of mental conditions and of states of consciousness is shown in this sutta. The point that personality or individuality is only a convenient expression in common use in the world is, therefore, made use of also in the present discourse by Tathāgata, but only in such a manner that he is not led astray by its ambiguity and by its apparent implication of some permanent entity.

The Poṭṭhapāda Sutta also enumerates Buddha’s teaching of suffering with his reasons for making it so and brings forward the third, namely, anatta or the non-self, of the three great characteristics. The Blessed One proclaims: "'Suffering' is my teaching. 'The origin of suffering is my teaching', 'the cessation of suffering' is my teaching, 'the way to the cessation of suffering' is my teaching ... I teach them because they lead to that which is connected with welfare, truth, and the leading of the higher life, to disenchantment with the world, to the absence of desire, the destruction of desire, to calm, to thorough understanding, to the higher wisdom, and to the final bliss, Nibbāna. That is why I teach concern-
ing them”. Buddha further says that the prevalent theories lead to none of these things; they deal with things which must, of necessity, remain uncertain since they are based on feelings and human contacts. Speaking of the jhānic states the Exalted One describes them in the order in which a meditator experiences them. This discourse reveals also the limitations of Brahmā as the creator of the universe, world and man. Because Brahmā belongs to the rūpāvacara, sphere of form, and creates in terms of form. Though invested by his followers with mystery, all-power and all-knowledge, he has no idea where the primaries composing his creation can cease. The Exalted One repudiates the idea of their ‘ceasing’ and substitutes the expression: “where they do not occur at all”.

This sutta is a lengthy patchwork showing at least two clear strata. The first belongs to the stage of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta. The second adds to it three ‘arūpa-vimokkhas’.

(x) The Subha Sutta\textsuperscript{11} that is the tenth sutta of the Dīghanikāya is almost identical with the Sāmaññaphala Sutta and differs from the later one in dividing the states of mind under three heads, viz., sīla, samādhi and paññā. It is evidently compiled after the demise of Buddha. The main purpose for this discourse being treated as a separate one is that samādhi includes here the jhānas, the habit of guarding the doors of one’s senses, constant mindfulness and self-possession and the faculty of being content with little. From the positive point of view it is said to include a constant state of joy as well as

\textsuperscript{11} Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 204-210; (The) Dīghanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. 1, pp. 169-182.
peace and from the negative point of view it is said to include emancipation from ill-temper, inertness of mind as well as body, worry and perplexity.

(xi) The Kevaḍḍha Sutta\(^{12}\) deals with the practice of miracles and traces the means whereby the manifestation of gods gradually becomes evident to a self-concentrated individual. Heaven like Cātumahārājika, Nimmānarati, Paranimmitavasavatti and Brahma-loka are referred to in this sutta. The discourse is actually composed of two independent suttas. The meeting point is contained in the paragraph no. 13. The 'first' sutta, i.e., paras nos. 1-12, explains Buddha's views on miracles. The abrupt transition to the next sutta is effected by the following statement. "Imāni kho Kevaḍḍha tīni... apariṣesā nirujjhanti".

(xii) The Lohicca Sutta\(^{13}\) which is the twelfth sutta of the Dīghanikāya enumerates some points on the ethics of teaching and mentions three types of blameworthy and blameless teachers. This sutta lays much stress on the duty of spreading the truth and informs that everyone should be allowed to learn, that everyone having certain abilities should be allowed to teach, and that, if one teaches one should teach all and to all, keeping nothing back, shutting no one out. Still no individual should take upon himself to teach others unless and until he has first taught himself. The Lohicca Sutta is indeed unique. Because it discusses teachers rather than the subjects of teaching. It is a short lively dialogue with a

\(^{12}\) Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 211-223; (The) Dīghanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. 1, pp. 183-190.

\(^{13}\) Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 224-234; (The) Dīghanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. 1, pp.191-198.
'Socratic' turn and reveals Buddha full of compassion for others and criticising 'spiritual selfishness'.

(xi) The *Tevijja Sutta*\(^{14}\) records that while going on a tour in Kosala, Buddha reaches Manasā-kaṭa, a brāhmaṇa village, and dwells on the northern bank of the river Aciravatī. Now Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja, two young brāhmaṇas, engage themselves in a controversy as regards the way to attain the realm of Brahmā. But unfortunately none of them can convince the other. So being confused they approach the Blessed One and disclose their problem before him. They also report that probably the different ways shown by different brāhmaṇas are like the different paths from different quarters, which lead to the sole destination. The parable mentioned in this sutta is very apt. Buddha here is found to show how foolish it is of the brāhmaṇas to seek the way to emancipation in union with Brahmā. So he asks whether those young brāhmaṇas themselves or their teachers or any of their forefathers have met Brahmā face to face. The young brāhmaṇas admit that they have not definitely done so. Buddha, therefore, compares their tradition to a chain of blind persons in which neither the leader nor any one else who follows him in the train can see the way. He further compares them to one who has fallen in love with a girl whom he knows not, or to one who endeavours to raise a ladder to reach a mansion, about the location or height of which he has no idea. The Blessed One also adds that there is no sense in invoking the gods like Inda, Soma, Varuṇa, Issara, Pajāpati, Brahmā, Mahinda and Yama and that it

\(^{14}\) *Dīghanikāya* (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 235-253; (The) *Dīghanikāya* (P.P.B.), vol. 1, pp. 199-212.
is as absurd as standing on this bank of the river as also calling the other bank to him. He preaches the Dhamma to them and declares that attachment to the objects of five senses keeps a man fettered in this world and does not let him cross over to the enlightenment. Buddha here further describes the states known as the "Brahma-Vihāra", which consists in imbuing the mind with loving-kindness (mette), compassion (karunā), sympathy for the well-being of others (muditā), and equanimity (upekkhā). But the main interest of this sutta centres round three types of brāhmaṇical teachers who maintain a chronological order. The first type includes ten former sages (pubbakā isiyō) like Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessāmitta, Āṅgirasa, Bhāradvāja, Vāsetṭha, Kassapa, Yamataggi and Bhagu, who are the original composers and chanters of the Vedic hymns. The second type consists of the five eminent schools of Brāhmaṇical thinkers, viz., Addhariya (=Aitareya), the Tittiriya (=Taittirīya), the Chandoka (=Chāndogya), the Chandāvā (=Śatapatha?), and the Bhavyārijjha (=Bāhvṛca), while the third type comprises some distinguished Mahāsāla Brāhmanas. Buddhaghosa records that they are known as 'Mahāsāla' because they are persons of enormous wealth (Mahāsāra). This discourse does not contain any argument against the existence of the god Brahmā, but points out the uselessness of the brāhmanical belief that a mere knowledge of the Three Vedas leads to the attainment of Brahma-sahavyatā or union with Brahmā. Buddha reports that the Tevijjas only talk about the state of Brahmā, but do neither realise that state nor know the right method of actualising it.
Thus the Tevijja Sutta is, save repetitions, a medium-sized spirited dialogue, full of good-humoured irony and fittingly illustrated by similes. It draws a very vivid picture of contemporary Brāhmaṇic society and beliefs and is quite free from any late feature. This fact strengthens the impression of its earliness which it breathes in style and spirit.

(xiv) The Mahāpadāna Suttanta\(^{15}\) which is the fourteenth sutta and with which the second volume of the Dīghanikāya begins seems to introduce an account of the seven Buddhas by way of illustrations along with a short description of the general conditions of the country during the advent of Buddha. Still only the life of Vipassi, first of the seven previous Buddhas, finds an elaborate treatment in this sutta which through its very title assures us to narrate the story of the Great Ones (i.e. seven Buddhas). By a series of incidents comparable to those usually accepted for Gotama Buddha, Vipassi leaves his royal surroundings and embraces the homeless life. There is no mention here, as in the case of Gotama, of a wife and child. Vipassi, like Gotama of our aeon, attains to his enlightenment by working through the Nidāna Chain that is described in detail in this discourse. The climax of his reasoning lies in the discovery that “through there being consciousness there are mental and physical states” and that “through there being mental and physical states there is consciousness”; therefore “from mental and physical states this consciousness returns to them, it does not go further”. Thus Vipassi dis-

\(^{15}\) Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 1-54; (The) Dīghanikāya (Nalanda, Pali Publication Board, 1958), vol. 2, pp. 3-43.
covers the origin of suffering. Working through the chain again and in the reverse order he finds out the cessation of suffering. It is recounted that Vipassī remains in contemplation of the growth and decay of the five factors of support for existence—the khandhas which are the mental and physical phenomena of existence and constitute that which a man mistakes for his ‘self’ or ‘ego’. Later, the mind of Vipassī Bodhisattva is liberated from the āsavas and he becomes Vipassī Buddha. Having thought for a while he decides to preach his Dhamma and instructs his disciples as follows: “Go out and about amongst the people for their welfare and their happiness, in compassion for the world and for the individual happiness of gods and human beings. Preach the doctrine, lovely in its origin, lovely in its development, and lovely in its consummation. Declare the religious life, its meaning and attributes, in its entirety and perfection”. In this suttanta further the term ‘Pātimokkha’ is interpreted not in the sense of a penal code of the monks and nuns, but in a still higher sense of ethical discipline attainable by the imitation of the lives of the great teachers. As regards this discourse T. W. Rhys Davids has said: “We find in this tract the root of that Bīrāna weed which, growing up along with the rest of Buddhism, went on spreading so luxuriant by that it gradually covered up much that was of virtue in the earlier teaching, and finally led to the downfall, in its home in India, of the ancient faith. The doctrine of the Bodhisattva, of the Wisdom-Being, drove out the doctrine of the Aryan Path. A gorgeous hierarchy of mythological wonder-workers filled men’s minds, and the older system of self-training and self-control
became forgotten". T. W. Rhys Davids also points out that even at its first appearance here the weed is not attractive. The craving for edification is more manifest in it than the desire for truth.\(^{16}\)

In the Mahāpadāna Sutta, thus, the dogma of the six Buddhas, who are said to have been the precursors of Gotama Buddha, is already taught, and the entire Buddha legend, adorned by numerous miracles, is recited. It may further be treated as a typical example of the earlier Jātakas and also as the historical basis of the Mahāvastu, a Buddhist Sanskrit text. We may note that with this very first sutta of the second volume of the Dīghanikāya a change in atmosphere is noticeable. In it the lives of the Buddhas follow an unvarying archetype; all their courses are but the manifestation of eternal norms (dhammata). But this sutta does not represent the latest stratum even within the four prose Nikāyas. Its description of the Paṭiccasamuppāda is less developed than that which becomes standard later.

\(^{(xv)}\) The Mahānidāna Suttanta\(^{17}\) which is the fifteenth sutta of the Dīghanikāya explains the theory of the Paṭiccasamuppāda or the Dependent Origination and discusses soul, seven kinds of beings and eight kinds of vimokkhas or stages of emancipation, viz., the condition of rūpa, arūpa, saññī (rūpi is nearly always combined and contrasted with arūpi (formless, incorporeal), recognition of subha, realisation of ākāsānañcāyatana (infinity of space), of Viññānañcāyatana (infinitude of life-force or mind-matter),

\(^{17}\) Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 55-71; (The) Dīghanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. 2, pp. 44-57.
of akiñcanāyatana (realm or sphere of nothingness),
of nevasaṅgānaṁsaṅgāyatana (neither-perception-nor-
non-perception), and of saṅgāvedayitanirodha (cessa-
tion of consciousness and sensation). The present
discourse also deals with the jāti (birth), jarā (old
age) and maraṇa (death). It is found in the sutta
that Ānanda says to Buddha: “It is strange that
the Dhamma which is deep and profound appears to
me to be very easy”. But Buddha tells Ānanda not
to speak in the like manner and reveals to him that
due to ignorance and non-realisation of his Dhamma,
ordinary people become entangled in this world and
cannot avoid the hell, the sorrowful end. T. W.
Rhys Davids has remarked that the theory of the
Paṭiccasamuppāda and its doctrinal contents are
most elaborately treated in this sutta. Although
the formula, as expounded in his discourse, finishes in
the usual manner, e.g., “such is the uprising of the
whole body of ill,” the burden of the dialogue is in
no way directly concerned with ill, pain or sorrow.

As already observed, the present discourse ex-
plains the Nidāna Chain in even more detail giving
elaborate explanation. The finding of support for
the process of life is taken in three aspects, namely,
the support in sensual objects, in ceremonial obser-
vances, and in theories of the self. In establishing
the connection between mental and physical states
and contact, it is shown that without the existence
of mental and physical states contact will not be
obvious. As regards consciousness, the Blessed One
states that if consciousness is not in existence in
the pre-natal state of a child, there is no stage at
which it can enter and develop. So he concludes:
“By this much is one born, by this much does one
grow old, die, pass from one existence and rise up again in another: to the extent of the range of the contact of mind with ideas, of the range of language, concepts and the roaming of intelligence. By this much does the cycle of rebirth go round and round to the present state, namely, mental and physical states together with consciousness". In connection with the question of "self", Buddha shows that the bhikkhu who ceases to regard the self as consisting in feeling or experiencing feeling, ceases to grasp at and long for things. Next are described in this sutta the various stages of sentient beings, their physical forms, their states of intelligence, and eight stages of deliverance. Thus, in short, the fundamental doctrine of Buddhist philosophy regarding the inter-connection of causes, has been very efficiently treated in the Mahānidāna Sutta which shows the successive growth of a short and compact original. None of its pieces, however, may be counted among the earliest in the Nikāyas, nor yet among the latest.

(xvi) The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta\(^{18}\) supplies us with a very interesting historical narrative of the peregrination of Buddha in the last few months of his life in this world and the circumstances that lead to his great demise. The third chapter of this suttanta deals with a description of Buddha's visit to Vesāli, while its sixth chapter records the most important of all events affecting the future of Buddhism. The lamentation, described in the fifth chapter, of men and women on hearing the news about the dying condition of Buddha and honour with

which his relics are received and cairns made over them, as found in the sixth chapter, show that the people are deeply moved by the personality and teachings of this incomparable teacher of gods and mankind. The last word of Tathāgata, e.g., “Decay is inherent in all component objects; work out your salvation with diligence—vayadhammā saṅkhārā, appamādena sampādethā ti”, strikes the keynote of Buddha’s insight and knowledge. The sutta also describes sīla and samādhi, four applications of mindfulness (cattāro satipaṭṭhānā), four psychic powers (cattāro iddhipādā), five guiding faculties (pañca indriyāni), five forces (pañca balāni), seven factors of enlightenment (satta bojjhāngā), the noble eightfold path (ariya atṭhāṅgika magga), Vassakāra Brāhmaṇa’s visit to Buddha, the lineage of faith, eight causes of earthquake, eight causes of subduing others, Buddha’s visit to Cunda, four places of pilgrimage of devout Buddhists, good effect of erecting dhātucetiyas, former greatness of Kusinārā, visit of Subhadda to and his conversation with Buddha, passing away of the Blessed One, homage of the Mallas, cremation of Buddha’s dead body, dispute over the relics, peaceful distribution of the relics by Dona and erection of stūpas over them. In the same sutta it is further found that the lay disciples of Pāṭaligāma receive cordially Buddha who enumerate five disadvantages for not observing the precepts by householders and also five advantages for observing precepts by householders. Buddha also addresses the monks of Kōti-gāma and speaks to them on the fourfold noble truth. Having reached Vesālī he accepts the invitation for taking meal from Ambapālī, a courtesan. As Buddha
passes through Vesāli on his way back from the alms-seeking, he gazes at Vesāli with an elephant look and says to Ānanda: "This will be the last time that Tathāgata will behold Vesāli". The sutta relates that the relics of Buddha are distributed among the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, Ajātasattu of Magadha, Licchavis of Vesāli, Sākiyas of Kapilavatthu, Bulis of Allakappa, Koliyas of Rāmagāma, a Brāhmaṇa of Veṭhadīpa and the Mallas of Pāvā as well as of Kuśinārā. It also introduces a renowned religious teacher called Ālāra Kālāma who has as his disciple a caravan merchant named Pukkusa, a young Mallian. It is said that Pukkusa speaks highly of the spiritual attainment of his preceptor whose ecstatic trance is so very deep and profound that a long train of heavily laden carts pass being unnoticed by him. The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta informs us also that the inhabitants of Rāmagāma belong to the serpent race and refers to Ajātasattu's projected invasion of the Vajjian territory. The seven essential conditions of national welfare which Buddha mentions in connection with the Vajjis are remarkable as hinting at the nature of ancient Indian polity. Of these, the first two conditions reveal the significance of unity and concerted action; the third one suggests a warning against rashly introducing new measures and upsetting that which is long established as custom; the fourth, stating the necessity of respecting the elders, is in nature the same as the third; the fifth is laid down with a view to maintaining the honour and dignity of women; the sixth demands the need of protecting and honouring the religious shrines and national institutions with which the popular sentiment is bound up; and the seventh condition makes
provision for cultural intercourse among different nations.

This sutta which is the most important in every respect differs essentially in form and contents from all other discourses. Because it is neither a dialogue nor a speech on Buddhist doctrine, but a continuous record of the latter part of Buddha's life, his last speeches and sayings and his great demise. The oldest portions of this long sutta undoubtedly belong to the oldest part of the Tipiṭaka and to the earliest beginnings of a poetic treatment of the life of the Blessed One. This discourse is by no means a unified work, but is composed of parts which belong to different ages. The verses which are collected in this sutta and which contain either the significant sayings of Buddha and his disciples or the narrative of the most striking events, bear the stamp of the greatest antiquity. But the final redaction of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta can nevertheless only be of comparatively late date; because one passage here speaks of the transmission and authority of the suttas and of the Vinaya texts; and in the concluding portion of the discourse, mention is even made of Buddha's relics and the erection of the sepulchral monuments. T. W. Rhys Davids has exhaustively listed those passages of the sutta, which occur in other parts of the canon also and concludes that full one-third of the sutta thus recurs. Thus this discourse is a mosaic composed of earlier and later pieces. It remains historical and realistic throughout, inspite of the supernatural element that adds to the grandeur and solemnity of the great decease.

(xvii) The Mahāsudassana Suttanta\textsuperscript{19} which is

\textsuperscript{19} Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 169-199; (The) Dīghanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. 2, pp. 130-150.
the seventeenth discourse of the Dighanikāya “commences with a long description of the riches and glory of Mahāsudassana and reveals in its details the instructive fact that the legend is nothing more or less than a spiritualised sun-myth” and “seems to afford a useful example both of the extent to which the theory may be accepted, and of the limitations under which it should always be applied. It must at once be admitted that whether the whole story is based on sun-story, or whether certain parts or details of it are derived from things first spoken about the sun or not, it is still essentially Buddhistic”.

The sutta, therefore, like a fairy tale describes the greatest glory and majesty of the greatest king, his royal city and his palace of righteousness, his kingdom and enjoyment. The sole object of this discourse is, probably, to show the vanity of all save righteousness, impermanence and inevitable destruction of all objects. For this, rhetorical phrases and figurative expressions have been freely utilised in this sutta. M. Senart has traced the rhetorical phrases used in the account of seven treasures mentioned in this suttanta to their earliest appearance in the Vedic literature. The generous description that we get here, of magnificence and glory of the ancient city Kusāvatī, the capital of king Sudassana, is perhaps a literary development in Pāli in the line of the edification of Buddha’s explanation presented in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, for his choosing as the place of his passing away in the daub town like Kusinārā of his time.

21 ibid., p. 197.
(xviii) The *Janavasabha Suttanta*\(^{22}\) records the discussions about the rebirths of the devout lay disciples of Buddha, the effect of name, great kings of four quarters, joy of the gods, four ways of the magical power (iddhi), three ways of bliss and seven requisites of samādhi or concentration. After the prologue the sutta flows in the stream of a fairy tale, quite well told, very edifying and full of subtle humour. This discourse also informs us of the Tāvatimsa gods, the gods of Paranimmita Vasavatī, Nimmāṇaratī, Yama, Cātummahārājika heavens, the assembly of king Vessavana Kuvera and 24,00,000 lay devotees of Magadha who having followed Buddha's instructions attain the Sotāpattipphala or the fruition of the first stage of sanctification. This sutta is thus permeated by the mythical and the miraculous and is, in style as well as in doctrine, of late origin.

(xix) The *Mahā Govinda Suttanta*\(^{23}\) mentioning the Buddhist conception of the shape of India states that this country is broad on the north whereas in the south it assumes the form of the front portion of a cart and is divided into seven equal parts (utta-rena āyatam dakkhinena sakaṭamukham sattadhā samam suvibhattam vibhajitun'ti). But apart from such information about ancient Indian geography, this sutta is no less important because it in a way serves as the model for the birth stories in the later commentaries. The discourse further introduces us to the Saddhamma or Mote Hall of the gods of the


\(^{23}\) Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 220-252; (The) Dīghanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. 2, pp. 165-188.
Tāvatimsa Heaven, where all gods with Sakka, king of gods, as the President, are found to have assembled and rejoiced at the increase in their number “through the appearance in their midst of new gods produced by the good karma of the followers of the new view of life put forward by Gotama”. Here Sakka utters few verses in praise of Buddha. The events mentioned in this sutta are repeated in different words and order in the Mahāvastu. The Mahā Govinda Suttanta also enlightens us on Mahā Brahmā’s views on an ideal Brāhmaṇa, concept of Nirvāṇa, the path leading to it, practice of piety, danger of delay, the lower and higher ways, and Maha Govinda’s renunciation of the worldly life with a large number of followers including his seven wives. P. V. Bapat has suggested that the present discourse is based on the Janavasabha Suttanta. We get here an old non-Buddhist story, preaching the ‘karunājāhāna’ as the way to the direct realization of Brahmā, presented to serve the Buddhist ideals. Thus this sutta contains some old-looking memorial verses which include the name of ‘Govinda’, the hero. This fact suggests that the present discourse takes as its point d’appui an earlier legend. Moreover it deals primarily with Brahmā. Such a feature is hardly to be expected from a composition originally Buddhist. Even the introduction of all the four Brahmavihāras, which occur first in the penultimate section of the story proper, appears in the work of the adapter who is responsible also for other changes.

(xx) The Mahā Samaya Suttanta24 presents evidence of the gradual change in animistic belief pre-

valent in contemporary India. It mentions some gods who belong to this earth as well as to the regions above and supplies us with a long list of gods. About this discourse T.W. Rhys Davids relates: "The prologue has been preserved as a separate episode in the Samyutta I, 27. The way in which the list is fitted into the frame-work in our sections 4, 5 and 6 is very confused and awkward; and the grammar of the frame-work is inconsistent with the grammar of the list. It is highly probable therefore that the list itself, and also the epilogue, had been handed out as independent works in the community before our sutta was composed ... Our sections 10-20 look very much like an improved and enlarged edition of the bare list in the Aṭṭanāṭiya". 

(xx) The Sakkapañha Suttanta is quoted by name in the Samyuttanikāya (iii, 13), Mahāvastu (ii, 350), the Milindapañha (350) and the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (1, 24). It records, that Buddha stays in Magadha, to the east of Rājagaha, at a brāhmaṇa hamlet called Ambasaṇḍā and there he dwells on the Vediya mountain to the north of the village, in the Indasālā Cave. Now Sakka, king of the Thirty-Three, having realised it difficult to approach Buddha who is in deep meditation, seeks the assistance of Pañca- sikhā, a heavenly musician (gandhabba), who by the sweet play of his lyre sings in praise of the Exalted One, the Truth, the Arahant, and love. The song put into the mouth of the gandhabba and addressed to a lady by one who receives no return for his love for her as she is in love with another, is clothed in words conveying a double meaning, one applicable to

Buddha and the other to the lady. The Blessed One being much moved by the song speaks to the heavenly musician who informs the former one of the advent of Sakka. In no time Sakka appears and pays homage to Buddha. He asks the Exalted One some significant questions mostly dealing with psychological ethics. Buddha answers to the fullest satisfaction of Sakka who is thereafter converted to Buddhism. He states that by the fetters of envy and selfishness men and gods are bound in that they, wishing very much to be free from these, do nevertheless live in enmity, hatred, injury, hostility and malignity. He further adds that things as dear and not dear to us are the sources and causes of envy and selfishness; desire is the cause of things being dear or not dear; flights of thoughts are the sources of desire; and lastly, the cause of our flights of thoughts is the falling in the worldly complications. At the end of this discourse, it is witnessed that Sakka gains an insight into the Truth. The present suttanta also discusses about the causes of malice and avarice, causes of favour or disfavour, the path leading to papañca (any of the evil conditions), saññā (consciousness) and sañkhāranirodha (cessation of confections), the method of following the rules of the Pātimokkha by a bhikkhu, the sojourn of Buddha in the kingdom of Magadha and Gopūkā, a Sākiya princess, who is pleased with the Buddhist Triad and being disgusted with the feminine life observes the precepts strictly and meditates to be reborn as a man.

T. W. Rhys Davids informs that this sutta is an example of "Tendenzschriften written with the object of persuading the Kosala clansmen that they did not
need to be in the least afraid, for their own gods were on the side of the reformation". M. Winternitz advances the analogy of the sectarian Purāṇas and considers the sutta to be of late origin. P. V. Bapat holds similar opinion on ground of the mythological character of the discourse, and the secular character of the poem it incorporates—a fact which he interprets as a sign of decadence. In this connection it may be added that the discourse calls itself, at the end, a 'veyyākaraṇa'. On the other hand, there are strong proofs of its earliness. The title, purpose and style of the second bhāṇavāra of this sutta are reminiscent of the 'pucchā' in the Pārāyaṇavagga of the Suttanipāta. It appears that while the late features of the discourse are primarily concerned with the mythological, the early features are mainly confined to the dialectical portions of the discourse.

(xxii) The Mahā Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta26 urges Buddha’s disciples to set up mindfulness (sati), and enumerates four kinds of meditation on impurities and impermanency of body as well as impermanency of vedanā (sensation), citta (thought), dhamma (condition), five hindrances, seven parts of wisdom, four truths, five khandhas or aggregates, and various stages of inhalations and exhalations. This discourse breaks up, in the Majjhimanikāya, into two portions each representing a separate sutta, e.g., satipaṭṭhāna (chapter on sati or recollection) and saccavibhivaṅga (exposition of truth). The discourse is of great interest because it uses the term ‘dhamma’ in two different meanings. Following the introspection into ‘citta’ the bhikkhu is asked to examine with

equal care the dhammas which are thus successively enumerated. Though the sutta has the same function as the Mahānidāna—to systematically elaborate an existing dogma—it is in this respect later than the former in that the same represents the latest stage in the development of the doctrine of ‘sati’ in the Nikāyas. It may also be noted that whereas the doctrine of the five khandhas occurs in the former discourse, it does not appear in the latter.

(xiii) The Pāyāsi Suttanta27 which is the last and, twenty third sutta, of the second volume of the Dīghanikāya has a Jaina counterpart in the Rāya Pasenī bearing a somewhat later and magnified legend of Pāyāsi, a chieftain of Setavya, a city of the Kosalas. Comparing the two versions of the legend it is noticed that Kumāra Kassapa of the Buddhist tradition is the same personality as Kesī, the Jaina and that Paesi (Pradeshi), and not Pāyāsi, is the designation of the chieftain. In this suttanta it is further found that Pāyāsi possesses doubts regarding the existence of another world, of beings reborn otherwise than from parents, and of results of good or bad deeds. Kumāra Kassapa having taken recourse to similes and analogy advances successful counter-arguments to prove the futility of Pāyāsi’s arguments. At last, however, being completely defeated Pāyāsi becomes the disciple of Kassapa. The second portion of the conversation that is a sequel to the first is likewise a dialogue between Pāyāsi and his pupil, Uttara, in which the latter is found to be successful in persuading the former to set up gifts in the faith. The conversation ends with a reference

to the heaven where the teacher and the pupil are reborn after death. The third portion which is the sequel to the second is also a dialogue between venerable Gavampati and god Pāyāsi in the lonely Serīsaka Mansion. B. C. Law states that “the story of Pāyāsi’s conversion and pious gifts with their heavenly reward seems to have been invented in order just to allay the fear caused in theological circles by atheistical propaganda of the powerful chieftain and philosopher. The tradition of theological defeat and discomfiture at controversy with an atheist like Pāyāsi could not be perpetuated intact, as it would have been detrimental to the cause of popular religion.” Pāyāsi who thinks on the line of Ajita Kesa-Kambali describes his predecessor’s thesis in clear and unequivocal terms. This long discourse also deals with the moon god, the sun god, message from the dead, liberation of the soul, search after the soul, and right as well as wrong sacrifices. Thus this sutta represents one of the best dialogues, which is indeed a real and lively one often recalling the Platonic dialogues. Still the discourse is not an original composition. It is an Itihāsa-dialogue which is enlarged to its disadvantage and borrowed from the other sect.

(xxiv) The Pātika Suttanta which is the twenty-fourth sutta of the Dīghanikāya testifies to the fact that Niganṭha Nāṭhaputta predeceases Buddha by a few days. This sutta is concerned with two topics, viz., mystic wonders and origin of things.

But the treatment of the topics here is very clumsy and probably is intended to be both humorous and edifying. The fun here is of the pantomime variety, loud and also stupid. T. W. Rhys Davids remarking on the course humour of the sutta says that it will appeal “more strongly to a music hall audience or to school boys out for a holiday”. The delicate irony of the Kevaḍḍha and the Aggañña Suttas is totally absent in the present discourse which relates that although Sunakkhhatta, a Licchavi, becomes at first a disciple of Buddha, later leaves the Buddhist confraternity and misinterprets the teachings of Buddha. On hearing this news the Blessed One himself refutes his arguments and explains himself his own doctrine. The Pāṭika Suttanā also describes how corpse gets slapped on the back, wakes up just long enough to let the cat out of the bag, and then falls back dead again; or how an incompetent medicine-man gets stuck fast to his seat, and wriggles about in his vain attempt to rise. But a serious reader gets rather bored with the unwearied patience with which Tathāgata is in this discourse represented as suffering fools gladly and he also will not be able to bear with the author who relates stories so foolishly to prove merely that Tathāgata is as good a magician as the best, and who has the bad taste to put them into the mouth of Tathāgata himself. Thus this sutta differs much from other similar discourses not only in style and taste, but also in doctrinal points. The main portion of this sutta in which Buddha not only takes part in a miracle-working competition with other ascetics, but also boasts grandiloquently of his marvellous powers, represents a later stage of tradition. Indeed this discourse is a very miserable
compilation, in which only the beginning is old, while all the rest is an inferior admixture.

(xxv) The Udumbarika Sihanāda Suttanta deals with different forms of asceticism. Buddha here mentions the evil effects of them and reveals the mode of life of a real recluse. This sutta not only resembles the Kassapa Sihanāda Sutta of the Dighanikāya, in title, but deals with the same subject, i.e., asceticism—true and false; only it is much more elaborate. P. V. Bapat's suggestion that the former is thus based upon the latter and is younger, appears to be somewhat correct.

(xxvi) The Cakkavatti Sihanāda Suttanta records that Buddha advises his disciples to practise four satipaṭṭhānas and describes the life of Daḷhana-nemi, a universal monarch. The discourse treats of morality in a thorough-going and uncompromising manner, but not in an argumentative way as found in modern treatises on ethics and philosophy. Thus it is said that "Buddha is represented in this suttanta as setting out his own idea of conquest (not without ironical reference to the current ideas) and then as inculcating the observance of the Dhamma—the Norm—as the most important force for the material and moral progress of mankind." This sutta further points out that corruption leads to the destruction of life and if morals improve, life lengthens. In its concluding portion it mentions some conditions of prosperity and quoting a prophecy of Buddha records that when the lease of life of human beings will be

30 Dighanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 36-57; (The) Dighanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. 3, pp. 29-45.
80,000 years, Vārānasī will be known as Ketumati which shall be the capital of Jambudīpa and its king Saṅkha will be the universal monarch having possessed seven jewels. This sutta also mentions Buddha Metteya, the Buddhist Messiah, and so it must be a later work. It is, therefore, a kind of mythological story of the origin of moral ideas and hence is a remarkable medley of vision, prophecy and sermon.

(xxvii) The Aggañña Suttanta in discussing the claims for superiority of the Brāhmaṇa declares that good conduct is higher than caste. In this discourse Buddha is found to stay at the Pubbārāma in the palace of Migāramatā and king Pasenadi of Kosala is described as being aware of the Exalted One's renouncing the world from the Sākiya family and to show respect to Buddha out of consideration for his eminence as a great teacher inspite of the fact that both Buddha and Pasenadi are of the same age. This sutta deals with the evolution of the world, man, and society, the origin of the four castes: Khattiya, Brāhmaṇa, Vessa and Suddha, and demonstrates that righteousness is above lineage. But the treatment of the above subjects here is not very satisfactory. Still an elaborate description may be obtained in this suttanta of the first beginnings (aggañña) which in the form of fancies regarding the origin of the universe as well as of the beings, and regarding the beginnings of culture as well as social order are reminiscent of the Purāṇas. This sutta like the Ambaṭṭha Sutta exhibits that the life of the arahats and the attainment of Nibbāna are independent of caste. It may be noted that the

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23 Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 80-98; (The) Dīghanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. 3, pp. 63-76.
present discourse appears unique in the Nikāyas in that it prefaces the epithets dhammahūta and brahmabhūta by two new ones, namely, dhammakāya and brahmakāya. Having studied the sutta minute-ly M. Winternitz assigns it to a late stratum.

(xxviii) The Sampasādanīya Suttanta\(^{34}\) mentions that Buddha resides at Pāvārika’s mango-grove where Sāriputta goes as well as pays homage to him and describes the excellence of Buddha in an edifying and comprehensive manner. This sutta is really the elaboration of a part of the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta.

(xxix) The Pāsādika Suttanta\(^{35}\) deals with the condition of a perfect religion, the characteristics of Tathāgata and the wrong views about the past and the future. In this suttanta it is found that Cunda, a novice of Pāvā, who conveys the news of the discussion to Ānanda, which leads to the breaking up of the Jaina Order. Ānanda, however, at once understands the importance of the events and communicates the same to Buddha who consequently delivers this long discourse. Indeed the Pāsādika Suttanta contains quite a large and miscellaneous collection of already existing doctrinal points. Among others it systematically expounds the pubbantadīthīs and aparāntadīthīs and details the thirty-seven bodhipakkhiya dhammas. The sutta cannot, therefore, be regarded as belonging to a very early period.

(XXX) The Lakkhana Suttanta\(^{36}\) describes in de-

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\(^{34}\) Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 99-116; (The) Dīghanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. 3, pp. 77-90.

\(^{35}\) Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 117-141; (The) Dīghanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. 3, pp. 91-106.

tail thirty-two signs of a great man or superman and includes in a frame-work of prose a series of didactic verses, in a variety of metres, which are elegant in composition and restrained in tone. This suttanta further enumerates some moral principles which bear a close resemblance to those in Asoka’s dhamma. Thus this discourse belongs manifestly to a very late stratum of the Nikāyas. T. W. Rhys Davids rightly says that this suttanta seems gravely ironical in the contrast it makes between the absurdity of the marks and the beauty of the ethical qualities which are supposed in the suttanta to mean.

The discourse opens with an account of Buddha’s stay at the Jetavana Monastery at Sāvatthī. Here the Blessed One addressing the bhikkhus states: “There are thirty-two special marks of the superman, O bhikkhus, for whom two careers lie open, and none other. If he lives at home, he becomes a cakka-vatti king, the righteous lord of the right, the ruler of the four quarters, conqueror, guardian of the people, and owner of the seven treasures. His seven treasures are—the wheel-treasure (cakka-ratanam), the elephant-treasure (hatthi-ratanam), the horse-treasure (assa-ratanam), the gem-treasure (maniratanam), the woman-treasure (itthi-ratanam), the treasurer-treasure (gahapati-ratanam), and the captain-treasure (parināyaka-ratanam) ... But, if such an individual renounces home and embraces the homeless life of an ascetic, he becomes a Buddha Supreme, dispeller of the veil of darkness from the world”. The thirty-two special marks of the superman are the following: he has feet with level tread, thousand-spoked wheels appear on the soles of his feet, he has projecting heels, he is long in the fingers
and toes, his hands and feet are soft and tender, his hands and feet are like a net, his ankles are like rounded shells, his legs are like an antelope’s, standing and without bending he can touch and rub his knees with either hands, his male organs are concealed in a sheath, his complexion is of gold colour, his skin is so delicately smooth that no dust clings to his body, the down on it grows in single hair one to each pore, the down on his body turns upward, every hair of it—blue black in colour like eye-paint—in little curling rings—curling to the right, he has a frame divinely straight, he has the seven convex surfaces, the front half of his body is like a lion’s, there is no furrow between his shoulders, his proportions have the symmetry of the banyan tree—the length of his body is equal to the compass of his arms, his bust is equally rounded, his taste is supremely acute, his jaws are as a lion’s, he has forty teeth, his teeth are regular, his teeth are lustrous, his eye-teeth are very lustrous, his tongue is long, he has a divine voice like that of the karavika bird, his eyes are intensely blue, his eye-lashes are like that of a cow, between his eyebrows there appears a mole white and soft, and his head is like a royal turban. The Exalted One also explains gradually, in this discourse, how these marks may be earned as a result of the good deeds of the previous birth.

(xxxi) The Singālovāda Suttanta\(^\text{37}\) mentions the duties of a householder. Indeed Buddha’s doctrines of love and good will between man and man is, in this discourse, set forth in a domestic and social ethics with a more comprehensive detail than elsewhere.

\(^{37}\) Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 180-193; (The) Dīghanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. 3, pp. 139-149.
It may rightly be said that the saying of Siṅgāla is much valued now because the others are nearly all of them lost and therefore may be called the Gihivinaya or the Vinaya of the Householders. The real interest of this suttanta centres round a scheme of the law of persons interpreted as a code of moral duties. This discourse, addressed to the laity and describing, the six quarters ‘Buddhistically’, does not contain any marked late features. It may belong to an early period.

The Siṅgālovāda suttanta deals with Buddha’s admonition to Siṅgāla, a young man, son of a householder. The Exalted One here reveals that by putting away the four vices in conduct, performing no evil action in four ways and not following six channels for dissipating wealth, the noble householder covers the six quarters and enters the path leading to victory both in this world as well as in the next and upon the dissolution of the body after death, he is born in a happy heavenly sphere. The four vices of conduct are further mentioned as taking of life, taking what is not given, sexual misconduct and untruth. Buddha states that being actuated by craving, anger, ignorance and fear one commits evil; but when the noble householder is not actuated by desire, anger, delusion and fear, he through these, commits no evil. Likewise the six channels for dissipating wealth, which should not be followed by an earnest layman are taking intoxicant, loitering in the streets at unseemly hours, constantly visiting shows and fairs, addiction to gambling, association with evil companions and the habit of idleness. Next Buddha enumerates in detail dangers due to each of these six channels. Thus, as for example, the habit of taking
intoxicant creates six dangers, viz., loss of wealth, increase of quarrels, susceptibility to disease, earning of evil reputation, indecent exposure of body, impaired intellect and the like. If a layman leads an immoral life, he leaves many duties undone; he does not get new wealth and the wealth he possesses, dwindles away. Moreover the householder for his own safety should consider a rapacious person, a man of words not of deeds, a flatterer and a fellow-waster as enemies in the guise of friends. On the other hand, he should know a person who is a helper, is same in happiness and sorrow, gives good counsel and sympathizes as a good-hearted friend. In the same discourse Buddha advises a layman to worship the six quarters, namely, parents as the east, teachers as the south, wife and children as the west, friends and companions as the north, servants and workpeople as the nadir, religious teachers and brāhmaṇas as the zenith. He further says that every person should support parents in old age, perform duties incumbent on them, keep up the lineage and tradition of the family and make himself worthy of his heritage. But these are not all. Buddha also reminds the householder of some duties of parents towards the son, for example, they should show their love for their son, restrain him from vice, exhort him to virtue, train him to a profession, contract a suitable marriage for him, and in proper time hand over the inheritance to him. The pupils should minister to their teachers as the southern quarter by rising from the seat in salutation, by waiting upon them, by eagerness to learn, by personal service, and by attention to the lessons. In return the teachers should love their pupils, train them in a proper
manner, make them hold fast, instruct them thoroughly in the lore of every art, speak well of them among friends and companies and provide for their safety in every quarter. Likewise in five ways should a wife as western quarter be ministered to by her husband, namely, by respect, by courtesy, by faithfully handing over authority to her, and by providing her with adornment. Similarly a wife should also give attentive services to her husband by performing her duties well, by showing hospitality to the kin, by maintaining a faithful relation, by watching over the goods the husband brings, and by exhibiting skill as well as industry in her business. A householder should minister to his friends and companions as the northern quarter by generosity, courtesy and benevolence, by treating them as he treats himself, and by being as good as his words. In return his friends and companions should show their love to him in five ways, namely, by protecting him and his property when he is without guard, by becoming a refuge in danger, by not forsaking him in his troubles, and by showing sympathy for his family. A master should treat his servants and employees as the nadir by assigning them work according to their ability, by supplying them with food and wages, by tending them in sickness, by sharing with them unusual delicacies, and by granting leave in time. The servants and the employees in return should show their gratitude as follows: by rising before the master, by lying down to rest after him, by being content with what is given to them, by doing their work well and by carrying about his praise and good fame. Lastly, a householder should minister to recluses and brāhmaṇas as the zenith by showing
affection in act, speech and mind, by keeping open house to them and by supplying their temporal needs. The recluses and brāhmaṇas in return should show their sympathy for the householder by restraining him from evil, exhorting him to good, loving him with kindly thoughts, teaching him what he has not heard, correcting and purifying what he has heard, and revealing to him the way to heaven. Thus Buddha has shown that the proper way of worshipping the quarters consists of fulfilling certain duties towards parents, teachers, wife, children, friends, companions, servants, work-people, religious teachers and brāhmaṇas, by a householder. He knows that the social harmony cannot be maintained without mutual love and respect and therefore says:

“He who is fit to rank as householder, These six quarters he should reverence. Who is in wisdom deep and virtue strong, Gentle in all things and intelligent, Humble in spirit and amenable, Such man to highest honour may attain”.

It is to be noted that the code of conduct mentioned in the Saṅgālovāda Suttanta is quite similar to the Minor Rock Edict II of king Aśoka who enjoins that father, mother, and superiors should be properly served; likewise, living beings should be kindly treated; and truth must be spoken. The Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva, Rājadharma, ch. 59, v. 142) is also never tired of repeating the same duties of a householder. Indeed it is thought that happy would have been the village or the clan, where the people are full of kindly spirit of fellow-feeling and of the noble spirit of justice.
(xxxii) The Ātānātiya Suttanta deals with gods, gandhabbas and yakkhas who are not happy with Buddha and treats of driving them away if they attack Buddhist laymen and laywomen. The suttanta further mentions the Kumbhaṇḍa petas whose lord is Virulha in the southern quarter with many sons and also the evil spirits who are backbiters, murderers, brigands, crafty minded rogues, thieves and cheats. This discourse, for the most part in verse, is a 'Parittā' or 'saving chant' (rakkhāmanta) to ward off snakes and evil spirits. It is much more mythological and much more longer than the Ratana Sutta of the Suttanipāta, which has the same purpose. Thus the sutta clearly belongs to a late stratum.

(xxxiii) The Saṅgīti Suttanta enumerates Sāriputta’s explanation of the Dhamma. The importance of this suttanta lies in the numerical groupings of the dhammas evidently on the method followed in the Aṅguttara or Ekuttara Nikāya. This discourse deals with the dasa dhamma or ten conditions (single doctrine, double doctrine, triple doctrine, fourfold doctrine, etc.) much in the same way as the Puggalapaññatti treats of the dasa puggalā or ten individuals (i.e. the varieties of those walking in the fourfold path). Thus in its form the Puggalapaññatti is indebted to the present discourse. The preamble of the Saṅgīti Suttanta is divisible into two little connected portions. The text itself attempts a full collection of the known points of doctrine, with no

38 Dīghanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 194-206; (The) Dīghanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. 3, pp. 150-165.
more system than assured by the Aṅguttara form. The heterogeneous character of the contents is manifest. Similarly the haphazard nature of the listing is apparent from such a repetition as that of the five khandhas which are followed by the five upādāna-khandhas. In its completed form the list belongs indeed to a late period.

(xxxiv) The Dasuttara Suttanta⁴⁰ which is the thirty-fourth and the last discourse of the Dīghanikāya is a sort of compendium of the dhamma in ten numerical settings and corresponds to one of the six Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivāda School. It treats of each numerical group from ten standpoints and thus has exactly one hundred items in all. It is much shorter and appears to be a systematic selection out of the Saṅgīti Sutta in which no principle of "in-or-exclusion" is discoverable. It should be noted that of the ten meshes of the classificatory net used in the Dasuttara, four are mentioned in the Mahāsalāyatana of the Majjhimanikāya.

This sutta reveals that Buddha stays at Campā, on the bank of the lake Gaggarā and Sārīputta delivers a discourse on the Dhamma to the assembly of monks, enumerating the cardinal principles arranged in groups from one to ten. According to him, there is zeal in good things, which helps much; there is mindfulness that is to be developed; there is contact as a condition of intoxicants (āsavas) and of grasping, which is to be understood; there is self-consciousness that is to be eliminated; there is food for subsistence, which should be known; and lastly

there is sure and unshakable emancipation of mind, which should be realised. Besides, there are faith, good health, honesty, energy and insight which also assist an individual much in his spiritual pursuits. So one should develop five factors of perfect concentration, understand five aggregates of grasping (upādānakkhandhā) and cultivate the ten discs (kasiṇa).

**Majjhima Nikāya**

The second book of the Suttapitaka is the Majjhimanikāya or the “Middle Collection” or the “Collection of discourses of medium length,” which is divided into three volumes each comprising fifty suttas or discourses (paṭñasakam). A brief survey of all the suttas arranged in this collection is made below:

(i) The *Mūlapariyāya Sutta*\(^{41}\) which is the first discourse of the Majjhimanikāya, in the background of the pleasure-grove of Ukkaṭṭhā quotes the following remarkable utterance of Buddha: “Sabbadhamma-mūlapariyāyam vo bhikkhave desessāmi” (‘O, bhikkhu, I shall expound the main procedure of all religious beliefs’). So in this discourse which strikes the key-note of his entire doctrine, Buddha has critically surveyed the real position of the contemporary Indian systems of philosophy, based on eight grounds or standpoints. He also discusses the Brahmanical theory of soul, and reveals how by his new approach he finds the non-existent of soul. From this sutta it is also evident that the Brāhmanical con-

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\(^{41}\) *Majjhimanikāya* (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 1-6; (The) *Majjhimanikāya* (Nalanda, Pali Publication Board, 1958), vol. 1, pp. 3-10.
ception of Nirvāṇa and Buddha’s conception of Nibbāna are not the same. The Nirvāṇa conceived by the pre-Buddhist thinkers is obtainable after the attainment of the realm of Neither-perception-nor-non-perception. Even such an attainment is not wholly free from attachment to the existence, however, subtle it may be. Buddha also attains it, but he goes a step further and realises Nibbāna which is free from all attachments, birth, illness, old age and death. Such a conception is, therefore, a definite addition of Buddha to the Indian thought. Thus this sutta is indeed the key to unlock the hidden treasures of all other discourses of the Nikāyas. It proclaims that an individual can subdue the time-factor (kālo), instead of being himself overcome by it. This discourse further relates that Buddha’s disciples who are greatly learned and ariyasāvakas (noble disciples), know Pajāpati, Brahmā, Ābhassara gods, Subhakiṇṇa gods, Vehapphala, Abhibhū, Ākāsānāṃcāyatana, Viññāṇaṅcāyatana, Ākiñcaññāyatana, and Nevasaṅnānāsāṅnāyatana gods.\(^{42}\)

Indeed the Mūlapariyāya Sutta is historically most important as it indicates the point of departure of Buddha’s thought from Early Vedānta. In it we are to understand the departure from the philosophy of the Upaniṣads. The earlier Indian philosophy outlined in the Mūlapariyāya Sutta is one which is embodied in the Brhad Āranyaka Upaniṣad. Thus this discourse, as B. M. Barua thinks, “not only enables us to ascertain what an intimate knowledge Buddha had had of the philosophy of the Upaniṣads, but also to understand the point of departure effected

\(^{42}\) Law, B. C. Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, pp. 8 foll.
by him from its main trend of thought.” In this discourse Buddha represents vividly the dialectic movement of the early Vedāntic thought which starts from a purely physical basis of existence, with the consideration of man’s position in relation to the constituents of matter, and culminated in Nirvāṇa, with the consideration of the state of soul, the principle of consciousness, in respect of the highest condition of its spirituality. The philosophy of the Upaniṣads at its biological stage is concerned with the consideration of the whole of life (bhūta)—the relative position of all living beings from plants upwards to the highest type of man, and including also all mythical personalities—the gods, angels and spirits, suprahuman or infrahuman. At its theological stage, it is occupied, with the consideration of the position of the gods and with that of Pajāpati from whose creative energy and will-to-be the world of life comes to be and Brahmā, the deistic personal God in whom the world of mind reaches its communication, and, last of all, with that of the higher attributes to a predicated Prajāpati on the one hand and Brahmā on the other. At its epistemological stage, the philosophy of the Upaniṣads becomes interested in the consideration of the modes of knowing or sources of knowledge, viz., perception (diṭṭham), tradition (сутам), inference (mutam), and understanding (विन्नतम), as well as in that of the categories of thought, viz., unity (ekattam), diversity (नानातम), universality (sabbam) by which the content of knowledge may be characterized. At the spiritual

stage, the Upaniṣadic philosophy looks beyond its logical reach and feels the necessity of Nirvāṇa, or more precisely Brahma-Nirvāṇa, to complete the idea of the self for our spiritual satisfaction. All the terms and gradation mentioned above are to be traced also in the philosophy of Yājñavalkya. The present sutta shows an opposition of indications and contra-indications with neither appreciably tipping the balance. Its psychological analysis is relatively rudimentary. An early feature of this discourse is the presence of Pajāpati apart from Brahmā. This fact suggests that the former has not yet lost himself in the latter. The discourse also speaks of the Abhibhū which appears as well in other suttas as an adjective of Mahābrahmā. In fine, it mentions familiarly the Arūpa-vimokkhas. Thus in the sutta a mixture of early and late features becomes visible; but no one is strong enough to be at all decisive. A popular version of the Mūlapariyāya Sutta which is called the discourse on the synopsis of fundamentals, may be obtained in the Mūlapariyāya Jātaka. As the term ‘Mūlapariyāya’ is properly rendered, it means ‘Gradation of all basic thoughts.’ B. M. Barua writes: “The Mūlapariyāya among the Suttas and the Mūlapariyāya among the Jātakas are historically the most important, the first as indicating the point of departure of Buddha’s thought from Early Vedānta and the second as indicating the point of departure of Buddhism from the general trend of Hinduism or popular Indian thought. In one case we are to understand the departure from the philosophy of the Upaniṣads and in the other from the

44 Bhārat Aranyaka Upaniṣad, iv. 45.
45 Fausböll; ed. Jātaka, ii, 259 foll.
popular philosophy of the Great Epic. The earlier Indian philosophy outlined in the Mūlapariyāya Sutta is one which is embodied in the Brhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, and the popular notion which is sought to be counteracted in the Mūlapariyāya Jātaka is one which is emphasised throughout the Mahābhārata. The successive stages of thought (i.e. Mūlapariyāya), in this discourse, are broadly represented as physical, biological, theological, epistemological and spiritual. These steps have been described in this sutta under three categories: physical, physiological, and psycho-spiritual. Each of these three categories are further subdivided into eight successive stages (aṭṭhahi bhūmihi) which are: (a) physical, (b) biological, (c) devotional, (d) theological, (e) moral or ethical, (f) metaphysical or psychological, (g) epistemological and (h) spiritual.

(ii) The Sabbāsava Sutta shows how the banes (āsavas) may be overcome. In this discourse Buddha says that relief from all banes comes to those who can only see and comprehend all things. Banes may be destroyed by wise attention, discernment, restraint, carefulness, endurance, suppression, and mental exercises. Those persons whose actions create sensual lust, craving for existence, and thought for the past existence are blameworthy. Because they become victims of some wrong views about self (attā) and then fall into the net of diverse views. But those individuals who pay attention to the worthy objects get rid of these. If attention is drawn only to the

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47 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 6-12; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. 1, pp. 11-17.
worthy objects, no bane can appear. In this sutta Buddha speaks of the epistemological axioms of Early Vedánta as consisting in “I possess a true self”, “I do not possess a true self”, “I know well the self by the self”, “I know the not-self by the self”, and “I know the self by the not-self” (atthi me attā, n’atthi me attā, attanā va attanām sañjānāmi, attanā va anattānām sañjānāmi, anattanā va attanām sañjānāmi).

In the present sutta the drawback appears from the fact that only doctrinal tests are applicable to it, and their exclusive use is apt to lead to a vicious pitițio principii. Another drawback in the application of doctrinal tests in the absence of any other clues is that of evaluating the ‘silences’. This discourse, for instance, relating the bhāvanā mentions only the seven sambojjhaṅgas as its subject. Its silence on this occasion about other members of the Bodhipakkhiya Dhammā may or may not has a ‘stratigraphic’ importance.

(iii) The Dhammadāyāda Sutta\(^48\) deals with the heirs of truth, solitude and the Middle Path. In this discourse Buddha distinguishes between two classes of monks—one who clings to the Dhamma and the other who clings to the food for enabling one to practise the Dhamma. But the Blessed One praises the former one who is the upholder of the real truth. This sutta consists of two portions. The first portion is only an introduction in which Buddha describes the story of two bhikkhus, namely, Amisadaññā and Dhammadāyāda. The Exalted One then leaves the place and Sāriputta continues the dis-

\(^48\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 12-16; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 18-22.
course explaining some doctrinal points. In this portion of the sutta, Sāriputta is found to deliver sermon on solitude. According to him, there are three ways in which the disciples of the lonely teacher fail to practise solitude and the Middle Path leads one to the destruction of avarice, hatred, delusion, etc. and consequently to the attainment of Nibbāna.

(iv) The Bhayabherava Sutta⁴⁹ or the ‘Discourse of Fear and Terror’ reveals the manner in which fear may arise in the mind. ‘Bhayabherava’, ‘braving fear’, ‘dreaded horror’ is but a synonym of ‘Lomahamsa’. Buddha here addresses Jānussoni, a brāhmaṇa, and relates that fear appears only to an individual who enters the deep forests with heart filled with longings and desires or restlessness or witlessness and drivelling. The sutta also finds out why terror arises to a person and not to the other. The importance of this discourse lies in the fact that it contains vivid reminiscences of Buddha’s terrible experience as a lonely ascetic dweller in a dense forest, the Prāgbodhi Hill of Hiuen-tsang, prior to his enlightenment and that it deals with the subject of jhāna or raft musing or abstraction in the most efficient way.

In the present discourse the difficulty appears from the fact that the main contents of it—that ‘Bhayabherava’ constitutes an impediment in solitary meditation for the impure one—are too general to be grouped in any particular stratum. Undoubtedly the sutta includes the stock early description of the four jhānas and the three vijjās, but the relative chronological position of the whole to this part is

⁴⁹ Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i. pp. 16-24; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 23-32.
quite uncertain. It may be a late text repeating the earlier stock passages, or it may almost be contemporaneous with them.

(v) The Anaṅgana Sutta\(^{50}\) or the ‘Discourse on the Freedom from Depravity’ proclaims that an undepraved individual cannot be liberated unless and until he himself becomes far from deprivation and sees the pitfalls or his degradation. In the same sutta Sāriputta speaks of some bad monks who either seek position or like pleasure. A passing reference to Pánduputta, a naked ascetic, in the sutta also shows that the naked ascetics who are not free from corruption live as a distinct sect. This discourse is not delivered by Buddha himself, but is a mere record of discussion among his disciples even during his life-time. It includes a lengthy conversation between Sāriputta and Moggallāna, and uses the Āṅguttara form. This style of presenting the topic of discussion suggests its late origin. But the contents of the sutta, which deal with the concept of anaṅgana, show no lateness whatsoever. The lengthy and unusual simile cited by Mahāmoggallāna at the end seems to be forced. The sutta like some other discourses of this Nikāya affords us an interesting glimpse of the every-day life of that ancient time—not only of the life of the bhikkhus themselves, but also of that of the other classes of the people.

(vi) The Ākaṅkheyya Sutta\(^{51}\) repeats Buddha’s admonition to his disciples for observing the rules of morality (śīla) and the Pātimokkha (Pātimokkha

\(^{50}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 24-32; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 33-43.

samvara sambhuta) strictly. It is true that desires for fame, reputation and power to know others' minds lie ever active in the hearts of worldly people. But in order to get rid of those the Buddhist monks should observe precepts of good conduct faithfully and be subdued as well as restrained. The doctrinal content of this discourse consists of inter alia references to the peaceful arupa-vimokkha, three samyojanas, oraṁbhāgiyasamyojanas and suggests that in its present form it cannot belong to the earliest stratum. The structure of the sutta, however, renders it peculiarly open to expansion through addition. The importance that the discourse attaches to samatha and vipassanā suggests that it may have been among those which must have formed the basis of the Dārśāntika Sect.

(vii) The Vatthūpama Sutta\textsuperscript{52} or the 'Parable of the 'Cloth' consists of two distinct portions. It records the Blessed One's exhortation to the bhikkhus for being pure in mind and to destroy all mental impurities. The monks should know the true nature of impurities and having abandoned those, they will generate faith in Buddha as well as in the rules which will guide them. It is said that the brāhmaṇa Sundarika bhāradvāja asks the Exalted One about the latter's visit to the Bāhukā river for bath. Being in turn questioned by Buddha about the reason for such an action, Bhāradvāja replies that the river possesses the power of removing dirt and all impurities, both physical and mental. But the Blessed One proclaims that purification of mind is not possible through a bath in the water of the sacred river.

\textsuperscript{52} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 36-40; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.) vol. i, pp. 49-53.
Later, however, Bhāradvāja is convinced and converted to Buddhism. The second portion of the Vatthūpama Sutta is relevant only from the point of view of the faint connection of the purifying power of the Bāhukā river with the purifying power of mind. Otherwise the episode of Bhāradvāja will be a superfluous addition to the discourse. The parable of the cloth of this sutta may be interpreted as an illustration of the popular Buddhist conception of mind in _tabula rasa_ or clean sheet of cloth, contaminated by impurities which being foreign to its nature (āgantu-kādosa) may be ultimately got rid of. Here the Exalted One contrasts the human mind with a cloth. As the cloth that is stained and dirty, and which a dyer may dip into this and that dye—be it dark, green, yellow, red or crimson—will be dyed of bad colour, it will not be bright in colour, because the cloth is not clean. So bad bourn is to be expected when the mind is stained. Even so, as a cloth that is quite clear, pure, and which a dyer may dip into this or that dye—be it dark, green, yellow, red or crimson—it will be dyed a good colour, because the cloth is clean. Similarly a good bourn is to be expected when the mind is not stained. Mind is originally pure; it becomes corrupted after coming into contact with the worldly phenomenon. So if any person dissipates the defilements of mind wiped up by means of ascetic life, he possesses unwavering confidence in the Triad—Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. The defilements of mind are: avarice (abhijjhā), greed (lobho), malevolence (byāpādo), anger (kodho), malice (upanāho), rivalry (makkho), hipocrisy (paḷāso), envy (issā), deceit (macchariyam), imperviousness (māyā), outcry (sātheyyyam), obduracy
(thambho), impetuosity (sārambho), pride (māno), conceit (atimāno), arrogance (mado) and indolence (pamādo). When a bhikkhu knows that all these defilements of mind are destroyed, he possesses unwavering confidence (aveccappasāda) in the Awakened One, his Doctrine and Order. Next he acquires the knowledge of Dhamma and joy connected with Dhamma. Rapture is born from that joy; being raptured his body is pervaded with joy and because of joy his mind becomes well-concentrated. A bhikkhu who is endowed with such moral habit and wisdom, even if he eats delicious almsfood with various curries, will not face any stumbling block on his way towards the spiritual advancement. Buddha further states that if a person dwells with the radiant thoughts of love (mettā), of compassion (karunā), of sympathy (muditā) and of equanimity (upekkhā), his mind pervades each of the world's four quarters, above, below, across, everywhere; the whole length and breadth of the wide world is pervaded by the radiant thoughts of a mind all-embracing, vast, and boundless, in which no hate dwells nor any ill-will. The Exalted One in this connection says that in rivers like Bāhukā, Adhikakka, Gayā, Sundarīkā, Sarassatī, Bāhumatī and Payāga the fool may bathe without cleaning his heart. Because such rivers cannot purify the heart or hand of guilt. But for him whose heart is cleansed, each day is blest, each day is hallowed. He becomes pure of heart as well as mind and hallows each new day with renewed vows. So Buddha entreats the brāhmaṇa Sundarika-bhāradvāja to love all, speak the truth, neither to slay nor to steal and to dwell in faith. The purificatory process mentioned here forms the following sequence:
aveccappasāda - pāmojjja - piti - passaddhi - sukhasamādhi. It is said that the mind of the bhikkhu becomes like a clean washed cloth or purified gold and no more does pleasant experience cause in him attachment. The sutta quite abruptly and irrelevantly supplies the stock formula of the four Brahmavihāras which are mentioned above. The main portion of the present discourse, save probably the list of the upakkilesas, is early, and there is nothing in it which suggests its lateness except possibly the interpretation of the four Brahmavihāras. This discourse is also significant as it repeats a very ancient Pāli couplet describing the above noted seven rivers of India as holy waters in which people bathe to wash away their sins and impurities.

(viii) The Sallekha Sutta53 in the form of Buddha’s reply to Mahā Cunda’s questions notes that in order to get rid of the numerous wrong views current about self and the universe, a bhikkhu should not comprehend ‘this is mine’, ‘this is I’, or ‘that is mine’, ‘that is I’, or ‘this is myself’. In this sutta Buddha says that each of the planes (i.e. four ecstasies, infinity of space, of mind, of nothingness, of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, etc.) may not be an expunging, but an excellent state. He further adds that this is the way to expunge though others may be harmful; a bhikkhu should be harmless; others may kill and lie, but a bhikkhu should not do so.

(ix) The Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta54 or the ‘Discourse

53 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 40-46; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 54-61.
54 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 46-55; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 62-75.
on the Right Belief' records Sāriputta's conception of the right belief. The bhikkhus become anxious to know from him its true significance. So Sāriputta says that the right belief actually means the disciples' knowledge of good and evil objects with all their roots. According to him evils include killing, stealing, sex indulgence, telling of false words, spreading the scandal, uttering harsh words, speaking roughly, engaging oneself in frivolous talk, covetousness, ill-will, erroneous views, desire, hatred and delusion; but the good signifies abstention from the above evils, absence of attachment to passion, love and wisdom. Being requested by the fellow brethren Sāriputta enumerates the various ways leading to the right belief, viz., by knowing āhāra (nutrition)—its origin, its cessation and the cause leading to its cessation, ... suffering ..., decay and death ..., ... birth ..., ... existence ..., ... attachment ..., ... sensation ..., ... contact ..., ... activity ..., ... ignorance ..., and by knowing canker—its origin, its cessation and the cause leading to its cessation.

(x) The Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta\(^{55}\) deals with the four Satipaṭṭhānas, namely, to keep watch over (a) body (kāya), (b) sensation (vedanā), (c) mind (citta), and (d) phenomenon (dhamma). Buddha in this sutta proclaims that only these Satipaṭṭhānas may lead to the purification of mortals and so he advises the bhikkhus to practise mindfulness. Indeed through the mastering of fourfold mindfulness one may overcome sorrow, lamentation and evils of body as well as mind and having attained the right

\(^{55}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 55-63; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 76-89.
path they may realise Nibbāna. Thus this long sutta which is presented in a lucid manner may be considered as the cornerstone of the whole of the Buddhist system of self-culture.

(xi) The Cūlasāhanāda Sutta\(^{56}\) records that Buddha asks his disciples to tell the votaries of other paths that they excel them in the following points: (a) sattharipaśāda—faith in teacher, (b) dhamme-paśāda—faith in the law, (c) sīlesu paripūrakāritā—strict observance of morality, and (d) sahadhammikā piyāmanāpagahaṭṭhā c'eva pabbajitā ca—agreeableness in the company of the dear fellow believers, whether they are laymen or monks. The Blessed One next says that all ideas about self, eternity, and non-eternity appear from the clinging to the self, i.e., non-comprehension of the law. The sutta also supplies a brief account of some philosophers who hold the existence of things to be eternal, while others believe in the non-existence of worldly objects.

(xii) The Mahāsāhanāda Sutta\(^{57}\) or the ‘Greater Discourse on the Lion’s Roar’ begins with usual utterance: “Evam me sutam—thus have I heard” and particulars about Buddha’s temporary residence. It is said that at one time the Blessed One (Bhagavā) is staying near Vesāli outside the town in a woodland thicket to the west. Now at that time Sunakkhatta, the son of a Licchavi, having recently left this dhamma and discipline (imasmim dhammavinayā), speaks these words to a group of people at Vesāli: “There are no states of further-men (uttarīṃ manu-

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\(^{56}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 63-68; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 90-95.

\(^{57}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 68-88; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 96-116.
ssa-dhammā), no excellent knowledge and insight befitting the ariyans (alamariyañāṇadassana viseso) in the recluse Gotama; the recluse Gotama teaches dhamma on a system of his own devising beaten out by reasoning and based on investigation (takka-pariyāhatam samoṇo Gotamo dhammaṁ deseti vimāṃsānucaritam sayampaṭibhānam); and says that dhamma, taught for the sake of something specific (yassa ca khvāssa atthāya), leads onwards (niyyāti) the doer of it to the complete destruction of anguish”. One day venerable Sārīputta, having dressed himself early in the morning, taking his bowl and robe, enters Vesālī for almsfood and hears that speech of Sunakkhatta. After the meal, returning from alms Sārīputta approaches the Blessed One and relates to him the remark made by Sunakkhatta, the son of a Licchavi. In answer the lion-like Buddha says: “Sārīputta, Sunakkhatta is a man of wrath and folly (kodhano Sārīputta Sunakkhatto moghapuriso), and such words are spoken by him in wrath. Thinking, ‘I will speak dispraise’, he really speaks praise of Tathāgata. For this is in praise of Tathāgata when someone should speak thus: ‘Dhamma, taught for the sake of something specific, leads onwards the doer of it to the complete destruction of anguish’. But there will not be for Sunakkhatta, the foolish man, the following inferences from dhamma about me: (i) ‘This is the Lord, perfected one, fully self-awakened one, endowed with knowledge and right conduct, well-farer (sugato), knower of the worlds, incomparable trainer of men to be tamed, teacher of gods and men, the Awakened One, the Lord’. (ii) ‘This is the Lord who enjoys the manifold forms of psychic power—from having been
one he becomes manifold; from having been manifold he becomes one; manifest or invisible, he goes unhindered through a wall, through a rampart, through a mountain as if through air; he plunges into the ground and shoots up again as if in water; he walks upon the water without parting it as if on the ground; sitting cross-legged he travels through the air like a bird on the wing. Even this moon and sun, although of such mighty power and majesty, he rubs and strokes them with his hand. Even as far as the Brahma-world he has power in respect of his body.

(iii) ‘This is the Lord who, through the purified divine condition of hearing (dibbāya sotadhātuyā visuddhāya), surpassing that of men, hears both kinds of sounds—divine ones (dibbe) and human ones (mānuse), and those which are distant and those which are near.’

(iv) ‘This is the Lord who knows intuitively by mind the minds of other beings, of other individuals; he knows intuitively of a mind that is full of attachment and that it is full of attachment; he knows intuitively of a mind that is without attachment and that it is without attachment; he knows intuitively of a mind that is full of aversion (saṅkhittam) ... full of confusion (vikkhit-tam) and that it is full of aversion ... full of confusion; he knows intuitively of a mind that is without aversion ... without confusion ... and that it is without aversion ... without confusion; he knows intuitively of a mind that is contracted and that it is contracted, or of a mind that is distracted and that it is distracted, or of a mind that has become great and that it has become great, or of a mind with some other mental state superior to it and that it is a mind with some other mental state superior to it, or of a
mind with no other mental state superior to it and that it is a mind with no other mental state superior to it; he knows intuitively of a mind that is composed and that it is composed ... that is not composed and that it is not composed; he knows intuitively of a mind that is freed and that it is freed; he knows intuitively of a mind that is not freed and that it is not freed'."

Buddha further tells that a Tathāgata possesses ten powers (Tathāgatabalāni) being endowed with which he claims the leader's place (āsabhan ṭhāṇaṁ), roars his lion's roar in assemblies (sihanādam nadati) and sets rolling the Brahma-wheel (brahmacakkam pavatteti). These ten powers are the following:

(i) A Tathāgata comprehends as it really is the causal occasion as such and what is not causal occasion as such (Tathāgato ṭhānaṁ ca ṭhānato atṭhānaṁ ca atṭhānato yathābhūtam pajānāti); this is a Tathāgata's power, having which he claims the leader's place, roars his lion's roar in assemblies and sets rolling the Brahma-wheel, (ii) a Tathāgata comprehends as it really is the acquiring of deeds for oneself, past, future and present, both in their causal occasion and their result (Tathāgato atṭitānāgata-paccuppannānam kammasammādānānam ṭhānaso hetuso vipākaṁ yathābhūtam pajānāti), (iii) a Tathāgata comprehends as it really is the course leading to all bourns (sabbattha gāminīm paṭipadām yathābhūtam pajānāti), (iv) a Tathāgata comprehends as it really is the world (the world of khandhas, āyatanas and dhātas) with its various and diverse features (anekadhātunānādhatulokam), (v) a Tathāgata comprehends as they really are the diverse characters of beings (sattanāṁ nānādhimuttikatam),
(vi) a Tathāgata comprehends as it really is the higher or lower state of the faculties of other beings, of other persons (parāsattānam parapuggalānam indriyaparopariyattam), (vii) a Tathāgata comprehends as they really are the defilement of, the purification of, the emergence from attainments in meditation, the deliverances and concentration (jhānavimokkha-samādhi samāpattinam saṅkilesam vodānam vūṭṭhānam), (viii) a Tathāgata remembers with all modes and details his manifold former habitations, births (anekavīhitam pubbenivāsam anussarati), (ix) a Tathāgata with his divine vision, surpassing that of men, sees beings as they are deceasing and uprising and comprehends that beings are mean, excellent, comely, ugly, well-going, ill-going according to the consequences of their deeds (Tathāgato dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkantamānu-sakena satte passati cavamāne upapajjamāne, hīne panīte subānne dubbanne sugate duggate, yathā-kammupage satte pajānāti), (x) a Tathāgata, by the destruction of cankers, enters on and abides in freedom of mind, freedom through wisdom that is cankerless, having realised them here and now through his own super-knowledge (Tathāgato āsavānam khayā anāsavam cetovimuttim paññāvimuttim diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiñṇā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati). Buddha then declares that any person who passes adverse remark like Sunakkhatta about the Blessed One will be consigned to the Niraya Hell just as a burden is set aside (yathābhataṃ nikkhito evam niraye). He again says that a monk being endowed with moral habit (sīla), concentration (citta or samādhi) and intuitive wisdom (paññā) may attain profound knowledge on this earth. There are four
convictions (vesārajjāni) being endowed with which a Tathāgata claims the leader’s place, etc., namely, (a) a Tathāgata does not behold any ground on the statement about him made by a recluse, brāhmaṇa, god, Māra or Brahmā that these matters are not fully awakened, although he claims to be fully self-awakened (Sammāsambuddhassa te paṭijānato ime dhammā anabhīsambuddhā), (b) likewise he will not be shaken by the remark about him that these cankers are not utterly destroyed, although a Tathāgata claims to be one whose cankers are destroyed (khīnāsavāsa te paṭijānato ime āsavā aparikkhīnā), (c) a Tathāgata is not to be disturbed by such remark as ‘in following those things called stumbling-blocks there is no stumbling-block at all’ (ye kho pana te antarāyikā dhammā vuttā te paṭisevato nālam antarāyāyāti), (d) a Tathāgata also does not behold any ground on the statement made by a recluse, brāhmaṇa, god, Māra or Brahmā or anyone in the world that the Dhamma, taught by the Tathāgata for the sake of something specific, does not lead onward the doer of it to the complete destruction of anguish (yassa kho pana te attāya dhammā so na niyyāti takkarassa sammā dukkhhakkhayāyāti). On the other hand the Tathāgata will have his own security, fearlessness and conviction.

Next Buddha mentions the eight kinds of assemblies (parisā), namely, assemblies of nobles (khattiya), brāhmaṇas, householders (gahapati), recluses (samaṇa), the retinue of the Four Great Regents (Cātummahārājika), the Thirty-three (Ṭavatimsa), the retinue of Māra, and the assemblies of Brahmās. He further states that a Tathāgata who is endowed with the four convictions mentioned just above will
approach and enter these assemblies without any fear. Discussing about four modes of life (yonio) Buddha says that (a) the mode of life born from an egg (aṇḍajā yoni) is so called because some beings are produced breaking through an egg-sheel, (b) the mode of life born from a womb (jālābujā) is thus known because some beings are produced breaking through a membranous sheath, (c) the mode of life born of moisture (samsedajā) is thus called because some beings are produced in rotting fish, corpses, rice or in dirty pool, (d) and lastly the mode of life of spontaneous uprising (opapātikā yoni) is so designated because some gods and men are born in the Niraya Hell and sorrowful state respectively.

According to Buddha there are five bourns (destiny, gatiyo), such as, Niraya Hell, animal world (tiracchāno yoni), the realms of the departed ones (pittivisayo), men (manussā) and gold (devā). Beings must go according to their deeds, whether well or ill done and will take birth in any form mentioned above. But Buddha knows that Nibbāna is the escape from the bourns and so understands Nibbāna and the way leading to it and how one enters on and abides in the freedom of mind, the freedom through intuitive wisdom that is cankerless.

Buddha further says that he knows the Brahma-faring (here it is energy, Brahma-cariyam) which has four constituent parts (caturaṅgasamannāgatam), such as, he becomes an ascetic (tapassī), the foremost ascetic; he becomes loathly (lūkhas), the foremost loathly one; he becomes a detester (jegucchī), the foremost detester; he becomes aloof (pavivittas), the foremost aloof one. The Exalted One then explains these four states in details.
Next Buddha speaks of some recluses and brāhmaṇas who think that purity is through food (āhārena suddhi), through faring on (samsārena suddhi), through uprising (upapattiya suddhi), through abode (āvāsena suddhi), through oblation (yaññena suddhi) or through tending the (sacrificial) fire (aggiparicariyāya suddhi). But according to the Exalted One all such views are not valid.

Addressing Sāriputta, Buddha further says that there are some recluses and brāhmaṇas who speak: “So long as this good man is young, endowed with the coal-black hair of youth, in his early prime, he is possessed of the utmost lucidity of wisdom. But when this good man is worn, old, stricken in years, has lived his span, and is at the close of his life—eighty or ninety or a hundred years of age—then he falls from that lucidity of wisdom”. The Exalted One declares that this should not be thought in the like manner. He further adds that he is then worn, old, stricken in years, he has lived his span, and is at the close of his life, being round about eighty. He may have four disciples here, each of a hundred years’ life-span, living a hundred years, and still possessed of the utmost lucidity of wisdom. As a skilled archer, trained, deft, a marksman, may with ease wing a slender shaft across a palm-tree’s shadow, so are those of extreme mindfulness, of extreme attentiveness, of extreme resolute energy; so are they possessed of the utmost lucidity of wisdom. If those are to ask him again and again a question about the four applications of mindfulness (catunnaṃ sati-paṭṭhānam), and if he, questioned again and again, is to explain to them, and if they, on being explained to by him, should understand as explained, and if
they are not to question him about any secondary and further matter (nor pause), except for feeding, drinking, eating, tasting, except for answering the calls of nature, except dispelling fatigue by sleep, still unfinished, will be Tathāgata’s teaching of dhamma, still unfinished would be Tathāgata’s exposition of the purchases of dhamma, still unfinished will be Tathāgata’s ways of putting questions when these four disciples of his, of life-span of a hundred years, living for a hundred years, will pass away at the end of a hundred years. Yet, if one will have to carry him about on a litter, verily there is no change in Tathāgata’s lucidity of wisdom (Tathāgatassa paññāveyyattiyam). In conclusion Buddha says that one should rightly speak of him as follows: “A being not liable to delusion has arisen in the world for the welfare of the manyfolk, for the happiness of the manyfolk, out of compassion for the world, for the good, the welfare, the happiness of gods and men” (asammohadhammo satto loke uppanno bahujana-hitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhaṁyā devamanussānan ti mameva tam sammā vadamāno vadāyya).

At the end of the discourse we find that an alternative title of it has been suggested. So Venerable Nāgasamāla becomes extremely pleased and speaks to the Lord: “It is wonderful, Lord, it is marvellous, Lord, that when, Lord, this disquisition on dhamma has been heard by me, my hair stands on end. What is the name, Lord, of this disquisition on dhamma?” Buddha replies: “Wherefore do you, Nāgasamāla, remember this disquisition on dhamma as the Hair-raising Disquisition (Lomahamasanapariyāya)”. 

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It is to be noted that a popular version of this discourse may be traced in the Lomahamsa Jātaka.\(^{58}\)

(xiii) The Mahādukkhakakkhandha Sutta\(^{59}\) relates that the bhikkhus having considered over the distinction between their school of thought and those of other sects approach the Blessed One. Because they think that Buddhism also like other religious schools teaches the subject of desire. Buddha in turn asks his disciples whether they can put question before the ascetics of other sects as regards the pleasures of senses and liberation from sensual pleasures and the like. The immediate reply is that by that they will be puzzled. This sutta proclaims that it is the sensual pleasure which causes much trouble as the kings fight and people are engaged in quarrel. So happiness lies at the complete destruction of sensual pleasure. The discourse also enumerates some offences which are punishable by the contemporary penal laws. The punishments for offences like burglary, robbery, highway adultery etc. are bastinado, bludgeoning, cutting off hands or feet, hands and feet, ears or nose, ears and nose, tortures of the saucepan (i.e. the skull is first trepanned and then a red-hot ball of iron is dropped in so that the brains boiled over like porridge), the chank-shave or lanthorn (i.e. the mouth is fixed open with a skewar and a lighted lamp put inside—this torture is called the mouth of Rāhu because Rāhu, the asura, is supposed at an eclipse to swallow the Sun), the wretch of fire (i.e. the whole body is oiled before ignition, but Mātī suggests a coronal of flames just as the next torture is localized


to the hands), the fiery hand, the hayband (i.e. from the neck downwards the skin is flayed into strips not severed at the ankles but there plaited like a hayband to suspend him till he falls by his own weight; in the next torture the strips form a kilt), the barkrobe, the black hart (i.e. the victim is skewered to the ground through elbows and knees with a fire lighted all round him so as to char his flesh), the meat-hooks (i.e. the victims are slung up by double hooks through flesh and tendons), the pennies (i.e. with a razor little discs of flesh are shaved off all over the body), the pickle (i.e. into gashes salt or alkali is rubbed with combs), bolting the door (i.e. the head is nailed to the ground by a skewer through both ear-holes), or the palliasse (i.e. the skin being left intact, the bones and inwards are pounded till the whole frame becomes as soft as a straw mattress), or spraying over the offenders boiling oil, throwing to starved dogs to be devoured or impaling alive or chopping off heads of the offenders. The sutta in this connection mentions also names of some religious sects and professions as well as services of the householders, e.g., muddā (conveyancing), ganana (accountancy), saûkha (appraising), kashi (agriculture), vanijja (trade and commerce), gorakkha (cattle breeding), issattha (soldiery), rajaporisa (royal service), clerk of the signet, clerk of accomp, comptor, estate-agent, purveyor, herd-manager, archer and workers of the royal household.

(xiv) The Cûladukkkhakkhandha Sutta relates that Mahanama, the Sakiya, approaches the Exalted One and asks him: "How is it that thoughts for crav-
ing, hatred, and delusion are the defilements of mind?" In reply Buddha says that "something has not been cast out and for this such trouble comes to him again". This discourse supplies a description of the naked ascetics who are often met by the Blessed One. It also records that some of the naked ascetics who dwell in a large number on the Black Rock of Rājagaha have Nātaputta as their teacher. These ascetics believe in bad deeds done by them in their past lives for which they are to suffer and that suffering or happiness may be attained through their deeds performed in this very existence. But Buddha convinces them, with the help of a contrast between the life of a king and the ascetic life, that, although he has eschewed all earthly pleasures and devoted his life to strenuous meditation, his happiness is even far greater than that of king Bimbisāra of Magadha in full enjoyment of his royal power and wealth. The first portion of this sutta contains a critique of sense-pleasure and the second, which does not explicitly indicate its relevancy to the query that leads to the first but probably is intended as corrective to its answer, includes a critique of the opposite theory, i.e., of Nigaṇṭha asceticism. In this discourse, thus, we find a veritable pattern-card of ascetic abominations.

(xv) The Anumāna Sutta\textsuperscript{61} warns the bhikkhus in some concrete cases to be careful. Like the Mahāvagga and the Pātimokkha, this sutta which according to Buddhaghosa, is known usually as the Bhikkhuvinaya or the treatise on discipline, enumerates some offences and punishments. Nowhere in this discourse

\textsuperscript{61} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 95-100; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 132-136.
there is any mention or a citation of a standard book on the rules guiding the life of the Buddhist monks and the most prominent individual here is not Buddha, but Mahāmoggallāna who advises fellow-brethren that if any of them having not listened to the warning of the fellow-monks goes astray, the best way that remains for them is to inflict punishment by neither mixing with nor speaking to him. The discourse closes with an exhortation to introspection (paccavekkhāna), is too non-descript in contents and style to be stratified. It is, thus, one of those few discourses in which the disciple of Buddha is the principal speaker, inspite of the fact that in most of the discourses the Blessed One appears as the spokesman. So the fiction that all the suttas originate during the life-time of Buddha is not always reliable and cannot be accepted without a critical examination.

(xvi) The Cetokhila Sutta\(^6\) states that the heart possesses five bolts, viz., the doubt about the teacher, the doubt about the doctrine or confraternity or the course of training with the lack of bent towards ardour, zeal, perseverance, exertion, anger and displeasure towards fellows in the higher life. Buddha declares in this sutta that there are five types of mental enslavement or bondage of the mind (cetaso vinibandhā) from which every monk has to liberate himself in order to achieve the highest goal. The Buddhist word ‘cetokhila’ corresponds to the Jaina term ‘dukhkhasejjā’ (thorny bed). This discourse illustrating some specific cases enumerates the particular Vinaya rules. It may be noted that at the end

\(^6\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 101-104; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 137-140.
the sutta contains a section on the four iḍḍhipādas, which is totally irrelevant to the context but adds the simile of the ‘brooding hen’ that is considered early by C.A.F. Rhys Davids.

(xvii) The Vanapattha Sutta⁶³ shows what place is suitable for the abode of a meditating bhikkhu and what is not. A monkish abode should be judged from the points of view of conduciveness to peace, tranquility and concentration. The other points of suitability should be regarded as of minor significance. The Blessed One in this sutta mentions some bhikkhus who dwell in the forests with the unbalanced mind and the unsteady recollection. These bhikkhus cannot obtain anything noble as they are not accustomed to live without the necessities of life. The discourse further exemplifies the Vinaya rules, especially those relating to a bhikkhu’s need in respect of clothing, food, bed and medicines.

(xviii) The Madhupindaṅika Sutta⁶⁴ is a discourse on the daily morsel. It records that Daṇḍapāni, the Śākiya, meets the Exalted One and asks him about his doctrine. Being thus questioned, Buddha replies that he holds such a doctrine which both Brahmā and Māra are unable to hold. He also narrates some events to his disciples who are assembled on this occasion and are anxious to know the true spirit of Buddha’s doctrine. The Blessed One explains also to them the true nature of his doctrine in a nutshell. He tells that there is an end of all inclinations to passion, pride, doubts, ignorance, and speculative

⁶⁴ Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 108-114; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 146-152.
ideas for a man if he does not adhere to obsession, whatever be its origin. In this discourse it is further found that being urged by the bhikkhus to clarify the meaning of what the Exalted One has said so precisely, Mahākaccāna reveals to them the psychological significance of the sayings of Buddha. The present sutta contains a cryptic sermon by Buddha on papañcasānñānidāna and its precise and technical explanation by Mahākaccāna. The fact that Buddha names seven anusayās seems to show that at the time the discourse is compiled the doctrine has already developed much.

(xx) The Dvedhāvitakkha Sutta⁶⁵ which supplies some important points as to the origin of the system of exposition, the method based on philosophical thought of explaining the Abhidhamma texts and the commentary on Buddha’s sayings is, therefore, a singular discourse of the Pāli literature. It also bears the genesis of the Abhidhamma. But no text is referred to in this sutta. Buddha, in this discourse, explains to his disciples that he fails to achieve the highest object so long as he practises the habit of dividing things which give rise in his heart to craving, ill-will and malevolence. But as he thinks more on renunciation, his thought of craving passes away. He mentions, in this connection, a number of parables and finally advises his disciples to devote themselves to meditation so that they may not have to repent subsequently.

(XX) The Vitakkasanthāna Sutta⁶⁶ mentions

⁶⁶ Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 118-122; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 159-163.
that there are some discussions which bring about merit and there are discussions which bring about demerit, suffering etc. According to this sutta, a true bhikkhu is one who is well restrained in discussions when he discusses with one who desires discussion and refuses discussion with one who does not want the same. This sutta which is concerned with the psychology of mental control, is indeed simple and practical. It describes five ways of restraining vitakkas. The fact that the fifth and final resource against the vitakkas is described here to be the ascetic use of force—a procedure which Buddha is supposed to have condemned at other, more authentic, places, proves the early date of compilation of this sutta.

(xxii) The Kakacīpama Sutta\(^{67}\) or the ‘Parable of the Saw’ records that the Perfectly Enlightened One speaks in reproaching terms to Moliya-Phagguna and asks him to avoid the company of the bhikkhuṇīs and to act as the senior bhikkhus instruct him accordingly. Moliya-Phagguna is further advised to be free from anger. He should not give way to anger even though villainous robbers carve him limb from limb with a two-handled saw (ubhato-dandaṇakaṇa kakacena). This discourse, therefore, speaks loudly of universal loving kindness. We find also here that a bhikkhu should learn to be forgiving, like the unshaken earth; to be free, like the open air; and, to be grave, like the deep Ganges. He should not further let thoughts of anger arise in him.

(xxii) The Alagaddūpama Sutta\(^{68}\) or the ‘Parable

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\(^{67}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 122-129; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 164-173.

\(^{68}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 130-142; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 174-187.
of the Snake’ reveals, in the utterance of Ariṭṭha, that what the Blessed One lays down relating to the hindrance is not yet sufficient. The bhikkhus endeavour to rectify him. But as they fail, they approach the Exalted One who having heard everything in detail reproaches Ariṭṭha saying that his teachings are quite sufficient. Still Ariṭṭha having not understood the true purport of his saying is misguided.

(xxiii) The Vammika Sutta\(^69\) or the ‘Parable of the Ant-hill’ is a discourse on doctrinal matters of a very ordinary nature. Hence the sutta deserves only a passing reference. It is said that when venerable Kumāra Kassapa dwells in the Andhavana, a certain spirit appears before him, and with the parable of a Brāhmaṇa digging an ant-hill, puts some spiritual puzzles before him. Kumāra Kassapa gives him the adequate explanation, which traces the full course of practice of the dhamma, showing the important turning points in it.

(xxiv) The Rathavinīta Sutta\(^70\) in the form of a conversation between Sāriputta and Puṇṇa Mantāniputta reveals that the goal of the ascetic life of bhikkhus is to attain absolute Nibbāna (anupādā parinibbāna), which may be reached only passing through successive stages. There are seven such stages which may be treated as the modes of purification (visuddhi), viz., by the practice of morality, by thought, by view, by the removal of doubt, by seeing and knowing the right and the wrong paths, by seeing

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\(^69\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 142-145; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 188-191.

\(^70\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 145-151; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 192-199.
and knowing the path to be followed, and by seeing and knowing the truth. So the attainment of the absolute Nibbāna through such seven stags may be compared to a long journey of a king by means of relays (vinīta) of seven chariots (ratha), one leading to the other. Thus the dialogue has been illustrated by the well-known rathavinīta-comparison. That this is central in the discourse is evident by the almost concurrent titles in the Pāli and Chinese versions of it. The comparison reveals that king Pasenadi journeys from Sāvatthi to Sāketa by seven relays of chariots. Such intimate and original simile seems to be taken from life. That it should have occurred, in those days of short historical memory, to a latter-day bhikkhu does not appear very likely. The doctrinal position of the sutta is in full agreement with this appearance of earliness. There is as yet no question of stereotyped formulae, and unlike the later discussions among the monks the subject of interest is not some technical nicety, an unresolved contradiction or a new problem demanding answer; it is, on the other hand, the central problem of what may be regarded as the true end of the religious quest. In fine, it may be said that the present discourse has been supposed to be one of the texts referred to by Aśoka in his Bhābru Edict under the title “Upatisa-pasine”. We may assume that Buddhaghosa’s encyclopaedic “Visuddhimagga,” or even Buddhadatta’s earlier Abhidhamma manual called “Abhidhammadāvatāra” is nothing but an elaborate treatment of the topics suggested in that question.

(xxv) The Nivāpa Sutta\(^{71}\) is addressed to the

\(^{71}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 151-160; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 200-208.
bhikkhus who are admonished by Buddha for avoiding the five pleasures of senses and to become liberated from the cruel hands of Māra, the Evil One, and his companions. The Blessed One thinks that a true bhikkhu passes the range of vision of the Evil One, becomes liberated from sensual pleasures as well as wrong states of mind and abides successively in the first, second, third, and fourth stages of meditation, the plane of infinity of space, the plane of infinity of consciousness, the plane of nothingness, the plane of neither-perception-nor-non-perception and the plane where feeling and perception cease to exist.

(xxvi) The Ariyapariyesana Sutta\textsuperscript{72} which supplies us with one of the earliest legends connected with the early days of Buddhahood, forms the historical basis of later legendary accounts witnessed in the Jātakas and the Avadānas. This discourse relates that the search after the truth and liberation is the Noble Quest, and running after the enjoyments of the world is the Ignoble One. In this sutta Buddha narrates his experiences during the early days of his quest, and how he turns the wheel of the law and leads the multitude to the final emancipation.

The origin of this discourse may be traced in the Brhad Āranyaka Upaniṣad where it is called by the name of Eṣañā (Pāli. Pariyesanā) which literally means the searching, seeking or quest. As already observed, Buddha in this sutta describes two types of searching, namely, ignoble (anariya) and noble (ariya). The ignoble quest means the seeking after worldly gains and the world that is the locus of objects contingent, while the noble quest signifies the

\textsuperscript{72} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 160-175; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 209-225.
seeking after the non-contingent, after a free state of consciousness that is not subject to the limiting conditions of life and existence. Narrating his own personal experience the Blessed One says that the noble quest which has impelled him to embrace the life of a homeless wanderer or seeker of the truth, leads him to the twofold revelation, viz., (a) that of the nature of reality in the form of relatedness, otherwise termed as the Paṭiccasamuppāda or Dependent Origination, and (b) that of Nibbāna. Indeed in this discourse Paṭiccasamuppāda and Nibbāna are presented as two main points of Buddhism. This sutta is called by Buddhaghosa, the commentator, as ‘Pāsarāsi’, obviously because of the simile traced at the end of the discourse, where pleasures of senses are compared to baited traps. It is important as it supplies Buddha’s auto-biographical account, in brief, covering the period between his renunciation and his preaching of the First Sermon. In this discourse it is further noticed that of the two recluses, Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, whom Gotama meets before his attainment of the Supreme Enlightenment, the former figures as his teacher (ācariya), while the latter is reported simply to be his fellow religious student (sabrahmacāri) and not the teacher. The sutta also records that Rāma, the father of Uddaka, is not alive when Gotama desires to meet him.

(xxvii) The Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta⁷³ enumerates the achievements of a truth-finder. In this discourse Buddha speaks to Jānussoni, a brāhmaṇa. According to this sutta, a truth-finder preaches his

doctrine which is conducive to good of all, and pro-
ponds a higher life that is wholly complete and pure.
A person who whether he is the head of the family
or his son or by one of any other birth, hears this
doctrine, renunciates the worldly life and becomes
a bhikkhu, observes the small (cūla), middle sized
(majjhima) and great (mahā) moralities, becomes a
master of this noble code of virtue and of control of
his faculties of sense, is an expert of noble mindfulness
and purpose in all he does, and resorts to a lonely
lodging. Further his heart is set on mindfulness and
his life is purged of all evils and, lastly following
the truth-finder’s footprint abides in the four stages
of meditation. The sutta also relates that the Lord
is the perfectly enlightened one and has truly reveal-
ed his doctrine and also his fraternity walks rightly.

(xxviii) The Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta\(^74\) is
attributed to Sāriputta, one of the dearest disciples
of Buddha, who states that just as the foot of every
creature which walks the earth will go into the ele-
phant’s footprint, which is pre-eminent for size, even
so are all right states of mind included in the four
noble truths, viz., suffering, origin of suffering, end of
suffering and the path leading to the end of suffering.
Next Sāriputta enumerating elaborately the noble
truth of suffering relates that the five attachments
to existence, namely, visible shapes, feeling, percep-
tion, plastic forces, and consciousness, are full of
suffering. He also deals with the constituents of the
attachment of visible shapes, which are earth, water,
fire and air and remarks that what is true of visible

\(^74\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 184-191; (The) Majjhimanikāya
objects, is equally true of sound, smell, taste, touch and mind.

(xxix) The Mahāsāropama Sutta\textsuperscript{76} refers to Devadatta's secession from the Saṅgha.\textsuperscript{76} Buddha here reports that there are some young men who outwardly being tempted by the life of monks renounce the household life. Because, as monks, they obtain presents, esteem and fame. But such external attainments so please them and so satisfy their aspirations that they thereby become puffed up and speak ill of others. Consequently they grow remiss, and having become of evil dispositions, dwell being subject to suffering. On the other hand, there are some young persons who do not behave in the like manner and become not subject to misery.

(XXX) The Cūlasāropama Sutta\textsuperscript{77} contains a conversation between Buddha and brāhmaṇa Piṅgala-Koccha. The Blessed One narrates here that the reward of the higher life is not to be found in presents, esteem, and fame, nor in a life of virtue, nor in raft concentration, nor in the mystic insight. According to him it is the immutable emancipation that is the prize and the goal of the higher life. The question which is raised herein is as follows: whether by reason of their own professed creed that all of the religious teachers like Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesa-Kambali, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belatṭhiputta, and Nigaṅṭha Nātaputta have, or have not, discerned truth, or that some of them have discerned it, while others have not. The

\textsuperscript{76}Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 192-197; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 243-247.

\textsuperscript{76}cf. Vinaya Texts, (S.B.E.), vol. iii, p. 238 foll.

\textsuperscript{77}Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 198-205; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 248-255.
account of these six teachers has been reproduced verbatim in the Sūmaṅgalavilāsinī, a commentary on the Dīghanikāya.  

(*x*xi) The Cūḷagosīṅga Sutta records that the Blessed One praises Anuruddha, Nandiya, and Kimbila who having put an end to evil desires, have risen above the ordinary worldly beings.

(*x*xii) The Mahāgosīṅga Sutta relates that in reply to the question about what class of bhikkhu may illumine the Gosiṅga Wood, Ānanda speaks of one who treasures and hoards what he is taught and learns by heart the ideas which reveal the higher life in its utmost perfection and purity; Revata mentions one who experiences delight in meditation; Anuruddha tells of one who is blessed with the celestial eye; Mahākassapa notes of one who dwelling in the forest recommends wild life and stays in solitude; Mahāmoggallāna tells of one who delivers discourse on the Abhidhamma with another bhikkhu for gaining edification on it; Sāriputta reports of one who is the master of his heart; and Buddha speaks of a bhikkhu whose mind is liberated from all evil desires.

(*x*xiii) The Mahāgopālaka Sutta describes eleven good or bad qualities of a bhikkhu. According to Buddha, a monk who knows the four elements, comprehends what marks the deeds of the fool and the deeds of the wise, develops control over his faculty of sight, goes from time to time to the learned

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78 Sūmaṅgalavilāsinī (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 142-144.
79 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 205-211; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 256-262.
bhikkhus for asking about the difficult points of the doctrine, possesses the perfect knowledge of the noble eightfold path and tends with special attention the experienced and senior monks, may prosper in the doctrine. Obversely, a monk who has not acquired such qualities cannot display any spiritual progress.

( xxxiv) The Cūlagopālaka Sutta\(^{82}\) reveals that those persons who will listen to and trust in the recluses and brāhmaṇas who are wrong about this world and hereafter, wrong about what is and what is not the realm of Māra, wrong about what is and what is not the realm of Death, will suffer much and smart for it. But those individuals who follow the recluse and brāhmaṇas who rightly comprehend this world and the next one, the kingdoms of Māra and Death, will enjoy weal and prosperity for a long period.

( xxxv) The Cūlasaccaka Sutta\(^{83}\) supplies an account of the conversation between Buddha and Saccaka, a follower of Mahāvīra. Saccaka who is the son of a Jaina woman and is a great controversialist thinks of himself as a very erudite person and is revered by his innumerable followers. He considers that the 'soul' or 'self' of a man (purisa-puggala) is to be found in the five khandhas. Buddha contradicts and explaining the nature of the khandhas shows the emptiness of Saccaka's contention. According to the Blessed One, the khandhas do not come within the control of oneself, are imperfect as well as disappointing and as such do not belong to the 'self'.


\(^{83}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 227-237; (The) Majjhimanikāya (Nalanda, P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 280-290.
(xxxvi) The Mahāsaccaka Sutta\(^{84}\) records the victory of the Blessed One over Saccaka, a follower of Mahāvīra, whose sole object here is to discredit Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. The sutta also notes that Nīganṭha Nātaputta, i.e., Mahāvīra, is said to have laid equal stress on the manokamma and kāyakamma on the ground of the interaction of the body and mind (cittanvayo kāyo hoti, kāyanvayam cittam hoti). In this discourse Buddha preaches to Saccaka the way of practising meditation over the states of the body and those of the mind. He further narrates to him his experiences during the early days of his quest after the way to enlightenment. Here Buddha himself is reported to have described the supreme triumph of reaching the goal of his quest as follows: “When this knowledge, this insight has arisen within me, my heart is set free from intoxication of lusts, set free from the intoxication of becomeings, set free from the intoxication of ignorance. In me, thus emancipated, there arises the certainty of that emancipation. And I come to know—‘Rebirth is at an end. The higher life has been accomplished. After the present life there is no further for this or that’. This last insight do I attain to in the last watch of the night. Ignorance is beaten down, insight arises, darkness is destroyed, the light appears, inasmuch I am there strenuous, earnest, master of myself.” Indeed such is the story of Gotama’s mental as well as spiritual struggle for long six years. It is seen that Saccaka, at the end, is convinced and pays, therefore, his honour to Buddha.

(xxxvii) The Cūḷatāṇhāsaṅkhāya Sutta⁸⁵ explains, in brief, how a bhikkhu is emancipated by the extirpation of cravings, so as to become consummate in perfection, in his union with peace, and in the higher life, and be the foremost among celestial and human beings. It is to be noted that in this discourse myths and legends are related for the sake of introducing some doctrine or other. The sutta describes the visit of Moggallāna, the renowned disciple of Buddha, to Sakka's heaven. We further find that Moggallāna, with his great toe, causes the whole heavenly palace to shake—a trait strongly reminiscent of the Brahmanical legends of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas.

(xxxxviii) The Mahātāṇhāsaṅkhāya Sutta⁸⁶ reveals that the Exalted One explains his doctrine to Śāti, a fisherman's son, who misunderstanding the former's teaching of the dhamma, thinks that consciousness runs on and continues without break of identity.

(xxxxix) The Mahā Assapura Sutta⁸⁷ relates the qualities which are indispensable for an ideal recluse. Buddha proclaims that an ideal bhikkhu who may be called the brāhmaṇa, noble and saintly should be conscientious, scrupulous as well as pure in deed, word and thought; should train himself to guard the portals of the senses and to observe moderation in food; should be mindful and self-possessed; should live in solitude; should sit in a charnel-ground with his

⁸⁵ Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 251-256; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 310-314.
⁸⁶ Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 256-271; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 315-332.
⁸⁷ Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 271-280; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 333-343.
mind set on mindfulness; should put away five hindrances; and should abide in the four ecstacies.

(xl) The Cūla Assapura Sutta\textsuperscript{88} describes the regimen of a recluse. A bhikkhu is one who should not tread the recluse's path of duty, and should put away greed, malice, wrath, revenge, hypocrisy, fraud as well as evil desires. One becomes a true bhikkhu not by wearing yellow robes, dwelling under a tree, reciting sacred hymns or having matted hair, but by avoiding all evil objects. Indeed a true bhikkhu abides in the four ecstacies having put away five hindrances and destroyed tankers.

(xli) The Sālleyyaka Sutta\textsuperscript{89} narrates the events connected with the exhortation of Buddha to the brāhmaṇa householders of Sāla, a village of Kosala. It further records that the Exalted One convinces them of the truth of what he has stated and supplies a list of all gods of the Kāmaloka, Rūpaloka and Arūpaloka. The list is systematic, but it is without any detailed information. Here Buddha states that a holy life ensures a good destiny and an unholy life a bad one; and that a holy one is able to take a birth of his own choice.

(xlii) The Veraṅjaka Sutta\textsuperscript{90} records that the Blessed One instructs the brāhmaṇas who come to Sāvatthī from Veraṅja on some business or other, convincing them of the importance of his doctrine. This discourse is significant from the point of view of the manner in which the present Nikāya originates.

\textsuperscript{88} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 281-284; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 344-348.
\textsuperscript{89} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 285-290; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, 349-355.
\textsuperscript{90} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 290-291; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 356-359.
It, with the exception of a short introduction, is literally identical with the Sāleyyaka Sutta of the Majjhimanikāya.

(xliii) The Mahāvedalla Sutta\(^{91}\) contains a catechism of questions and answers of some psychological topics, e.g., understanding, consciousness, feeling, perception, pure mental consciousness isolated from the five faculties of physical sense, eye of understanding, right outlook, types of rebirth and first rapt musing or abstraction or jhāna. Thus it presents sermons as dry as dust, in which a series of technical expressions or a fundamental doctrine is explained in the catechism style.

(xliv) The Cūḷavedalla Sutta\(^{92}\) narrates that Dhammadinnā, a bhikkhunī, answers to the lay woman Visākhā’s questions on personality, the noble eightfold path, and the plastic forces (saṁkhārā). Dhammadinnā says that sakkāyadiṭṭhi, the ignorance of a static view of reality, is based on grasping the five khandhas, states of body as well as mind and explains the nirodha-samāpatti, a yogic realisation of the cessation of the psychic process.

(xlv) The Cūḷadhhammasamādāna Sutta\(^{93}\) and (xlvii) the Mahādhammasamādāna Sutta\(^{94}\) reveal that there are four ways to profess a doctrine. The first is pleasant for the time being, but ripens to suffering thereafter; the second is unpleasant for the

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\(^{91}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 292-298; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 360-368.

\(^{92}\) Majjhimaniyāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 299-305; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 369-376.

\(^{93}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 305-309; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 377-379.

time being and ripens to suffering thereafter; the third is unpleasant for the time being, but ripens to be pleasant thereafter; and the fourth is not only pleasant for the time being, but also ripens to be pleasant thereafter.

In the Cūladhammasamādāna Sutta we get a veritable pattern-card of ascetic abominations and all sorts of queer saints of various sects. There are, for example, ‘dog-ascetics’ and ‘ox-ascetics’ whose asceticism consists in feeding and living exactly after the manner of dogs and oxen. In answer to the question as to what will become of these ascetics in their future birth, Buddha informs that in the best case, the ‘dog-ascetic’ may be reborn as a dog and the ‘ox-ascetic’ as an ox, but that, just as likely they may both find themselves in hell.

(xlvii) The Vimamsaka Sutta\(^\text{95}\) in the words of Buddha proclaims that the enquiring bhikkhu who searches the heart of others, ought to study the truth-finder in respect of two states of consciousness, which appear through eye and ear, and should see whether the revered man is restrained in fearlessness or through fear or whether it is solely by reason of passionlessness that he eschews pleasures of senses, having eradicated the passion. If an individual's faith in the truth-finder is planted by the foregoing researches, then such faith will be based on insight and reason.

(xlviii) The Kosambiya Sutta\(^\text{96}\) relates that a dispute is ripe in Kosambi among the bhikkhus as

\(^{95}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 317-320; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 389-392.

\(^{96}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 320-325; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 393-398.
regards some rules of the Vinaya. But the Blessed One speaks on amity as well as its roots in order to negotiate a conciliation and restore harmony in the Buddhist Order. He also reveals herein the advantages of mutual understanding.

(xlix) The *Brahmanimantanika Sutta*\(^{97}\) records that Buddha engages himself in a conversation with Baka, the Brahmā, who holds the wrong view about eternalism or the view that this world is permanent with no rebirth thence. The Exalted One unveils the true fact in no time. In this sutta it is found that Māra, the Evil One, endeavours to win over both Buddha and Brahmā. But at last he cannot succeed in such an ignoble pursuit. At the beginning Brahmā behaves in a haughty manner and challenges Buddha with antagonism, but soon after he becomes pacified and meek before him. This discourse further claims to prove absolutely that Buddha is mighty and exalted above all gods, even above the highest Brahman.

(I) The *Māratajjaniya Sutta*\(^{98}\) with which ends the first series of fifty discourses of the present Nikāya, contains an early type of dialogue. The verses which are included herein, form the epilogue of the sutta and bear a favourable comparison with the Padhāna Sutta of the Suttanipāta of the Khuddakanikāya. It is said that as Venerable Mahāmoggalāna is walking up and down in the open, Māra enters his stomach and produces a gurgling sound. Moggalāna having known the fact rebukes Māra for

\(^{97}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 326-331; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 599-605.

\(^{98}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 332-338; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 406-413.
making such a mischief, narrating his previous life.

(li) The Kandaraka Sutta\textsuperscript{99} deals with Buddha's view against ascetic practices. In this discourse the Exalted One discourages an individual who torments himself and is given to self-mortification; one who torments others and is given to tormenting others; and one who torments himself and others, and given to tormenting both. On the other hand, he encourages that person who tormenting neither himself nor others abides beyond appetites and in bliss and in happiness. This discourse supplies us with a good survey of the brahmanical system of sacrifice and valuable hints on the connection between the bloody sacrifices, government and brāhmaṇas.

(lii) The Āṭṭhakanāgara Sutta\textsuperscript{100} describes various stages which lead towards Nibbāna. It is said that a bhikkhu being divested of pleasures of senses and wrong states of consciousness, enters on and abides in the first, second, third and fourth jhānas and with radiant good will, pity, sympathy and poised equanimity pervades the four quarters of the world. Thus ultimately having crossed beyond perception of material objects, sense-reactions, and perception of differences, he dwells in the planes of infinity of space, infinity of consciousness and of nothingness.

(liii) The Sekha Sutta\textsuperscript{101} relates how a disciple of the Noble One becomes virtuous, keeps watch and ward over the portals of sense, is temperate in eating, vigilant, established in the seven virtuous

\textsuperscript{99} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 339-349; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 3-14.
\textsuperscript{100} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 349-353; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 15-19.
\textsuperscript{101} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 353-359; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 20-26.
qualities, and is able at will to induce the four jhānas which transcend thought and ensure weal and prosperity in this very existence.

(liv) The Potaliya Sutta\(^{102}\) deals with the nature of true-giving in the sense of the law of the Aryans. It also, in this connection, discusses abstention from killing, theft, lying, calumny, covetousness, taunts, anger and arrogance. In order to reveal how full of torment and suffering are the pleasures of the senses, are set down in this discourse seven forceful illustrations like those of bare and fleshless bone, a bird of prey, pit filled with glowing coals, a beautiful dream-vision, a borrowed treasure, and a tree laden with fruit.

(lv) The Jivaka Sutta\(^{103}\) records Buddha’s opinion about the eating of meat. The Blessed One thinks that meat should not be eaten by a monk under three circumstances, viz., (a) if he has seen, (b) if he has heard, or (c) if he has reasons to believe that the animal has been killed and cooked purposely (uddissakaṭām) for his use. He also considers the offering of meat, after killing an animal purposely for the use of a monk, as a grave offence from the ethical point of view. But in other cases he allows the bhikkhus to accept meat.

(lvi) The Upāli Sutta\(^{104}\) describes a conversation between Buddha and Upāli, a follower of Nigaṅtha Nātaputta. It relates that, according to the disciples of Nigaṅtha, there are three kinds of inflections

\(^{102}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 359-368; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 27-38.

\(^{103}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 368-371; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 39-42.

\(^{104}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 371-387; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 43-60.
which effect and give birth to demerits connected with deed, speech, and thought and that those related to deed are the most criminal in effecting and starting demerit, the other two being less criminal. The verses uttered by Upāli in praise of the qualities of Buddha are indeed remarkable compositions distinguished by majestic and dignified tone. This sutta is of historical significance as it throws light on the relation of Buddha to the Jainas.

(lvi) The Kukkuravatika Sutta\(^{105}\) deals with Buddha’s prediction about the next birth of Puṇṇa Koliyaputta who is a man of bovine vow and of Seniya, a naked ascetic, who is a man of canine vow. The Exalted One declares that both of them will next be born either in the purgatory or in the world as animals. Then he speaks of four types of action, namely, (a) actions which are dark, with dark outcome, (b) actions which are bright, with bright outcome, (c) actions which are both dark and bright, with dark and bright outcome, and lastly (d) actions which are neither dark nor bright, with an outcome neither dark nor bright, i.e., conducive to the destruction of kamma. At the end of the discourse, both Puṇṇa and Seniya take refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.

(lvii) The Abhayarājakumāra Sutta\(^{106}\) contains an interesting account relating that Prince Abhaya, a son of king Bimbisāra and courtesan Padumāvatī, at the suggestion of Niganṭha Nātaputta, approaches Buddha at Rājagaha with a dilemma concerning the

Blessed One’s statement as regards the unpleasant truths. Having witnessed that the prince is nursing his little boy who lies on his lap, Buddha states that just as parents should pull out a pebble or a stick which may get into the mouth of their dear little boy even if blood flows, so also does he utter an unpleasant truth at the proper time conditionally, i.e., conformably to the situation as occasion arises (ṭhānaso). Being convinced and thus triumphed over by the Exalted One, Abhaya takes refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. The sutta bears the evidence of Niganṭha Nātaputta’s awareness of the dissension between Buddha and Devadatta.

(lx) The Ṛahvavedaniya Sutta\(^{107}\) enumerates various types of feelings. In this discourse the Blessed One says that five in number are the pleasures of senses, namely, material shapes apparent to the eye, sound, smell, taste, and touch, and that every pleasant gratification which appears from these five pleasures of senses is called sensual pleasures. But he states that this is not the highest pleasure; beyond this, there is a pleasure which is more excellent and which is enjoyed by a bhikkhu who abides by the four jhānas, plane of infinity of consciousness and plane of nothingness.

(lx) The Āpannaka Sutta\(^{108}\) reveals the soundness of the doctrine of Buddha. Here the Exalted One expounds the doctrine to recluses and brāhmaṇas who hold views which are diametrically opposite.

\(^{107}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 396-400; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 72-76; cf. also Saṃyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iv, pp. 223-228.

\(^{108}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 400-413; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 77-91.
He proves the superiority of his own doctrine and finds out why it may be treated as the most sound one.

(lxi) The Ambulaṭṭhikā Rāhulovāda Sutta deals with the deliberate falsehood (sampajāna-musāvāda) and shows that if one tells a deliberate lie, his religious life is meaningless like a pot without water. The method by which Buddha teaches the young Rāhula to attain purity in deed, word and thought (kāya, vācā and mano) by constant introspection (paccavekkhāna) is, consistently with the period of Rāhula, characteristically plain and simple. The historical significance of this sutta lies in the fact that it presents the Pāli counterpart of the tract referred to in the Bhābru Edict of Aśoka under the descriptive title “Lāghulovāde musāvādam adhigyicya Bhagavatā Buddhena bhāsite” (The Rāhulovāda embodying the Exalted Buddha’s discourse on the subject of falsehood).

(lxii) The Mahā Rāhulovāda Sutta records Sāriputta’s admonition to Rāhula for developing mindfulness which is possible due to proper inhaling and exhaling, i.e., breathing exercises.

(lxiii) The Cūla Māluṅkya Sutta relates that Māluṅkyaputta is dissatisfied with the life of a recluse as the Blessed One does not enumerate to him the various speculations about the past and present. Buddha, however, informs that he does not expound them as they are irrelevant and not helpful for attain-

110 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 420-426; (The) Majjhimanikāya vol. ii, pp. 100-106.
ing the higher life. This discourse further shows that sundry conjectures about the nature of the world and the self are declared by Buddhism as ‘avyākatas’ (‘not expounded’), because they are neither conducive to good nor do they pertain to the pristine Brahmacariya, nor lead to aversion to worldly life, to dispassionateness, to cessation of suffering, to tranquility, to higher knowledge, to enlightenment, and to Nībbāna. In the Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīghanikāya, these speculations are represented as diṭṭhis (‘imperfect views’) and are often treated as ṭhapaniyapañhas or questions to be left aside. But only the fourfold noble truth which has been explained by Buddha, is conducive to good, pertains to the pristine Brahmacariya, leads to aversion to worldly life, to dispassionateness, to cessation of suffering, etc. In this sutta a beautiful example of a convincing simile is afforded by the dialogue of the Blessed One with the son of Māluṅkya. Here Buddha tells the enquiring disciple who asks for information concerning existence and non-existence and other metaphysical questions, that the answering of these questions will leave no time for finding the way to emancipation as well as to freedom from suffering, and he illustrates it by means of a parable.

(lxiv) The Mahā Māluṅkya Sutta\(^{112}\) deals with the five bonds, viz., sakkāyadiṭṭhi (false view of individuality), vicikicchā (doubt), sīlabbataparāmāsa (affection of rites), kāmacchanda (desire for sensual pleasures), and byāpada (malevolence), which chain human beings to the lower life. Buddha

in this connection suggests some positive measures for destroying these five orambhāgiya samyojanas.

(lxv) The Bhaddāli Sutta\textsuperscript{113} records Buddha’s admonition towards Bhaddāli for being obedient and for conducting oneself according to the Buddhist way of life.

(lxvi) The Laṭukikopama Sutta\textsuperscript{114} describes some foolish people who being asked to give up something, think that it is a matter of no moment and do not give it up. But this insignificant things grows into a bond enough to hold them fast. A popular version of this discourse may be obtained in the Laṭukika Jātaka.\textsuperscript{115}

(lxvii) The Cātuma Sutta\textsuperscript{116} mentions four types of terrors, viz., temper, gluttony, five pleasures of senses and women, which do not await those who, in this doctrine (dhamma) and rules (vinaya), go forth from home to homelessness as bhikkhus.

(lxviii) The Naḷakapāna Sutta\textsuperscript{117} reveals that a bhikkhu by tearing five bonds is born in the next birth in the heaven from where no return is possible for him; by tearing three bonds he is safe from future states of punishments, is not to delude folk, nor to get for himself gains or fame, nor to advertise himself as revealing the respective states hereafter of his followers, dead and gone. Because there are young men who believe and are filled with enthusiasm and

\textsuperscript{113} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 437-447; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 120-130.

\textsuperscript{114} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 447-456; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 131-140.

\textsuperscript{115} Fausboll; ed. Jātaka, vol. iii.

\textsuperscript{116} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 456-462; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 141-147.

\textsuperscript{117} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 462-468; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 148-155.
gladness, who on hearing this revelation, concentrate their whole hearts on becoming like these, for their own abiding good and welfare. A popular version of this discourse is found in the Naḷakapāṇa Jātaka.

(lxix) The Gulissāni Sutta\textsuperscript{118} discusses about the duties of a bhikkhu who comes in from the wilds to the Saṅgha and dwells with other bhikkhus. Such a monk, according to Sārīputta, should show respect and display consideration to his fellow-companions in the spiritual pursuit. He should further be particular in respect of seats, punctilious to displace neither senior nor junior monks. He should not visit the village at too early an hour. He should keep watch over his faculties, be moderate as regards his food and steadfast in good wishes.

(lxx) The Kīṭagiri Sutta\textsuperscript{119} records Buddha’s admonition towards two bhikkhus for putting implicit faith in Buddhism. Here the Exalted One says that he possesses the knowledge of what is to be eschewed and what those bhikkhus should avoid.

(lxxi) The Tevijja Vacchagotta Sutta\textsuperscript{120} reports that Vacchagotta, a wanderer, bears a wrong idea about the lore possessed by Buddha. So the Blessed One here revealing the true nature of the threefold lore possessed by himself declares that he can remember his past existences; with eye celestial he can see creatures in act to pass hence as well as reappear elsewhere; and he has won emancipation

\textsuperscript{118} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 469-473; (The) Majjhimanikāya vol. ii, pp. 156-161.

\textsuperscript{119} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 473-481; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 162-172.

\textsuperscript{120} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 481-483; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 173-175.
after the destruction of his evil desires. He further says that among the Ājivakas only one has gone to heaven after death, not to speak of attaining arahatship by any one of them.

(lxxii) The Aggi Vacchagotta Sutta\(^{121}\) records the events leading to Aggi Vacchagotta’s conversion to Buddhism. In this discourse we find that Aggi Vacchagotta puts to Buddha some questions on the speculations about the past and the future. Vacchagotta is a paribbājaka, ‘a wandering ascetic’—the epithet ‘Aggi’ is prefixed to his name to distinguish him from others of the same name. But according to G. P. Malalasekera, as the simile of a fire is utilised here the discourse that sets forth some points considered by the brahmanical thinkers as ‘ultimate questions’, is so called. Buddha realises that these questions are but ṭhapaniyapañhas or questions which he should shelve, not because he discourages vain, theoretical tangle and unsubstantial speculative thought, but because in admitting them as problems he will endanger his own position as a thinker.

(lxxiii) The Mahā Vacchagotta Sutta\(^{122}\) explains what is right and what is wrong. It is said that Vaccha is very much impressed by Buddha’s explanation, acts according to the teachings of the Blessed One, and ultimately attains to arahatship for his meritorious deeds.

(lxxiv) The Dīghanaka Sutta\(^{123}\) is referred to as

\(^{121}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 483-489; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 176-183.
\(^{122}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 489-497; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 184-192.
Vedanāpariggaha Suttanta in the Dhammadadaṭṭhakathā. In this discourse Buddha in reply to Dīghanakha’s question states that those who are satisfied with all, hold a view which is allied to passion and pleasure; but those individuals who are dissatisfied with all, bear a view which is allied to passionlessness and deliverance; others again accept partially the former and partially the latter views. The Exalted One also explains in this connection the doctrine leading to the final emancipation.

(lxxv) The Māgandiya Sutta reveals that Māgandiya, a wanderer, describes Buddha in an opprobrious term as a repressioist (bhūnahu). But Buddha opposes such a view about himself and says that he is not so, because he has subjugated the ear, nose, tongue, body, consciousness and their respective functions. He preaches the doctrine for the subjagation of these. He proclaims that the highest gain may be obtained through the destruction of all such objects.

(lxxvi) The Sandaka Sutta deals with four kinds of abrahmacariyavāsā or unholy ways of living, four kinds of anassāsikāni brahmacariyāni or uninspiring practices of holiness and Ānanda’s criticism of the heretical views. As regards the four abrahmacariyavāsā it is said that (a) there is the teacher who holds that it does not matter whether actions are good or bad, (b) there is the teacher who holds that no evil is done by him who acts himself or

124 Dhammadadaṭṭhakathā (P.T.S.), vol. i, p. 96.
causes others to act, (c) there is the teacher who holds that there is no cause for either depravity or purity, and (d) there is the teacher who holds, among other things, that a being is made up of seven eternal elements (satta kāyā) and that all men will make an end of ill only when they have finished their course of transmigration, like a ball of thread, when rolled, goes as far as the thread permits. The present sutta does not mention by names the teachers who hold such views. But in the Sāmaññaphala Suttanta of the Dīghanikāya, the first view is represented by Ajita Kesa Kambali, the second view by Pūraṇa Kassapa, the third by Makkhali Gosāla and the fourth is shared between Pakudha Kaccāyana and Makkhali Gosāla. On the other hand, the four kinds of anassāsikāni brahmacariyāni are enumerated as (a) there is the teacher who claims to be all-knowing and all-seeing, (b) there is the teacher who is familiar with tradition and accepts it as truth, (c) there is the teacher who is a logician, and guided by his argumentation and reasoning, (d) and lastly, there is the teacher who is dull and deficient in intellect, viz., Sañjaya Belatṭhiputta who is a sceptic and whose view is characterised by ‘Vācāvikkhepa’, ‘prevarication’, or ‘Amarāvikkhepa’, ‘eel-wriggling’. But the main interest of this discourse is centered round Ānanda’s criticism of the views of the six Titthiyas mentioned in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta. The Ājīvikas or followers of Makkhali Gosāla appear to have been the main target of attack here (Ājīvakā puttamattāya puttā). Thus the Sandaka Sutta is of much interest, because it throws light on the relation of Buddha to the doctrines of other teachers, especially free-thinkers and sophists, of his day.
(lxxxii) The Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta\textsuperscript{127} treats of the key to pupil’s respect and the way of commanding veneration of his disciple by the teacher. It records that Sakuludāyi informs Buddha that in the past Āṅga and Magadha were seething with sophistic activities. It is also apparent in this discourse that each individual is left free, within generous limits, to choose the mode of living which suits his own particular needs, even if it includes austerities which Buddha neither recommends to others nor practises himself.

(lxxxii) The Samanāmanḍikā Sutta\textsuperscript{128} relates that, according to Uggahamāna, a wanderer, four qualities characterise a triumphant recluse who has won all that is to be won, does nothing evil, thinks nothing evil and gets his living in no evil way. But Buddha considers that there are ten qualities which make a bhikkhu a triumphant who is imbued with the right, excels in the right, and has won all that is to be won.

(lxxxiii) The Cūlasakuludāyi Sutta\textsuperscript{129} deals with the emptiness of the tenets of Sakuludāyi, a wanderer, who has a vague idea of what is perfection, and speaks on the four ecstacies or rapt musings or abstractions and other states of consciousness while explaining the world of absolute bliss and the sure way to realise it. It further informs that, according to Mahāvīra, the four precepts and selfprivation are tthe recog-

\textsuperscript{127} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 1-22; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 224-246.

\textsuperscript{128} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 22-29; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 247-254.

\textsuperscript{129} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 29-39; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 255-266.
nised methods for attaining the blissful state of the soul. At the end of the discourse it is found that Sakuludāyi is converted to Buddhism.

(lxxx) The *Vekhanassa Sutta*\(^{130}\) traces the emptiness of the tenets of Vekhanassa, a wanderer, who has a very queer idea about the perfection. Ultimately, however, Buddha convinces and converts Vekhanassa to his doctrine. Buddhaghosa, the Pāli commentator, informs us that Vekhanassa is the teacher of Sakuludāyi.

(lxxxii) The *Ghaṭikāra Sutta*\(^{131}\) records a conversation between Buddha and Ānanda. Here the Exalted One speaks on devotion of Ghaṭikāra, a potter by profession. It is said that in a previous birth, Ghaṭikāra, had a friend called Jotipāla. Once both of them visited Kassapa, the Lord. Having heard the doctrine preached by the Lord himself Jotipāla as a monk determined to renounce the household life. But Ghaṭikāra inspite of his strong inclination towards the monk-life could not forsake the worldly life as he had to support his aged blind parents. Still in respect of his devotion to Lord Kassapa he surpassed all others and performed the duties of a Buddhist layman. Once Kīki, king of Kāsi, sent invitation to Lord Kassapa who accordingly accepted the same. He also requested the Lord to spend the rainy season in his kingdom. But Kassapa informed the king that he had already promised to Ghaṭikāra to stay under his care at Vehalinga. In this connection he spoke very highly

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of Ghaṭikāra’s devotion. At the end of the discourse Buddha identifies himself with Jotipāla of the previous birth.

(lxxxi) The Raṭṭhapāla Sutta\textsuperscript{132} relates that a true bhikkhu goes from home to homelessness as a monk, when he knows, sees, and hears the following four propositions enumerated by the Blessed One. These propositions are: (a) the world is in continual flux and change, (b) the world is no protector or preserver, (c) the world owns nothing, and (d) the world lacks and hankers being enslaved to craving. It is also said in this discourse that that cannot be called a true renunciation when one goes forth from home to homelessness as a monk, for old age, failing health, impoverishment, and death of kinsfolk. We may recall here that the verses uttered by Raṭṭhapāla express his own religious experiences and are highly interesting from the literary point of view, because these are the prototypes of the gāthās numbered 769 to 788 of the Theragāthā of the Khuddakanikāya. Thus this discourse in beautiful old ballad-style describes the story of Raṭṭhapāla, a young prince, who becomes subsequently a Buddhist monk. But it is neither a dialogue nor a sermon; it simply is a narrative presented in the form of a regular old ākhyāna.

(lxxxi) The Makhādeva Sutta\textsuperscript{133} is mentioned in the Cullaniddesa as one of the four earliest examples of the Jātaka-stories\textsuperscript{134}. In this discourse it

\textsuperscript{132} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 54-74; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 281-299.
\textsuperscript{133} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 74-83; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 300-309.
\textsuperscript{134} Cullaniddesa, p. 80 (Maghādeva); cf. Jātaka, vol. i, No. 9 (Makhādeva Jātaka).
is said that Makkādeva, king of Mithilā, in order to seek celestial pleasures, renounces the mundane life. His son also, as he enjoys fully the worldly pleasures, leaves the household life. The last of the three kings to do so is Nimi, whose scion Janaka breaks such a tradition. Thus this discourse narrates the legend that recurs in the Jātakas, of king Makkādeva who, at the appearance of the first grey hair, gives up the royal authority and becomes a bhikkhu.

(*lxxxiv*) The *Madhura Sutta*¹³⁵ deals with the superiority of the brāhmaṇas. In this sutta, Mahākaccāna speaks against the brahmanical claims that the brāhmaṇas are superior to all individuals who belong to other castes.

(*lxxv*) The *Bodhirājakumāra Sutta*¹³⁶ reveals that in reply to Bodhi’s question related to the time required for gaining the prize of prizes by a bhikkhu with the truth-finder as his guide, the Exalted One proclaims that a bhikkhu who is very eager to learn should have aptness.

(*lxxvi*) The *Āngulimāla Sutta*¹³⁷ presents a vivid account of taming and conversion of Āngulimāla, a bandit, by the Blessed One. The verses uttered by Āngulimāla and compiled in this discourse are precisely those ascribed to him and numbered 867-891 of the Theragāthā in the Khuddakaniṇīkāya. This discourse offers quite a realistic description of the outlaw and hardened highway robber who may be considered as a religious fanatic and the forerunner

of the kāpālikas of later times. It may be noted that Āṅgulimāla’s conversion heightens the fame of Buddha as the purisadammasārathi. The Āṅgulimāla Sutta is neither a dialogue nor a sermon, but simply a narrative. It is, indeed, a regular old ākhyāna, describing, in prose and verse, the story of the terrible robber Āṅgulimāla, who becomes a bhikkhu and rises to be an arahat. Its verses mentioned earlier represent some valuable examples of ancient Buddhist poetry.

(lxxxvii) The Piyajātika Sutta\(^{138}\) by references to some actual facts points out that dear ones cause sorrow and lamentation, pain, suffering and tribulation in various ways.

(lxxxviii) The Bāhitika Sutta\(^{139}\) records an intimate conversation between Ānanda and king Pase-nadi on the topic of right and wrong behaviour. It also shows that behaviour, whether of act or word or thought, which is blame-worthy, malevolent, ripens into ill and conduces to the harm either of one’s self or of others or of both together, is wrong but that behaviour which is divested of all such evils, is right and wholesome.

(lxxxix) The Dhammacetiya Sutta\(^{140}\) relates that king Pasenadi commends the doctrine in monumental words. According to the king there is always strife arising between kings, nobles, brāhmaṇas and householders; but the bhikkhus dwell in peace, concord and amity. He further speaks of samaṇas and


\(^{139}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 112-117; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 359-364.

brāhmaṇas who are lean miserable creatures and adds
that comparatively the bhikkhus are joyous as well
as joyful and are free from care, worry and perplexity.
Thus this discourse distinguishes not only between
Buddha's disciples and other samaṇas and brāhmaṇas,
but also between the position of the king and that of
Buddha. It also sets forth the extent of the royal
power. A later version of the episode of Buddha's
interview with king Pasenadi of Kosala may be noted
in the Bhaddasāla Jātaka (No. 465). The sutta
also discloses that Buddha and Pasenadi are con-
temporaries (Bhagavā pi Kosalako aham pi Kosalako,
Bhagavā pi āsītiko aham pi āsītiko). The title of this
discourse is suggested by Buddha himself in its
concluding portion. Its contents form so many
memorials (cetiyaṇi) in honour of the Dhamma,
and are worthy to be studied, learnt and laid to
heart by Buddha's disciples (ugganātha, bhikkhave,
dhammacetiyaṇi; pariyāpuṇātha, bhikkhave, dham-
macetiyaṇi; dhāretha, bhikkhave, dhammacetiyaṇi).
This sutta also mentions the names of Isidatta and
Purāṇa as the two distinguished architects (ṭhapa-
tayo) in the royal service of Kosala.

(xc) The Kannakatthala Sutta\textsuperscript{41} supplies a con-
versation between the Blessed One and king Pase-
nadi. It is said that the king asks Buddha about
omniscience, purity of the four classes of nobles,
brāhmaṇas, middle-class people as well as peasants,
and about supreme Brahmā. The Exalted One ex-
plains these points elaborately and so as a result
Pasenadi becomes much pleased. According to
Buddha, at one and at the same time, no brāhmaṇa can

\textsuperscript{41} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 125-133; (The) Majjhimanikāya
(P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 373-381.
know and see everything and further "a malign Brahmā does return to life on earth, while a benign Brahmā does not".

(xci) The Brahmagyu Sutta\(^{142}\) in the form of a conversation between Buddha and Brahmagyu, a brāhmaṇa, as well as his pupil Uttara describes the thirty-two marks of a superman (mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇāni), possessed by the Blessed One himself. These marks are: "(1) His tread is firmly planted, (2) on his soles are the wheels, complete with a thousand spokes and with felloes and hubs, (3) his heels project, (4) his digits are long, (5) he has soft hands and feet, (6) his fingers and toes spring clean, without webbing between them, (7) his ankles are over the exact middle of his tread, (8) his legs are like an antelope’s, (9) while standing bolt upright, he can, without bending, touch and rub his knees with both hands at once, (10) his privities are within a sheath, (11) golden of hue is he, (12) so fine is his skin’s texture that no dust or dirt can lodge on it, (13) each several hair on his body grows separate and distinct, each from its own individual pore, (14) each hair starts straight, is blue-black like collyrium, and curls to the right at the tip, (15) he is as straight as a die, (16) his body shows the same convexities, (17) his chest is like a lion’s, (18) his back is flat between the shoulders, (19) his proportions are those of the banyan tree,—his stretch being the same as his height, (20) the curve of his shoulders is symmetrical, (21) his sense of taste is consummate, (22) he has the jaw of a lion, (23) he has forty teeth, (24) his teeth are of the same

length, (25) there are no interstices between his teeth, (26) his teeth are sparkling white, (27) his tongue is big, (28) his voice is melodious as the cuckoo’s note, (29) the pupils of his eyes are intensely dark, (30) his eye-lashes are like a cow’s, (31) between his eyebrows grow soft white hairs like cottondown, and (32) his head is shaped like a turban” 143

(xcii) The Sela Sutta144 reports that having observed the thirty-two signs in the body of the Blessed One, a brāhmaṇa called Sela takes refuge in the Buddhist triad, i.e., Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.

(xciii) The Assalāyana Sutta145 notes that Buddha speaks against the brahmanical pretention about the supremacy of the brāhmaṇas in respect of caste. The Ambaṭṭha Sutta of the Dīghanikāya and the Madhura Sutta of the Majjhimanikāya also deal with the same subject. The significance of the Assalāyana Sutta lies in its reference to Yona-Kāmboja region where the caste-system of the Indian tradition does not exist. The mention of the Yona-Kāmbojas in this discourse points to the existence of the Graeco-Bactrian empire during the period shortly before Aśoka. This beautiful sutta strikes us, as though taken from the actual life of the time of Buddha. The Blessed One’s doctrine of the “purity of all the four castes” must have been very constrained for the proud brāhmaṇas. Such dialogues about the problem of caste, as that between

145 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 147-157; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 403-413.
the young brāhmaṇa Assalāyana and Gotama Buddha, must have frequently have occurred in the real life. The reasoning against the caste-claims of the brāhmaṇas, as it is found here, is excellent. Buddha asks Assalāyana a series of questions which the latter is compelled to answer in the affirmative, thereby admitting that the caste-claims of the brāhmaṇas have no basis at all.

(xciv) The Ghoṭamukha Sutta\textsuperscript{146} relates that Udena, a Buddhist monk, convinces Ghoṭamukha of the inefficiency of self-mortification. The Kandaraka Sutta of the same Nikāya also deals with this topic.

(xcv) The Caṅkī Sutta\textsuperscript{147} records Buddha’s condemnation of the brahmanical pretension about the superiority of the brāhmaṇas.

(xcvi) The Esukāri Sutta\textsuperscript{148} reveals the view of Esukāri, a brāhmaṇa, who thinks that the birth is the criterion of the division of people and says that Buddha does not uphold such an erroneous view.

(xcvii) The Dhānaṅjāṇi Sutta\textsuperscript{149} mentions that Dhānaṅjāṇi lacks in zeal for pious deeds. But Sāriputta speaks highly of the merit of good acts. This discourse supplies also information about various gods, e.g., Cātummahārājika, Tāvattimsa, Yama,

\textsuperscript{146} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 157-163; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 414-426.

\textsuperscript{147} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 164-177; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 427-440.

\textsuperscript{148} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 177-184; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 441-448.

\textsuperscript{149} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 184-196; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 449-461.
Tusita, Nimmânarati, Paranimmitavasavatti and Brahmaloka gods.

(xcviii) The Vâseṭṭha Sutta\(^{150}\) expounds the qualities of a true brâhmanā and records that the Blessed One speaks to two young brâhmanās called Vâseṭṭha and Bhâradvâja, on this topic. This discourse recurs in the Suttanipâta\(^{151}\) and forms the canonical source from which half the number of the verses of the Brâhmaṇavagga in the Dhammapada of the Khuddakanikâya has been derived.

(xcix) The Subha Sutta\(^{152}\) narrates a conversation between Buddha and Subha. It contains a discussion on the Brahmā-sahavyatā or the union with Brahmā. In this sutta, Buddha describes to Subha, a son of the brâhmanā Toṣeyya, his own conception and realisation of Brahmā. He says that for the union with Brahmā one should practise the jhānā-practices and all moral conditions or qualities which are the four Brahma-vihāras consisting of mettā (friendliness), karunā (compassion), muditā (soft-heartedness) and upekkhā (equanimity).

(c) The Saṅgârava Sutta\(^{153}\) relates that Saṅgârava, a young brâhmanā, having heard the exclamation of Dhânaṇjâni, a brâhmanā lady, in praise of Buddha rebukes her for paying respect to a shaveling of a recluse. Later on the young brâhmanā meets the Blessed One who being asked by the brâhmanā says that he discerns the doctrine and so has by in-


\(^{151}\) Suttanipâta (P.T.S.), Sutta No. 9, p. 115.

\(^{152}\) Majjhimanikâya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 196-209; (The) Majjhimanikâya vol. ii, pp. 469-481.

sight won the goal and achieves perfection, recognising the foundation on which the higher life is based. It is interesting to note that Buddha in reply to Saṅgārava’s question admits that there are gods. With this discourse completes the middle series of fifty suttas of the Majjhimanikāya.

(c) The Devadaha Sutta\textsuperscript{154} presents a detailed exposition of the views of the Niganthas, the followers of Mahāvīra, who hold that whatever the individual experiences may be, all those come from former actions. So they think that by expiation of former misdeeds and by not committing fresh misdeeds one can ultimately get rid of evils. The Exalted One condemns their doctrine as fortuitous, because it is based on the assumption of one’s having done evils in former existences and on upholding the identity of individuals. This sutta also mentions ten beliefs of the Niganthas, which, as Buddha considers, are irrelevant and untenable.

(cii) The Pañcattaya Sutta\textsuperscript{155} refers to numerous contemporary schools of thought. Buddha says that various schools of thought make different assertions about futurity. Thus some think that the self is conscious after death, while others do not hold such an opinion. Some again patronise the theory of annihilation of the existing creatures, while others do not recognise such a view-point. The Blessed One, however, finds no reason to consider such speculations about the future existences of living beings.

\textsuperscript{154} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 214-228; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 3-20.

\textsuperscript{155} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 228-238; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 21-30.
(ciii) The Kinti Sutta\textsuperscript{156} reveals Buddha's admonition towards his disciples. The Exalted One states that the bhikkhus should train themselves in the higher lore, e.g., mindfulness (sati-paṭṭhāna), five forces or potentialities (bala), or fivefold sphere of sense (indriya), and in unity as well as harmony without any conflict. He further advises them to settle any quarrel between a bhikkhu and the other or any dispute relating to the offence committed by a monk, peacefully and amicably.

(civ) The Sāmagāma Sutta\textsuperscript{157} may be regarded as a Vinaya tract on the Adhikaraṇasamatha. It is said that after the demise of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, there arise quarrels among his disciples on sundry matters. Having learned of such incidents, Ānanda refers those to the Blessed One who, in the form of this discourse, expounds six conciliatory conditions which when fulfilled lead to no struggle, but establish unity and concord among the disciples. From this sutta it is evident that Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta or more precisely Mahāvīra predeceases Buddha by a few years. This information is, however, very significant from the point of view of the religious history of ancient India.

(cv) The Sunakkhatta Sutta\textsuperscript{158} records that Sunakkhatta enquires of Buddha whether the bhikkhus profess all they have really won or are extravagant in their vocations. The Exalted One answers: "If a bhikkhu is in full control of his six sense-organs to

\textsuperscript{156} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 238-243; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 31-36.

\textsuperscript{157} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 243-251; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 37-45.

\textsuperscript{158} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 252-261; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 46-55.
see in attachments the root of ill, and therefore to detach himself and to find deliverance in removing attachments, such a bhikkhu cannot possibly either surrender his body or devote his thought to attachments”.

(cvi) The Ānañjasappāya Sutta\(^{159}\) characterises the true nature of permanence. In this sutta Buddha enumerates several paths which lead to permanence, as for example, the subjugation of pleasures of senses by developing the mind, and the like.

(cvii) The Ganaka Moggallāna Sutta\(^{160}\) presents an interesting conversation between Buddha and Moggallāna, a brāhmaṇa mathematician, whose business is ‘counting’ (ganaṇā). In this sutta it is stated that the brahmanical training is a thoroughly graduated system (anupubbasikkhā, anupubba-kiriyā). The question discussed in this discourse: ‘Can Buddha’s teaching be so construed?’ The answer is obviously affirmative and contains a resume of typically different scheme of Buddha. Indeed Buddha’s system of learning, training or progression also admits the idea of graduation; but such a graduation should be followed duly by expediency.

(cviii) The Gopaka Moggallāna Sutta\(^{161}\) records the conversation between Ānanda and Gopaka Moggallana and refers to the fortification of the city of Rājagaha by king Ajātasattu for fear of an attack from king Pajjota of Avantī (rañño Pajjotassa

\(^{159}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. ii, pp. 261-266; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 56-60.

\(^{160}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 1-7; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 61-67.

\(^{161}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 7-15; (The) Majjhimanikāya, vol. iii, pp. 68-76.
āsan̄kamāno) soon after the great (demise of the Blessed One (acira-purinibbute Bhagavati). Gopaka is the personal name of a brāhmaṇa-minister of Ajātasattu and Moggallāna is his clan (gotto)-name. As Gopaka gets charge of some works of defence in Rājagaha, Ānanda visits his place. In answer to Gopaka’s question about the position of the Buddhist Order after Buddha’s death, Ānanda reports that the Saṅgha now is not unprotected, because the dhamma acts as its protection and the dhamma is its refuge and discipline shall be maintained in the Saṅgha by the Pātimokkha ceremony. At the very moment during their tour of inspection (anusaṇāṇāyamāno) Vassakāra, the chief minister of Ajātasattu, along with Upananda, the commander-in-chief of Magadha, appears there and takes active part in this discussion, praising Buddha and his disciples in high words. In this connection Ānanda adds that there are still some bhikkhus who are much revered and esteemed for their commendable qualities, although none of them is in every way like the Exalted One, and corrects Vassakāra’s statement saying that all types of jhānas are not certified by the Perfectly Enlightened One. The ten pleasing qualities (pasādāniyā dhammā) mentioned in this discourse are: (a) observance of moral rules, (b) learning, (c) contentment, (d) mastery of the four jhānas, (e) supernormal powers, (f) power of the Divine Ear, (g) knowledge of the thoughts and inclinations of other beings, (h) knowledge of one’s own previous existences, (i) power of the Divine Eye, and (j) knowledge of the destruction of āsavas. Thus in this discourse Buddha speaks of a way and advises his earnest disciples to follow him in that path.
which they have seen through him. The present sutta which describes the events immediately after the demise of Gotama Buddha is indeed concerned with the discipline of the Order, i.e., Vinaya, rather than with the dhamma or doctrine.

(cix) The *Mahāpunṇama Sutta*¹⁶² deals with the view of personality (sakkāyadiṭṭhi). It explains that an uninstructed ordinary individual who has no idea of the Noble Ones, who has no conception of the Blessed Ones and is unversed as also untrained in the doctrine of the Perfectly Enlightened Ones, considers form as self or self as possessing form or form in self or self in form. That person thinks likewise as regards also feeling and perception, constituents and consciousness. But, according to Buddha, such a way of thinking is not perfect and bereft of any loophole.

(cx) The *Cūlapunṇama Sutta*¹⁶³ in the words of Buddha relates that a bad man is bad in his nature, nurtured on bad, bad in his thought, speech, deeds, views, resolve and in the distribution of alms, while a good man is good in his nature, nurtured on good, good in his thought, aim, speech, deeds, views and in the distribution of alms.

(cxı) The *Anupada Sutta*¹⁶⁴ mentions Buddha’s praise about Sārīputta whose learning and understanding are vast as well as very deep. Buddha says that Sārīputta has gone through the complete course of training as laid down by him and is consummate

¹⁶² Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 15-20; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 77-82.
¹⁶⁴ Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 25-29; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 88-92.
in rolling onwards the peerless wheel of the doctrine which he has first set a-rolling.

(exii) The Chabbisodhana Sutta\textsuperscript{165} narrates the sixfold security by which a bhikkhu knows whether one is justified in saying that rebirth is no more, and whether one has led the highest life. On the other hand, a bhikkhu should observe by what manner of ken and vision one’s heart has absolutely been delivered from cankers with regard to the domain of vision, hearing, taste, smell, touch and apprehension.

(exiii) The Sappurisa Sutta\textsuperscript{166} deals with the attitude of the good man and a bad one.

(exiv) The Sevitabba Asevitabba Sutta\textsuperscript{167} describes what one should cultivate and what one should not cultivate. In this discourse Buddha says that behaviour in deed, speech, and thought should never be cultivated if thereby wrong dispositions become prominent and right dispositions are shunned. He advises his disciples to display such behaviour by which evil dispositions are avoided and good dispositions are practised.

(exv) The Bahudhātuka Sutta\textsuperscript{168} reveals Buddha’s admonition to the bhikkhus for training themselves up to become informed by study in diverse approaches.

(exvi) The Isigili Sutta\textsuperscript{169} repeats the name of

\textsuperscript{165} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 29-37; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 93-100.

\textsuperscript{166} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 37-45; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 101-108.

\textsuperscript{167} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 45-61; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 109-123.

\textsuperscript{168} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 61-67; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 124-130.

\textsuperscript{169} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 68-71; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 131-134.
those Pacceka-Buddhas or individual Buddhas who have long been residents on the Isigili mountain, one of the five hills surrounding Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha. Thus we have in this discourse a bare list of Pacceka-Buddhas, i.e., hermit-Buddhas who have attained enlightenment without proclaiming it to the World. The list is supplied first in prose and immediately afterwards in verse. Such a kind of mixture of prose and verse, which we come across occasionally in the Dīghanikāya and in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts, belongs to a much later date.

(cxvii) The Mahācattārīsaka Sutta\(^{170}\), explains the right concentration or sammā-samādhi. Buddha in this discourse says that the right view ranks first among the factors of right concentration.

(cxviii) The Ānāpānasati Sutta\(^{171}\), describes the breathing exercises in details.

(cxix) The Kāyagatāsati Sutta\(^{172}\), deals with meditation on the body. The question which is raised here is—'How is mindfulness of the body cultivated and developed so as to abound in fruit and blessings?' In fact, the Kāyagatāsati Sutta like the Ānāpānasati Sutta, is only a sectional presentation of the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta.

(cx) The Saṅkhāruppatti Sutta\(^{173}\), explains the causes of the appearance of the plastic forces (saṅkhāras).

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170 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 71-78; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 135-141.
171 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 78-88; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 142-150.
172 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 88-99; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 151-161.
(cxxi) The *Culasaññata Sutta*\(^{174}\) deals with true solitude.

(cxxii) The *Mahásaññata Sutta*\(^{175}\) also reveals the nature of true solitude, in the form of a conversation between Buddha and his disciples.

(cxxiii) The *Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta*\(^{176}\) explains clearly the wonders and marvels of the truth-finder’s nature. In this sutta which is delivered on the astonishing events as well as miracles, the birth of the Bodhisatta is narrated with all miracles as they are known in the Buddha legend of the later non-canonical books, e.g., Nidānakathā and Lalitavistara, and as is noticed in the Mahāpadāna Sutta of the Dīghanikāya.

(cxxiv) The *Bakkula Sutta*\(^{177}\) treats of a saint’s record. In this discourse Bakkula says to Acela-Kassapa that during his eighty years of monkhood he does not commit any sin and leads a pure life.

(cxxv) The *Dantabhūmi Sutta*\(^{178}\) discusses the question of discipline. In this discourse Buddha says that it is impossible for one who lives in the lap of enjoyment and pleasure to know or observe or realise what is to be known by renouncing the household life. That individual should be under training if he desires to obtain what is to be attained by giving up the mundane life.

175 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 109-118; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 174-182.
176 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 118-124; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 183-189.
177 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 124-128; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 190-193.
178 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 128-137; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 194-203.
(cxxvi) The Bhūmīja Sutta\textsuperscript{179} shows that right outlook is of primary necessity in order to win the fruits of the higher spiritual life. This discourse bears evidence of humour which remains inherent in the following parable: If one fills a trough with sand and water, however much one may twirl and stir it about, one will never obtain sesame-oil; however zealously one attempts to milk a cow by its horn, one will never obtain milk, and so on; in the same way, a monk will never reach the goal if he does not endeavour to do so in the right manner.

(cxxvii) The Anuruddha Sutta\textsuperscript{180} records a learned conversation between Venerable Anuruddha and Pañcakaṁga, a carpenter. In this discourse, Anuruddha is found to explain the true nature of boundless deliverance and vast deliverance of the heart. It is further said that if a bhikkhu dwells with radiant thought of love pervading all the quarters of the world, the whole length and breadth of the world, above, below, around, everywhere, he cultivates the boundless deliverance of the heart. Again if a bhikkhu pervades and imbues a single tree with the idea of vastness, he practises the vast deliverance of the heart. Anuruddha, here, speaks also in the assemblies of the Parittābhā gods, the Appamāñābhā gods, the Saṅkiliṭṭhābhā gods and the Parisuḍḍhābhā gods, on the four states of rebirth. This sutta has completely adopted the style of the enumerations of the Āṅguttaranikāya and of the definitions and classifications of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka.

\textsuperscript{179} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 138-144; (Thc) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 204-211.

\textsuperscript{180} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 144-152; (Thc) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 212-220.
(cxxviti) The Upakkilesa Sutta\textsuperscript{181} mentions the strife that appears among the monks of Kosambi. It is said that Buddha endeavours to settle the dispute, but he fails. He then retires elsewhere and admonishes Anuruddha, Nandiya, and Kimbila for doing away with the blemishes which cause the mental reflex (nimitta) to disappear.

(cxxix) The Bāla Panḍita Sutta\textsuperscript{182} forms a prose background of the Bālavagga and the Panḍitavagga of the Dhammapada in the Khuddakanikāya. In this discourse Buddha speaks of individuals who are either wise or fool. The course presentation of the doctrine of kamma in this sutta, where the torments of hell are described with minuteness which finds its counterpart in the descriptions of hell in the Purāṇas, may suggest a later date of its compilation. But it may also be possible, that even in earlier period a more popular conception of the doctrine of kamma exists by the side of the purely philosophical one.

(cxxx) The Devadūta Sutta\textsuperscript{183} describes the heaven's warning messengers. Here it is found that king Yama punishes those who are reported to do evil in the earth.

(cxxxi) The Bhaddekaratta Sutta\textsuperscript{184}, (cxxxii) the Ānanda Bhaddekaratta Sutta,\textsuperscript{185} (cxxxiii) the Mahākaccāna Bhaddekaratta Sutta,\textsuperscript{186} (cxxxiv)

\textsuperscript{181} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 152-162; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 221-232.

\textsuperscript{182} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 163-178; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 233-249.

\textsuperscript{183} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 178-187; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 250-259.

\textsuperscript{184} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 187-189; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 260-262.

\textsuperscript{185} ibid., pp. 189-191; ibid., pp. 263-266.

\textsuperscript{186} ibid., pp. 192-199; ibid., pp. 267-275.
the *Lomasakaṇṭiya Bhaddekaratta Sutta* lay the whole emphasis on not having much to do with the past and the future, but on that which concerns oneself primarily with what is immediately present. Especially the Bhaddekaratta Sutta introduces a canonical exposition exemplifying Mahākaccāna’s incomparable ability to explain in detail what is preached briefly by Buddha. Thus it appears as a typical commentary—a niddesa or vibhaṅga—collected in the canon itself.

*(cxxxv)*, The *Cūlakamma Vibhaṅga Sutta* and *(cxxxvi)* the *Mahākamma Vibhaṅga Sutta* relate that Subha Todeyyaputta, a young brāhmaṇa, asks Buddha about the reason why some human beings are either high or low. The Blessed One answers that their deeds are their possessions, heritage, parents, kindred as well as refuge, and that their deeds indeed cause them to be high or low.

*(cxxxvii)* The *Saḷāyatana Vibhaṅga Sutta* is the counterpart of the Abhidhamma exposition of āyatanas in the Vibhaṅga, as it bears an explanation of the six spheres of sense more or less of the Abhidhamma type.

*(cxxxviii)* The *Uddesa Vibhaṅga Sutta* contains a discourse of Mahākaccāna who says that an almsman’s thinking should always be so conducted that his mind may not either be externally diffused

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188 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 202-206; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 280-286.
190 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 215-222; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 297-304.
191 Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 223-229; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 305-312.
and dissipated or be internally set, and that through non-dependence he may be imperturbed, so that, with his mind thus secure, birth, old age and death and the suffering do not originate.

(exxxix) The Araṇa Vibhaṅga Sutta\(^{192}\) which is essentially a philosophical discourse as to the judicious use of the local terms signifying distinct objects, offers a detailed exposition of calmness. In this discourse it is stated that a man should neither give himself over to pleasures of senses nor give himself over to self-mortification; he should follow the noble eightfold path for the spiritual emancipation. This discourse speaks also of a correct standard of speech that is expected to produce no harm whatsoever. Such a standard urges that the speaker should fulfil three conditions, viz., (a) he should neither tell a story nor say anything face to face to belittle a person (rahovādam na bhāseyya, sammukhā na khīnāṃ bhane), (b) he should speak slowly and not hurriedly (ataramāno va bhāseyya, no taramāno), and (c) he should neither adhere to provincial expressions ‘nor depart from recognised parlance’ (janapadanituttīṁ nābhiniveseyya, samaṇāṇam nātī-dhāveyya). The terms like pātī (a feminine form of patta), pattām (a neutar form), vittham, saravam, dhāropan, poṇam and piṣīlam are but examples of different provincial expressions or dialects—all of which being used for denoting a pot or bowl.

(exl) The Dhātu Vibhaṅga Sutta\(^{193}\) which forms the counterpart of the Abhidhamma exposition of

\(^{192}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 230-237; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 313-321.

\(^{193}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 237-247; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 322-332.
dhātus in the Vibhaṅga, records a conversation between Buddha and Pukkusāti on the six elements: earth, water, fire, air, space, and consciousness. The frame narrative supplied in this sutta gives the impression of actual events. Thus the story of Pukkusāti, who desires admission into the order, and, while, he goes to fetch a cloak and a begging bowl, is killed by a cow, inculcates Buddha’s lesson that this man attains Nibbāna, inspite of not having been a monk.

(cxli) The *Sacca Vibhaṅga Sutta*\(^{194}\) deals with the four aryan truths (cattāri ariyasaccāni) and noble eightfold path (ariya āṭṭhaṅgikamagga). It corresponds to the Saccaniddesa in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta of the Dīghanikāya. Indeed both the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta and the Saccavibhaṅga Sutta of the Majjhimanikāya, contain what has been set forth in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta.

(cxlii) The *Dakkhinā Vibhaṅga Sutta*\(^{195}\) presents an analysis of the almsgiving. Buddha says that donations to individuals are grouped in fourteen grades, e.g., those to a truth-finder, arahat, all enlightened, Pacceka-Buddha, truth-finder’s arahat disciples, one on the way to become a perfected arahat, one who will never be reborn on the earth and the like.

(cxliii) The *Anāṭhapinḍikovāda Sutta*\(^{196}\) relates that as Anāṭhapinḍika becomes seriously ill, he sends a person to go on his behalf to Buddha as well as Sāriputta and bowing at their feet, to say how ill

\(^{194}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 248-252; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 333-338.

\(^{195}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 253-257; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 339-344.

\(^{196}\) Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 258-263; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 345-351.
he is and how he bows his head at the feet of both of them. As a result Sāriputta being accompanied by Ānanda visits Anāthapiṇḍika’s residence and exhorts the householder not to be a creature of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and mind. He also adds that a lay-devotee should not also be a creature of the elements, viz., earth, water, fire, wind, space and consciousness; he should not be a creature of the plastic forces, the realm of infinity of space, the realm of nothingness, and the realm of neither-perception-nor-non-perception. At the conclusion of the exhortation, Sāriputta and Ānanda rise and leave the place. Nor have they gone long when the householder Anāthapiṇḍika at the dissolution of his mundane body after death, passes away to the Tusita heaven.

(cxliv) The Channovādo Sutta\textsuperscript{197} describes Channa’s suicide. It is said that Channa becomes seriously ill and so determines to commit suicide. But Sāriputta advises him not to do so. Channa does not pay any attention to Sāriputta’s exhortation, uses the knife on himself, and dies. This story of the monk Channa is very interesting; because here approving suicide Buddha says that self-killing is blameworthy if by that means one merely desires to gain another body, i.e., a new rebirth; but not if one enters into Nibbāna.

(cxlv) The Punnovāda Sutta\textsuperscript{198} records that Puṇṇa asks Buddha how having listened to the Lord’s doctrine, he should live alone and aloof, being strenu-

\textsuperscript{197} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.) vol. iii, pp. 263-266; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.) vol. iii, pp. 352-356.

\textsuperscript{198} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.) vol. iii, pp. 267-270; (The) Majjhimanikāya vol. iii, pp. 357-360.
ous and purged of self. The Blessed One gives counsel to Puṇṇa who is a man of iron-will, but who wishes to go his own way.

(cxlvii) The Nandakovāda Sutta\textsuperscript{199} treats of Nandaka's homily to the bhikkhunīs. It is found here that Nandaka preaches to the Buddhist nuns on the impermanency of sight, form, and six groups of perception.

(cxlviii) The Cūla Rāhulovāda Sutta\textsuperscript{200} records Buddha's admonition to Rāhula, who is ripe in the qualities which mature into spiritual emancipation, in order to school him in the eradication of the cankers. Here Buddha also speaks of transitoriness of material objects.

(cxlviii) The Chachakka Sutta\textsuperscript{201} deals with the six sixes—six internal senses (senses of hearing, sight, smell, taste, touch, and mind), six external sense-objects (form, sound, odour, savour, touch, and mental objects), six groups of perception (sight and form, hearing and sound, smell and odour, taste and savour, touch and tangible objects, mind and mental objects), and six groups of cravings. With this discourse ought to have ended the third or the last group of fifty suttas.

(cxlix) The Mahā Saṅyāyanika Sutta\textsuperscript{202} records Buddha's instruction to the bhikkhus on the import of the six great domains of sense, i.e., the senses of

\textsuperscript{199} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 270-277; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 361-375.

\textsuperscript{200} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 277-280; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 376-379.

\textsuperscript{201} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 280-287; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 380-388.

\textsuperscript{202} Majjhimanikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 287-290; (The) Majjhimanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 389-393.
sight, hearing, smelling, taste, touch and understanding.

(cl) The *Nagaravindeyya Sutta*\(^\text{203}\) tells that once Buddha goes to the brāhmaṇa village of Nagaravinda in Kosala and so the brāhmaṇas of that village approach the Blessed One. Buddha speaks on the types of recluses and brāhmaṇas who should or should not receive honour, reverence and devotion. He also says that those recluses and brāhmaṇas who have abandoned lust in connection with the six domains of senses, should be honoured and revered.

(clii) The *Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi Sutta*\(^\text{204}\) describes the perils of the daily round for alms.

(cliii) The *Indriyabhāvanā Sutta*\(^\text{205}\) relates that the brahmanical culture of the faculties, according to Buddha, is erroneous, because it is practised when an individual neither observes form with his eyes nor hears sound with his ears. But according to the rule of the Noble it is cultivated when a bhikkhu becomes indifferent to something agreeable or disagreeable which results either from his seeing form with the eyes or from his hearing sound with the ears. With this sutta ends the Majjhimanikāya.

**Samyutta Nikāya**

The third Nikāya or Collection of the Sutta-piṭaka is the Samyuttanikāya or the “Collection of Grouped Suttas” or the “Book of the Kindred Say-
ings". It is indeed a compilation of discourses with their main bearings on psycho-ethical and philosophical problems. Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids observes that the concise prose suttas of this collection with the verses treating of legends of fairies, gods, devils, royal and priestly interviewers, may seem a tantalising jungle to the traveller bound for the hills of thought more austere.

Below is presented a gist of all the samyuttas arranged under five vaggas in this Nikāya:

A. Sagāṭhavagga

(i) The Devatā Samyutta\(^{206}\) consisting of eight chapters contains sayings of deities (devatā). Such sayings refer to the most diverse subjects. It is found here that Buddha offers an enigmatic answer to the questions, put forward by the gods, relating to the end of the fourfold wave of craving for sensual joys, rebirth, erroneous opinions, and ignorance-begotten desires. He also explains how one can attain spiritual emancipation from sin and detachment, from misery and sorrow by doing away with lust, and from the five khandhas or aggregates. Prose is either absent or functions merely in a very brief and monotonous introduction to the gāthās in this samyutta. These verses display, in origin and nature, a surprising variety. In some cases they have nothing specifically Buddhistic about them. In some others, originally non-Buddhist verse appears to have been adapted to Buddhist use. Thus the Devatā Samyutta is, on the whole, a miscellaneous collection of verses

\(^{206}\) Samyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. i, pp. 1-45; (Th) Samyuttanikāya (Nalanda, Pali Publication Board, 1959), vol. i, pp. 3-42.
belonging to diverse strata and includes many riddles as well as aphorisms in the form of questions and answers.

(ii) The Devaputta Samyutta\(^{207}\) comprising three chapters deals with some questions raised by the sons of the gods before Buddha who explains those to their fullest satisfaction. In this connection the Blessed One says that one should give up wrath if one desires to be happy in this worldly existence and should keep company with good men.

(iii) The Kosala Samyutta\(^{208}\) in its three chapters presents about twenty-five anecdotes relating to Pasenadi, king of Kosala and a disciple of Bāvarī, a Brāhmaṇa. It is said that a great sacrifice has been arranged to be held for the king who subsequently becomes an ardent supporter of Buddha. The discourse relates that a war between Ajātasattu, king of Magadha, and Pasenadi breaks out for the possession of the township of Kāśī. At first Ajātatasattu wins the battle. But later on he is defeated and imprisoned. Pasenadi, however, ultimately arranges the marriage of his daughter Vijirā and Ajātatasattu and hands over the township of Kāśī to his son-in-law as a pin money. The Kosala Samyutta in the form of dialogues between Buddha and Pasenadi seems to be a mixture of authentic and unauthentic materials. It may be that owing to the power and prestige of the king, Buddha’s meeting with him must have left a deep impression on early Buddhist tradition and that is why the actual historical remini-

\(^{207}\) Samyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. i, 46-67; (The) Samyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 43-66.

\(^{208}\) Samyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. i, pp. 68-102; (The) Samyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 67-102.
scences relating to such an encounter must have been fictitious, but not a conscious elaboration. The Buddhist doctrines discussed in the present samyutta are of a simple ethical nature. The rarity of formulae confirms its early time of composition. That will also explain the relative abundance of so called historical references in the suttas of this samyutta.

(iv) The Māra Samyutta\textsuperscript{200} consists, in three chapters, of twenty-five suttas, each of which relates a legend in which Māra, the Evil One, appears in order to induce Buddha himself, or one of his disciples, to abandon the path of emancipation. But Māra always fails in such ignoble attempts. It is said that as the Blessed One attains enlightenment, Māra endeavours through every means to overthrow the Exalted One from his holy life. Being desirous of making Buddha feel dread and horror, he assumes himself forms of a king-elephant, as well as the mighty appearance of a king of the snakes, and draws near to the Blessed One. Standing on the crest of the hill, he hurls huge rocks which fall incessantly, crushing against each other. He also urges the householders of Pañcasāla not to offer any food to Gotama the recluse. But fortunately all his attempts are all in vain and these cannot prevent Buddha and his disciples from leading a pious life. The story that before the attainment of the supreme enlightenment Buddha is faced by some sort of temptation is reliable enough; but on account of its literary potentiality, the story is exploited a good deal in the Buddhist texts, and a veritable mythology is created round the figure of Māra. We find that Māra's conflict with Buddha

\textsuperscript{200} Samyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. i, pp. 103-127; (The) Samyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 103-127.
supplies a motif to ballads bearing a heroic character as well as if any practice or idea is to be condemned it is a simple device to make Māra its advocate. As already observed, Māra’s activities described in the suttas of the present samyutta are directed to frighten, to shake confidence as also conviction, to tempt by worldly attraction, and to advocate false doctrines. About the conception of Māra, Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids writes: “When we used the term ‘māra’ it was to speak of this or man as a very type of will-worsener, either as a sceptic, or as an encourager of low desires ... Māra is never a very devil or demon but just a man who wills evil. The name means death and evil leads over to some sort of destroying. The many stories on Māra mean only that. Māra is never described save as some man or creature. Never as woman; The daughters of Māra come nearest to that. Woman was reckoned as in herself Māra without the name”. ('Gotama the man', pp. 126-127).

It is found that some verses of this samyutta are repeated in the Therīgāthā.

(v) The Bhikkhunī Samyutta\(^{210}\) contains ten legends of nuns (bhikkhunī), whom Māra, the Evil One, vainly tries to lure to apostasy. Thus we find here that Gotamī, Uppalavāmā, Vajirā, and some other pious bhikkhunīs are prevented by Māra from following the path of the spiritual emancipation. Māra appears before them in disguise. But these sisters can ultimately recognise the Evil One who consequently flies away being sorrowful and dejected. Thus the Bhikkhunī Samyutta includes primarily the

\(^{210}\) Samyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. i, pp. 128-135; (The) Samyuttanikāya, (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 128-196.
suttas connected with the life of the bhikkhunīs who have attained to the different states of perfection in religious practices.

(vi) The *Brahma Saṃyutta*\(^{211}\) consists of two chapters. In this saṃyutta Brahma persuades the Blessed One to preach the noble doctrine. It is said that immediately after having attained the perfect enlightenment Buddha desires not to preach the norm, because others may not understand its true purport. But Brahma Sahampati out of compassion for the worldly creatures earnestly requests Buddha to preach the doctrine, by following which people may not suffer from mundane miseries. At last the Exalted One, however, agrees to Brahma’s proposal.

(vii) The *Brāhmaṇa Saṃyutta*\(^{212}\) describes in two chapters the incidents that lead to the conversion of Bhāradvāja, a brāhmaṇa, and some other brāhmaṇas of the same gotta. We find that Dhānañjāni, the wife of the brāhmaṇa Bhāradvāja, is a follower of Buddha. So Bhāradvāja being tired of the proclamation of her faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, goes to meet the Blessed One. At the very first meeting he is so much impressed by the discourses of Buddha that he forthwith renounces the household life and takes refuge in the Exalted One. Consequently other brāhmaṇas of the same clan also embrace Buddha’s doctrine and discipline.

(viii) The *Vaṅgīsa Saṃyutta*\(^{213}\) shows how the elder Vaṅgīsa subdues his passion. It is stated that

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\(^{211}\) Saṃyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. i, pp. 136-159; (The) Saṃyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 137-159.


\(^{213}\) Saṃyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. i, pp. 185-196; (The) Saṃyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 185-197.
when he is still a novice, he stays nearĀlavi at the main vihāra of that place, together with his preceptor, Venerable Nigrodhakappa. At that time some women being adorned gaily approach to visit that monastery. The very sight of women causes discontent in him and distresses his mind. Vaṅgīsa observes the evils and himself gets rid of disaffection through his spiritual pursuits. Thus the Vaṅgīsa Saṃyutta containing interesting suttas describes instances exhibiting the poetic genius of Vaṅgīsa, a Buddhist monk.

(ix) The Vana Saṃyutta\textsuperscript{214} narrates some forest deities who put the ill-behaved bhikkhus on the right path. It is observed that a bhikkhu stays among the Kosalas in a certain forest tract; but he engages himself in an evil thought connected with mundane affairs. At that very moment a god who haunts the forest, out of compassion for that monk, admonishes the latter and advises him to abandon the wrong path. This discourse also describes other bhikkhus who are likewise set on the right path by the gods of the forest.

(x) The Yakkha Saṃyutta\textsuperscript{215} reports that Buddha dwells on the Indakūṭa mountain in the house of Indaka, a yakkha. Now that yakkha asks the Blessed One: “Form is not living principle in the opinion of the Buddhas. How does the soul possess this body? Whence to soul does come the lump of bones and liver? How does this soul hide within the belly?” The Exalted One promptly replies:

\textsuperscript{214} Saṃyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. i, pp. 197-205; (The) Saṃyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 198-206.

\textsuperscript{215} Saṃyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. i, pp. 206-215; (The) Saṃyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 207-217.
“At first the Kalala takes birth and thence the Abudda and so forth”. In the same discourse we find that Sakka, a yakkha, having approached Buddha who is staying at that time on the Gijjhakūṭa mountain tells: “A monk is free from all ties, is one who instructs others in the dhamma. He who instructs others in the dhamma with a compassionate mind is in no way bound; compassion moves him to sympathy”. Further in response to the words uttered by Suciloma, a yakkha, Buddha says: “I am not afraid, contact with you is sinful”. So the yakkha puts the following questions to him: “Say, wherefrom passion and hatred are caused, discontentment, delight, and terror—whence have they come, wherefrom spring thoughts into the mind”. The Exalted One answers: “They who know self and wherefrom it rises, crush it down. Listen to me, oh yakkha, they cross this flood which is difficult to be crossed; so they may never come back again to rebirth”. Again Manibhadda, another yakkha, addressing Buddha who is dwelling at his residence says: “Luck always comes to him whose mind is alert; the lucky man prospers with increasing happiness. Tomorrow is a better day for him and he is free from enmity”. Buddha answers him by repeating the above first three lines and adds: “For him whose mind ever by night and day is given up to hatred, is not released from hate; he who takes delight in harmlessness and kindness, bearing his share in love for all beings who live, in him no hate is found”. This long discourse also contains narratives related to the yakkha who possesses the child named Sānu of a female lay devotee, the yakkhīnī known as Piyaṅkara’s mother, the yakkhīnī named Punabbasu, the yakkha called
Sivaka, and two yakkhas who are enthusiastic about bhikkhuṇīs named Sukkā and Vīrā or Cirā. Thus the suttas of the Yakkha Saṁyutta refer to various spirituous beings approaching Buddha for putting some querryes or listening to his sermons.

(xii) The *Saṅka Saṁyutta*\(^{216}\) in three chapters describes the anecdotes how Sakka becomes the king of the world of the thirty-three gods by meritorious deeds. It is found that once a war between the gods and the demons (asuras) breaks out. As a result the demons are defeated and their ruler Vepacitti is taken as a prisoner. Vepacitti, as he is brought before Sakka, reviles the latter and withdraws with harsh words. But Sakka knowing the ruler of the demons to be a fool does not do any harm to him and patiently forebears the insult. Thus this samyutta narrates some good qualities of Sakka. In fact, the hero of this samyutta is no other than Sakka, the god Indra, who appears here, too, as a devout Buddhist. Prof. M. Winternitz writes: “There is surely an intentional piquancy in selecting Indra, the savage, infuriated Vṛtra-slayer of the Veda, as the exponent of the ethics of mildness and non-violence, and as a master in the art of self-command. To scare away the insolent demon who has sat upon his throne, he merely utters the polite words: ‘My dear friend, I am Indra, the prince of gods’.”

B. *Nīdānavagga*

(xiii) The *Nīdāna Saṁyutta*\(^{217}\) consisting of nine

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\(^{216}\) *Saṁyuttanikāya* (P.T.S.), pt. i, pp. 216-240; (The) *Saṁyuttanikāya* (P.P.B.), pp. 218-241.

\(^{217}\) *Saṁyuttanikāya* (P.T.S.), pt. ii, pp. 1-133; (The) *Saṁyuttanikāya* (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 3-114.
chapters includes ninety-two speeches and conversations. All these with endless repetitions, deal with the subject of the twelve Nidānas or the concatenation of causes and effects (Paṭiccasamuppāda). Buddha here says that the above chain of causation begins with avijjā or ignorance and ends with birth, old age and death leading to grief, lamentation, suffering, sorrow, and despair; the four sustenances (i.e., material food, contact, volition, consciousness), and the bases of knowledge (i.e., knowledge that decay-and-death is conditioned by birth; knowledge that where there is not birth there is no decay-and-death, etc; knowledge in the nature of decay-and-death, in its uprising, its ceasing, and in the way leading to its ceasing; knowledge in the nature of birth, becoming, grasping, craving, feeling, contact, sense, etc.; knowledge in the uprising and ceasing of each; and knowledge in the way leading to their end). In the Nidāna Samyutta many originally independent suttas have been brought into a mechanical uniformity with the rest by the forced introduction of the leading formula of the Samyuttanikāya. The suttas which belong to the later stratum may be grouped under the following classes: (a) the class containing nothing or little else besides the bare statements of the fully evolved formu’a of Paṭiccasamuppāda, (b) some suttas combine the formula of the Paṭiccasamuppāda with other doctrines and formulae, and (c) the sutta No. 31, which quotes and explains a verse from the Ajitapañha in the Pārāyaña, is unlikely to be early. On the other hand, in this nipāta, the most striking group of suttas which belong to the early stratum, is that which contains the metaphysical doctrine of the Middle as the solution of some obsti-
nate antinomies. The problems and the answers are, however, so briefly presented here that a precise statement of their implications displays sundry inconveniences.

(xiii) The Abhisamaya Samyutta\textsuperscript{218} relates that for the Aryan disciple it is indeed an evil deed to think that little is the evil which remains when measured with the former evil. Such a disciple should, therefore, never cease to strive for putting an end to even little evil which still remains, otherwise he cannot have the perfect vision. Thus the Abhisamaya Samyutta with different comparisons reiterates the idea which is expressed in the following words: “puggalassa abhisametāvino etadeva bahutaram dukkham yadidam parikkhinām ... appamattaka-mavasittham”. Such an idea is too general to be stratified.

(xiv) The Dhātu Samyutta\textsuperscript{219} in four chapters contains a discussion on the dhātus or elements. In explaining the diversity in elements, Buddha here tells of the elements of eye, visible object, eye-awareness; the elements of ear, sound, ear-awareness; the elements of nose, odour, nose-awareness; the elements of tongue, taste, tongue-awareness; the elements of body, tangibles, body-awareness; the elements of mind, ideas, mind-awareness; the radiant-element (revealed through darkness); the beauty-element (revealed through ugliness); the space-infinity-element (revealed through visible object); and the like. The Blessed One also says that because

\textsuperscript{218} Saṁyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. ii, pp. 133-139; (The) Saṁyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 115-120.

\textsuperscript{219} Saṁyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. ii, pp. 140-177; (The) Saṁyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 121-150.
of the diversity in elements, arises the diversity of contact from which again arises the diversity of feeling. So the Dhātu Samyutta with its emphasis on dhātu and the separateness of elements is clearly suggestive of the Abhidhamma and its 'Dharma-theory'.

(ax) The Anamatagga Samyutta in two chapters comprises twenty speeches, of which all begin with the words: 'The beginning of the saṃsāra, O monks, is entirely unknown (anamataggo)', and explains this sentence by setting forth in ever varying comparisons as well as images of the dreadful accumulation of sufferings in the cycle of migrations from existence to existence which has been going on from innumerable past ages of the world's history. In this samyutta Buddha says that the beginning of one who is fairing on, cloaked in ignorance and tied to craving, cannot be known. Indeed the suttas of the Anamatagga Samyutta are full of inspiration for renunciation. These relate that a being is subjected to miseries and pains through a limitless infinity of time. In the Tīnakattha Sutta of this samyutta, it is said that if a man is to collect all the leaves and twigs of Jambudīpā, and goes on throwing bits out of it, saying—'this is my mother, this is my mother's mother, this is my mother's mother's mother ...'—then all of it will be exhausted and still the series of them will go on. In the Puggala Sutta it is stated that the beginning of the world is not known; if the bones of a single being in his different births can have been all accumulated and preserved, it will have been a huge heap, higher than the mountain. In the

refrain: “anamataggāyām bhikkhave saṃsāro pubbakoṭi na paññāyati avijjānīvaraṇānāṃ sattānāṃ taṇhāsaṃyojanānāṃ sandhāvatāṃ saṃsaraṇāṃ” we have “what is probably a real saying” with its forceful warning and the rare term “anamataggo”. We may further note that the expression in this refrain is scarcely consonant with the doctrine of anatta as understood later.

(xvi) The *Kassapa Samyutta*221 includes thirteen suttas which are united into a group only because Venerable Kassapa appears as the speaker in all of them. Kassapa is praised here for his contentment. He is content with no matter what is the robe, with no matter what is the alms, with no matter what is the lodging, with no matter what is the store of medicines. He is compared with the moon when he goes among the families, drawing back in both mind and demeanour; even as a newcomer he is unobtrusive among the families. So Buddha advises the bhikkhus to imitate Kassapa. Some suttas of this *Samyutta* contains sundry actual reminiscences of Venerable Kassapa.

(xvii) The *Lābhassakkāra Samyutta*222 quoting the words of Buddha relates in four chapters that just as a fish swallowing the fisherman’s hook falls into misfortune so also the bhikkhus are liable to misfortune if they seek after worldly favour and gain. It may be observed that the whole of the Lābhassakkāra *Samyutta* is built on the refrain: “Dāruṇo lābhassakkāra—siloko kaṭuko pharuso antarāyiko

221 *Samyuttanikāya* (P.T.S.), pt. ii, pp. 194-225; (The) *Samyuttanikāya* (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 163-188.
anuttarassa yogakkhemassa adhigamāya”. The refrain may belong to an early date.

(xviii) The Rāhula Samyutta in two chapters records a conversation between Buddha and Rāhula on the subject of discipline. Indeed sight, hearing, smelling, taste, touch and mind are fleeting and unpleasant. Therefore that object which becomes fleeting, unpleasant and changeable is certainly not fit to be considered by an individual as ‘that is mine’, ‘this I am’, ‘this is my spirit’. Thus one should not have notions of an ‘I’, nor of ‘mine’, nor an insidious tendency to vain conceits in the matter of this body with its mind. But a person who fully understands all these, passes indeed in a peaceful existence. The Rāhula Samyutta applies ‘three marks’ in a very mechanical and monotonous catechistic style to the senses, the sense objects and the like. It is, therefore, most probably a late scholastic composition.

(xix) The Lakkhana Samyutta contains in two chapters Moggallāna’s answer to Venerable Lakkhana’s enquiries relating to the reasons of the former one’s laughter. It is found that Moggallāna enumerates the causes in the assembly of the bhikkhus in the presence of Buddha. The suttas of the Lakkhana Samyutta present the same topic with slightly differing variants which belongs to an uncertain stratum.

(xx) The Opamma Samyutta quotes Buddha’s remarks about sinful deeds which originate in avijjā

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or ignorance. The Blessed One says that all evils have their origin in ignorance. So he advises the bhikkhus to be strenuous and zealous in energy. If they do not act accordingly, Mara, the Evil One, may overpower them just as Ajatasattu gets opportunity to overthrow the Licchavis when they are not strenuous and earnest in their activities. In the Opamma Saṃyutta, each sutta illustrates some dogma by a ‘comparison’. The first sutta of this samyutta appears probably since it contains an early doctrine which is not held later, with a fitting illustration, while the seventh sutta appears at a subsequent date. The latter one, however, distinguishes between two statements: “Ye te suttantā Tathāgata-bhāsitā lokuttarā suññatapati-samyuttā” and “Ye pana te suttantā kavikatā”. This second statement indicates a good deal of previous literary activity. A larger portion of this discourse occurs as part of the sutta on ‘Future Dangers’. The rest of the sutta of the present samyutta belongs to an uncertain period.

(xx) The Bhikkhu Saṃyutta226 includes Mahā-Moggallāna’s explanation on the ‘Aryan Silence’ which, according to him, is enjoyed by one who resides in the second jhāna. In this discourse Buddha is also found to address Nanda, Tissa and other bhikkhus and urges them to lead the religious life strictly as laid down in the Vinaya disciplinary code.

C. Khandhavagga

(xxii) The Khandha Saṃyutta227 is divided into

three sections of five chapters each. It treats of the five khandhas or constituent elements. It is said that those persons who are unskilled in the ariyan doctrine are possessed of the ideas like ‘body is mine’, ‘feeling is mine’, ‘perception is mine’, ‘consciousness is mine’, and consider activities as the self and the self as having activities and the like. Thus in the Anatta-lakkhaṇa Sutta of this samyutta, which is delivered by Buddha five days after the preaching of the First Sermon, i.e., Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta, is disclosed the perishable nature of the khandhas and is proclaimed that no ‘self’ is to be found in any of the five khandhas which are impermanent and subject to suffering and that even all the khandhas taken together do not form the ‘self’. As these five Khandhas change owing to their unstable and changeful nature, sorrow and despair appear in them. But to an individual who is well trained in the ariyan doctrine, such a state of affair does not happen. In this samyutta Buddha further deals with the seven points. A bhikkhu who is skilled in such points is called ‘the one who is accomplished in this Norm and Discipline’. These seven points are: a bhikkhu fully knows his body, the arising of the body, the ceasing of the body, and the way leading to the ceasing of the body; he fully knows pleasure which is in the body, the misery that is in the body, and the escape from the body; and he fully knows feeling, perception, confections and consciousness gradually in the like manner. Buddha further adds that a person who clings to the five khandhas is a prisoner of Mara, but an individual who does not act likewise is released from evils. The realisation of impermanence, if properly practised and enlarged, fades out lust of senses and
rebirth, ignorance and conceit of 'I am'. Such a process of fading away occurs by observing, 'such is body', 'such is the arising of the body', 'such is the ceasing of the body', 'such is feeling', 'such is perception', and 'such are the confections'. It may be noted in this connection that by far the largest portion of the Khandha Samyutta records a uniform doctrine in a uniform style. The variations are but slight. Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids advocates the genuineness of the short and simple sermon by Buddha to Nakulapitā embedded in the Sutta No. 1. and the parable of the way presented in the Sutta No. 84 of this samyutta. The Exalted One's discourse in the former assumes only a simple kāya-citta analysis of man.

(xxiii) The Rādha Samyutta consists of four chapters contains Buddha's replies to the questions asked by venerable Rādha on some portions of the teachings of the Perfectly Enlightened One who explains (a) Māra by saying that where a body is, there would be Māra or objects of the nature of Māra, or at any rate what is perishing; (b) a being by saying that craving which is concerned with body, feeling, perception, confections, and consciousness, is entangled thereby, therefore one is called a being; and (c) impermanence by saying that body, feeling, perception, confections, and consciousness are all impermanent.

(xxiv) The Ditthi Samyutta in two chapters clarifies the origin of some views. In this samyutta

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228 Samyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. iii, pp. 188-201: (The) Samyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 402-413.
the Blessed One says that by clinging to body, feeling, perception, confections, and consciousness, i.e., the five khandhas, appear such views as these: ‘All are stable or permanent, this is mine, this am I, this is the self of me, there is no fruit of good or evil deeds, this world is not, the world beyond is not, and the heretical views like—the world is limited or unlimited, the identity or non-identity of the life and the body’. But the five khandhas are woeful and impermanent. As the ariyan disciple fully knows this and also when for him doubts relating to suffering, arising of suffering, cessation of suffering are put away, he is saved from disaster and is sure to attain the perfect enlightenment (bodhi). Thus the Diṭṭhi Sāmyutta mentions, with tiresome repetitions, all kinds of diṭṭhis or views which spring from an ignorance of the true nature of the five khandhas.

(xxv) The Okkantika Sāmyutta\(^{230}\) relates that such an individual is known as the ‘walker in faith’ who possesses faith and confidence in the doctrine which declares the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind as changeable and impermanent. So this sāmyutta lists a large number of objects, the knowledge of whose impermanence leads to assurance (niyāma) Ten suttas of it can scarcely be thought independent compositions.

(xxvi) The Uppāda Sāmyutta\(^{231}\) tells that the arising of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind, is the origin of suffering, disease, decay and death. Indeed this sāmyutta is concerned with the change-

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\(^{231}\) Sāmyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. iii. pp. 228-231; (The) Sāmyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 443-446.
fulness of those very objects which are mentioned in the previous saṁyutta.

(xxvii) The Kilesa Saṁyutta\(^2\) presents a discussion on the kilesas or impurities. It is said that the desire which originates in the eye, ear, sounds, nose, odour, tongue, savour, body, tangibles, and mind, is a corruption of the mind. So also is the desire which is in the eye-consciousness and consciousness arising out of ear, nose, tongue, body, mind, eye-contact with the other sense-organs and mind in consciousness of visible shape, sound, smell, savour, tangibles and objects, is a corruption of the mind.

(xxviii) The Sāriputta Saṁyutta\(^3\) contains ten speeches of Sāriputta. Suttas are united into this group only because Sāriputta appears as the principal speaker in all of them. Here answering the questions put forward by Ānanda, Sāriputta says that his senses have been calmed because he has dwelt aloof from passions, with his thought applied and sustained in the first jhāna, which is born of solitude and full of zest and happiness and that he has also given up the futile ideas of ‘I’ and ‘mine’. The first nine suttas of this saṁyutta are evidently composed as a whole, since these deal in succession with the nine meditative stages.

(xxix) The Nāga Saṁyutta\(^4\) describes four kinds of birth, namely, the egg-birth, womb-birth, sweat-birth, and the birth through parents. The fifty suttas of this saṁyutta deal with the snake-demons (nāgas),


\(^3\) Saṁyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. iii, pp. 235-240; (The) Saṁyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 450-455.

enumerating the various kinds of snakes and naming the deeds which cause one to be born again in one or other of the snake-forms.

(***x***x) The *Sūpanna Saṃyutta*\(^{235}\) treats of four kinds of rebirth as harpies, namely, those who are egg-born, womb-born, sweat-born, and those who are born without parents. This saṃyutta is of an obviously popular character and origin.

(***x***xvi) The *Gandhabbākāya Saṃyutta*\(^{236}\) consists of a conversation between Buddha and bhikkhus. The Blessed One speaks of the gods belonging to the Gandhabba group. He further adds that they are those gods who dwell in the fragrance of root-wood, heart-wood, pith, bark, sap and in that of leaves, flowers and scents.

(***x***xvii) The *Valāha Saṃyutta*\(^{237}\) contains a description about the gods who belong to cloud-groups (valāhaka-kāyika). Here Buddha says that there are some gods (embodied) in cool clouds, hot clouds, thunder-clouds, wind-clouds, and rain-clouds.

(***x***xviii) The *Vacchagotta Saṃyutta*\(^{238}\) narrates a conversation between Buddha and Vacchagotta, a wanderer. It is said that Vacchagotta holds the heretical views which have been condemned by the Blessed One in the Brahmajāla Sutta of the Digha-nikāya. Vacchagotta asks Buddha of the cause of the origin of these diverse opinions which appear in

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\(^{235}\) *Saṃyuttanikāya* (P.T.S.), pt. iii, pp. 246-249; (The) *Saṃyuttanikāya* (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 461-463.


\(^{237}\) *Saṃyuttanikāya* (P.T.S.), pt. iii, pp. 254-257; (The) *Saṃyuttanikāya* (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 468-471.

\(^{238}\) *Saṃyuttanikāya* (P.T.S.), pt. iii, pp. 257-263; (The) *Saṃyuttanikāya* (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 472-477.
the world, e.g., the world is eternal or non-eternal, finite or infinite, the identity or the non-identity of the life and the body and the like. The Exalted One replies that it is through ignorance of the five khandhas (i.e., rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṃkhāra and viññāna) that these diverse opinions appear in the earth. So the suttas of this samyutta differ but little, and seek to trace false doctrines about the five khandhas or aggregates.

(xxvii) The Jhāna or Samādhi Samyutta239 reveals that there are the following four types of individuals who practise the jhānas or rapt musings or abstractions, namely, (a) one who practises meditation is skilled in concentration, but is not skilled in the attainment thereof; (b) one who practises meditation is skilled in the attainment of concentration itself; (c) one who practises meditation is neither skilled in concentration nor skilled in the attainment thereof; (d) one who practises meditation is skilled both in concentration and in the fruits thereof. It is said that among these four types of individuals, only he who belongs to the last group is the best and the preeminent one. Thus fifty-five suttas of this samyutta deal with the modes of contemplation or meditation (jhāna, samādhi). The topic of jhāna is treated here in brief in the mechanically formed suttas describing the samāpatti, āhitī, vuṭṭhāna, kallita, ārammaṇa, gocara, abhinīhāra, sākacca, sātacca and sappāya of samādhi and the combinations of these. Thus it is evident that this samyutta is undoubtedly a late scholastic composition.

D. Salāyatanavagga

(XXXv) The Salāyatana Samyutta\(^{240}\) is divided into four sections of which the first three contain five chapters each and the last includes four chapters. In this samyutta Buddha describes the six senses and says that the eye and the objects of sight, ear and sounds, nose and scents, tongue and savours, body and tangible objects, mind and mind-states, are impermanent, ill and void of the self. Still there is the escape from these through the restraint of desire and lust, the abandoning of desire and lust, which are in the eye and the like; where there is no desire, there is no suffering. Buddha further states that by treating the six senses as impermanent, fetters, and intoxicants of the mind, one can destroy ignorance, abandon fetters and uproot the intoxicants of the mind, and acquires knowledge. The Exalted One further explains ‘the world’ by stating that what is transitory by nature is known as ‘the world’. In this connection he also characterises the eye and the objects of sight, ear, sound etc. as transitory. Because he thinks that passion is a disease and one can abide passionless by not imagining ‘I have an eye’ and the like. One should, therefore, not be enamoured of the object cognisable by the eye, etc. and thus will be known as a person who is properly restrained. But the individual who does not act accordingly is said to have been unrestrained. In the Salāyatana Samyutta which comprises no less than 207 suttas, speeches and dialogues with untiring monotony it is demonstrated that sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch and the organ of thought (manas) are perishable

\(^{240}\) Samyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. iv. pp. 1-204; (The) Samyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii. pp. 3-182.
(anicca) and full of suffering (dukkha), and have nothing to do with the ego (anatta); that the sense-perceptions corresponding to the sense-organs are perishable and full of suffering, and have nothing to do with the ego; and that the sense-objects corresponding to the six sense-organs are perishable and full of suffering, and have nothing to do with the ego. Moreover, in the case of each single sense-organ, each single sense-perception, each single sense-object, the whole series of assertions is repeated literally, and every assertion forms a sutta in itself. Thus in the Koṭṭhika Sutta of this saṃyutta Sāriputta says that neither a sense-organ is the link or bond (samyojana) of a sense-object, nor a sense-object is the link or bond of a sense-organ. The eye, for example, comes into contact with visible objects, and from such contact a desire or attachment (chandarāga) appears. If a black bull and a white bull are yoked together, the bond will consist not in the bulls but in the yoke-tie that binds them. It is said that Buddha who possesses the eyes and sees visible objects with his eyes, bears no attachment or desire, because he dwells with the mind perfectly liberated (suvimutta-citta Bhagavā). It is to be noted that a large number of suttas in this saṃyutta is exceedingly uniform in style, but from the standpoint of ideas the following groups may be found out: (a) those suttas which speak of the senses and the sense-objects only, (b) those which add to these, sense-perceptions, sense-contacts (samphassa) and thence resulting threefold feeling, (c) those which introduce the formula "cakkhuṇca paṭicca rūpaṇca uppajjati cakkhu-viññānaṃ tiṇṇam saṅgati phasso/phassapaccayā vedanā, (d) those suttas which add to the
senses, sense-objects and sense-perceptions, the further class of viññāṇaviññātabbā dhammā (cakkhu, etc.).

(xxxvi) The Vedanā Samyutta in three chapters describes three kinds of vedāṇas or feelings, viz., (a) feeling that is pleasant, (b) feeling that is painful, and (c) feeling that is neither pleasant nor painful. One should abandon the lurking tendency to lust for pleasant feeling, to repugnance for painful feeling, and to ignorance of feeling which is neither pleasant nor painful. Because the pleasant feeling should be regarded as suffering, painful feeling as a barb, and neutral feeling as impermanence. One should, therefore, abandon these kinds of feelings and a bhikkhu who thus abandon is known as a person ‘who rightly sees’. In this samyutta the suttas, therefore, deal with the three feelings, the fourfold scheme (as in the truths), reminiscences of the Bodhisattahood and the like.

(xxxvii) The Mātugāma Samyutta in three chapters deals with women. It is said that a woman, if she is beautiful in form, possessed of wealth, morality, vigour and gets offsprings, is altogether charming to a man. But being bereft of these five qualities, a woman becomes without charm for a man. A woman has to undergo five special sufferings, namely, (a) a woman at a tender age goes to her husband’s family, and (b) leaves her relatives behind, (c) she is subject to pregnancy, (d) she has to bring forth, and (e) she has to wait upon a man.

241 Samyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. iv, pp. 204-238; (The) Samyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 185-211.
242 Samyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. iv, pp. 238-251; (The) Samyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 212-222.
A woman is reborn in the purgatory, if she is faithless, shameless, unscrupulous, wrathful, and of weak wisdom. Obversely, a woman is reborn in the heaven, if she becomes faithful, modest, scrupulous, rich in wisdom, morality, have wide knowledge and becomes not wrathful, envious and an adulteress. Indeed the strong points and weaknesses, the virtues and vices of women (mātugāma) and the destinies which await them in the next life, are dealt with in the thirty-four suttas of this samyutta. We further notice that the present samyutta is the product of an ascetic tendency which cannot be considered as the distinctive characteristic of any particular epoch of the early Buddhist history.

(***vii* ) The *Jambukhādaka Samyutta*²⁴³ contains Sāriputta’s explanation to Jambukhādaka, the paribbājaka, about some of the fundamental teachings of Buddha. In this discourse Nibbāna and arahatship have been described as factors which destroy lust, hatred and illusion. It is stated that the path which leads to the attainment of Nibbāna and arahatship is the noble eightfold path consisting of right view, aim, speech, action, exertion, livelihood, mindfulness as also concentration. The individuals who have completely abandoned lust, hatred and illusion, are well-practised and happy ones. It is for the comprehension of suffering that the righteous life is led by Gotama the recluse. The three kinds of feelings, namely, pleasant, painful and neutral, and three types of intoxicants of the mind (āsava), e.g.,

sensuality, becoming and ignorance, are also mentioned in this saṁyutta. Indeed the noble eightfold path is the sole way that leads to the realisation of these feelings and to the destruction of these intoxicants of the mind.

(xxix) The Sāmaṇḍaka Saṁyutta²⁴⁴ also deals with Sāriputta’s explanation of the term ‘Nibbāna’. Here Sāriputta addressing Sāmaṇḍaka, the wanderer, says that Nibbāna is the way for the destruction of lust, hatred and illusion, and that Nibbāna may be attained by adopting the noble eight paths. Sāriputta also defines in this saṁyutta a number of other technicalities including ‘ogha’ and hence the lateness of the present saṁyutta is manifest.

(xl) The Moggallāna Saṁyutta²⁴⁵ presents a lucid exposition of the four jhānas or rapt musings. Venerable Moggallāna here speaks to the bhikkhus who have assembled around him and explains ‘the realm of infinite space’, ‘the realm of infinite consciousness’, ‘the realm of nothingness’, ‘the realm of neither-perception-nor-non-perception’, and ‘the unconditioned mind’s rupture’ (animitta cetosamādhi). Thus we find that legends of the great Moggallāna and a few of his speeches are contained in the eleven suttas of this saṁyutta. Among these discourses, however, suttas numbered 1 to 9 form a single compositional unit, and appear to have been suggested by the Bhikkhu Samyutta.

(xli) The Citta Saṁyutta²⁴⁶ reveals that the

²⁴⁶ Saṁyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. iv, pp. 281-304; (The) Saṁyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 252-270.
bond and the objects which tend to fetter are different both in spirit and letter. Thus the eye is not a fetter of objects, nor objects a fetter to the eye. But the desire and lust which appear owing to the pair of them constitute the fetter. The same is as regards ear and sound, nose and odour, tongue and taste, and mind and mental states. Of this samyutta the ten suttas formed round the central figure of the householder Citta are too homogeneous in style to belong to different strata. Besides, the figure of Citta itself is remarkably individual and unifies the suttas closely. Here many discourses contain extremely scholastic, subtle discussions in the vedalla style; whereas Buddha occurs nowhere in the samyutta; the elderly monks (thera bhikkhu) everywhere becomes prominent.

(xlii) The Gāmaṇi Samyutta\textsuperscript{247} supplies explanation of the terms like 'wrathful' and 'kindly'. It is said that a person becomes 'wrathful' when his passion is not abandoned owing to the fact that others harass him and being thus harassed by others he displays vexation. On the other hand, an individual becomes 'kindly' as his passion is abandoned; others do not harass him and being thus unharassed by others he shows no vexation. In the present discourse Buddha also advises the headman of the village to follow the middle path by giving up the two extremes, namely, devotion to the pleasures of senses and devotion to self-mortification. The sutta No. 10 of this Samyutta records a controversy appearing in the royal assembly as to whether "kappati samaṇānam sakyaputtiyānam jātarūparajatanti". The

\textsuperscript{247} Samyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. iv; pp. 305-359; (The) Samyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 271-311.
Blessed One emphatically answers in the negative. Such a doubt can easily have occurred in the minds of laymen during the period of the Second Council, when Buddhist practice on the subject is no longer uniform. So this suṭṭa may be a composition deliberately directed against the Vajjiputtakas. Further the suṭṭa No. 12 of the same samyutta is long as well as straggling and does not appear to be an organically uniform composition. It may quite happen that the different portions of this suṭṭa are but loosely connected.

(xliii) The Asaṅkhata Samyutta\(^{248}\) in two chapters treats of the uncreated (Nibbānaṃ) and the path leading to it. The Blessed One here interprets the same by saying that Nibbāna means the destruction of lust, hatred, and delusion. He further adds that mindfulness, calmness and insight, the four best efforts (satipaṭṭhānā), the four bases of miraculous power (iddhipādā), and the noble eightfold path are the means to the attainment of Nibbāna. It is to be noted that in this samyutta the first eleven suṭṭas which deal with ‘asaṅkhata’ are indeed multiplications of the same suṭṭa, differing only in the way which is advocated. Thus the identity of style as well as the leading idea and the arrangement of variations according to a definite plan show that these suṭṭas were composed as a whole in a much later period. Our assumption may be confirmed by the fact that the threefold classification of Samādhi is included here.

(xliv) The Avyākata Samyutta\(^{249}\) records that

\(^{248}\) Samyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. iv, pp. 359-373; (The) Samyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 312-320.

\(^{249}\) Samyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. iv, pp. 374-403; (The) Samyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 321-354.
king Pasenadi asks Khemā the following questions: ‘Does the Tathāgata exist after death?’ ‘Does the Tathāgata both exist and not exist after death?’ In reply to such questions Khemā reports that Buddha has not answered them and adds that it is indeed impossible to define the Tathāgata, because he is as boundless and unfathomable as the vast ocean. Therefore no necessity arises for answering these questions. In that discourse Anuruddha, Sāriputta and Moggallāna also give the same reply as regards the existence of the Tathāgata. The suttas numbered 7, 9 and 10 of this samyutta are distinguished from the rest without mentioning the doctrine of the five khandhas. But of these three the later two suttas besides contain definitely early doctrines of Buddhism.

E. Mahāvagga

(xlv) The Magga Samyutta\(^{250}\) consisting of eight chapters enumerates the eight noble paths. In this samyutta the verses in the sutta No. 4 alone envisage a pre-formular stage of the way. The Aṭṭhaṅgikavibhaṅga which is included in the first chapter of this samyutta deals with an enlarged treatment or elaboration (i.e. vibhaṅga) of the noble eightfold path (ariya aṭṭhaṅgika magga) and becomes one of the many canonical texts which indicate earlier literary processes forming the basis of the Pāli exegetical works. The noble eightfold way which is the fourth item of the noble truths (ariyasaccāni) preached by Buddha consists of sammā-diṭṭhi (right view), sammā-saṅkappa (right resolve), sammā-vācā (right

speech), sammā-kammanta (right action), sammā-
ājīva (right livelihood), sammā-vāyāma (right exer-
tion), sammā-sati (right mindfulness), and sammā-
samādhi (right concentration).

(xlvii) The Bojjhanga Samyutta\textsuperscript{251} in eighteen
chapters presents a learned discussion on the satta-
bojjhangas or the seven elements of supreme know-
ledge, namely, sati (mindfulness), dhammavivicaya
(investigation of the norm), viriya (energy), pīti
(joy), passadhi (calmness), samādhi (concen-
tration), and upekkhā (equanimity).

(xlviii) The Satipaṭṭhāna Samyutta\textsuperscript{252} describes
in ten chapters the four satipaṭṭhānas or the four
stations of mindfulness as regards body (kāye kāyā-
nupassī), feelings (vedanāsu vedanānupassī), mind
(citte cittānupassī) and mental states (dhammesu
dhammānupassī).

(xlix) The Indriya Samyutta\textsuperscript{253} consists of
seventeen chapters. The suttas of this samyutta
enumerate the five indriyas (pañcindriya) or control-
ling powers.

(Lxxv) The Sammappadhāna Samyutta\textsuperscript{254} consist-
ing of five chapters deals with the four sammappa-
dhānas or perfect exertions, namely, exertions for
checking the growth of evils which have not yet arisen,
for putting an end to evils which have arisen,
for helping the growth of merit which has not ap-

\textsuperscript{251} Sāmyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. v. pp. 63-140; (The) Sāmyuttanikāya
(P.P.B.), vol. iv, pp. 61-121.

\textsuperscript{252} Sāmyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. v. pp. 141-192; (The) Sāmyuttanikāya
(P.P.B.), vol. iv, pp. 122-166.

\textsuperscript{253} Sāmyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. v. pp. 193-243; (The) Sāmyuttanikāya

\textsuperscript{254} Sāmyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. v. pp. 244-248; (The) Sāmyuttanikāya
(P.P.B.), vol. iv, pp. 211-213.
peared, and for assisting the growth of merit that has actually arisen.

(l) The _Bala Samyutta_255 in ten chapters deals with the five balas or powers, namely, saddhā (faith), viriya (energy), sati (mindfulness), samādhi (concentration), and paññā (knowledge).

(li) The _Iddhipāda Samyutta_256 consisting of eight chapters presents the exposition of the four iddhis or supernatural powers, namely, chanda (desire), viriya (energy), citta (mind), and vīmaṃsā (investigation). The sutta No. 10 of this samyutta occurs also in the Dīghanikāya (No. 16). We find that here in the sutta No. 15 a brāhmaṇa raises the pertinent objection, i.e., “chandena ca chandam pajahissatīti netam ṭhānam vijjatīti”, which is not satisfactorily answered by Ānanda.

( l i i ) The _Anuruddha Samyutta_257 in two chapters describes the attainment of the supernatural power by Venerable Anuruddha who becomes self-possessed and mindful as regards the body, feelings, mind and mental states. This samyutta also deals with the four satipaṭṭhānas in the usual way.

( l i i i ) The _Jhāna Samyutta_258 consists of five chapters. It contains a discussion on four types of the jhānas or trances, i.e., the first, the second, the third and the fourth ones.

( l i v ) The _Ānāpāna Samyutta_259 in two chapters

259 _Samyuttanikāya_ (P.T.S.), pt. v, pp. 311-341; (The) _Samyuttanikāya_ (P.P.B.), vol. iv, pp. 265-290.
deals with the concentration on in-breathing and out-breathing. It is said that if one cultivates such a concentration properly, one will gain much profit. In this sāmyutta the sutta No. 10 at first describes the ānāpānasati in conjunction with kāyānupassāna, vedanānupassanā and cittanupassanā only. But its last paragraph mentions in the concluding sentences dhammānupassanā also and so this appears to be a later addition formed as the discourse according to later ideas.

(lv) The Sotāpatti Samyutta\textsuperscript{260} consisting of seven chapters enumerates some qualities of the ariyan disciple. In this sāmyutta Buddha says that the ariyan disciple should have unwavering faith in the Buddhist Triad, i.e., the Buddha, the Norm and the Order and should be blessed with the virtues dear to the ariyans, i.e., the virtues untainted by craving or delusion. The Blessed One further states that such a true ariyan disciple lives on gathered scraps though he is clothed in rags and is ultimately liberated from the miserable states of rebirth as well as purgatory. In this sāmyutta it is said that the man is considered a compound of body and mind (citta), the former of which is left behind when the latter goes to the world beyond after death.

(lvi) The Sacca Samyutta\textsuperscript{261} in eleven chapters presents a discussion on the four ariyan truths (sacca), namely, suffering, its origin, its cessation, and the way leading to its cessation. This sāmyutta consists of one hundred and thirty-one suttas. We

\textsuperscript{260} Sāmyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. v, pp. 342-413; (The) Sāmyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iv, pp. 291-354.

\textsuperscript{261} Sāmyuttanikāya (P.T.S.), pt. v, pp. 414-478; (The) Sāmyuttanikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iv, pp. 355-407.
find that the famous Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta has been included in the present samyutta. The same sutta is repeated in the Vinaya-Mahāvagga also. A Sanskrit version of it may be traced in the Lalitavistara and the Mahāvastu. This discourse which is known as the First Sermon of Buddha is so called because by means of it Buddha sets the wheel of the dhamma or righteousness in motion. It is the very first public statement of Buddha’s position as a teacher and may conveniently be divided into two portions. The first portion begins with the suggestion of avoiding the two extremes, namely, devotion to the pleasures of sense, a low practice of villagers, a practice unworthy, the way of the world, and devotion to self-mortification that is painful and unprofitable. By the first extreme Buddha alludes to the life led by rich brāhmaṇas and khattiyas who indulge in luxuries and seek a peaceful state through sacrifices, while by the second one he means the non-Brahmanical ascetics who undergo numerous hardships to control their body and mind. Therefore rejecting the two extreme modes of life, Buddha suggests that an individual who has gone forth as a wanderer should have minimum food, clothing and shelter to maintain physical strength and follow the middle path which assures vision, knowledge and nibbāna and which is otherwise called the noble eightfold path. The second portion of the discourse deals with the exposition of the four noble truths. The first truth is suffering or dukkha: birth, decay, disease, death, sorrow, grief, woe, lamentation, despair, association with unpleasant objects, separation from pleasant ones and not getting the desired things are all full of suffering. In short, the five aggregates
(khandhas), viz., rūpa (matter), vedanā (feeling), saññā (perception), sañkhāra (tendencies), and viññāna (consciousness), which are the objects of grasping are painful. The second truth is the origin of suffering or dukkhasamudaya: it is the craving (tanhā) which leads back to birth, along with the lure and the lust that finds pleasure now here, now there, viz., the craving for sensual pleasure, the craving to be born again and the craving for existence to end. The third truth is the cessation of suffering or dukkhaniruddha: indeed it is the utter passionless cessation of, giving up, forsaking, release from, and absence of longing for this craving. The fourth truth is the path that leads to the ceasing of suffering or dukkhaniruddhagāmināpaññipadā: it is this noble eightfold path consisting of right view, right resolve, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. These eight paths may again be classified under three groups, namely, physical or moral (sīla), mental (samādhi) and intellectual (paññā). Right speech, right action, right livelihood constitute the well-tried method for the attainment of moral purity; right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration are the methods for the cultivation of mental purity; and right resolve and right view lead one towards the intellectual perfection. Thus the fourfold truth represents a definite procedure or scheme of thought, which is equally followed in other branches of knowledge, e.g., the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy, science of medicine and science of wealth. "It is not difficult to see", says Kern, "that these four satyas are nothing else but the four cardinal articles of Indian Medical Science, applied to the
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spiritual healing of mankind, exactly as in the Yoga doctrine”. The four truths further reveal that Buddhism is not a religion of pessimism. On the other hand, it is out and out optimistic. According to this doctrine we are told that there is suffering in the world. This is indeed a pessimistic outlook. But as soon as we are said that there are causes, end and the path leading to that end we become somewhat hopeful in the sense that at least there is a reason for us to be to some extent optimistic. We feel that instead of miseries and despair, there lies a calm state of eternal peace and final emancipation which has scarcely any connection with suffering. At the end of this discourse Buddha declares that when his knowledge and insight of these four noble truths, under their three aspects and twelve modes, in their essential nature become purified, then only does he profess in this world among the gods including Māra, Brahmā, among the hosts of recluses and brāhmaṇas, that he has gained the incomparable supreme enlightenment and he becomes sure of the release of his heart. As the Blessed One finishes the discourse and thus turns the wheel of law, the five bhikkhus rejoice and among them Venerable Kondaṇṇa attains the pure and stainless eye of truth. The gods also exclaim in joy. At that very hour, at that very moment in an instant of time such a sound of jubilation reaches even to the Brahma World, and this thousandfold world-system quakes and quakes again; it is shaken to and fro and an immeasurable mighty radiance shines forth, surpassing even the effulgence of the gods. About the First Sermon Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids says that “there has been editing, but not regrouping of materials from other
utterances”. Because she thinks that there has been undoubtedly “a reduction of a discourse, remembered in these words by one listener, in those words by another, to a fixed wording”, particularly of those sayings which appeal most forcibly to the monk: suffering and riddance of suffering. Mrs. Rhys Davids may be right. But so much it is certain that the discourse cannot be regarded very early because: (a) the section on the four truths appears suddenly upon the preceding one, and in fact contains a second, more comprehensive, summary of the doctrine with the result that the eightfold path is unnecessarily repeated, (b) the version of the four truths mentions the five khandhas although it speaks of taṁhā (thirst) alone instead of the full formula of patīcchasamuppāda, (c) Kondañña who is not spoken of in the beginning turns out to be the one who gets enlightenment at the end — this is surprising and suggests a defect in the text, (d) the sutta calls itself a veyyākaraṇa and describes mythologically the jubilation of the various classes of gods over it.

Aṅguttara Nikāya

The fourth collection of the Sutta Piṭaka is the Aṅguttara or Ekuttara Nikāya which is distinguished by numerical groupings of dhammas arranged serially in an ascending order. It comprises at least 2,308 suttas grouped under eleven nipātas or sections, the contents of which, in brief, are presented below:

(i) The Eka Nipāta²⁶² consisting of twenty-one chapters deals with the nīvaraṇas or obstacles, the mind concentrated or unconcentrated, the mind

trained or untrained, the mind cultivated or uncultivated, exertion, diligence, Tathāgata, wrong view, right view, wrong concentration and right concentration. This nipāta also relates that the cultivation of loving kindness (mettā) yields great merit, and the association with the noble ones produces great results. We also find in it that the person who excels all in having long experience is Aṅņā Kondaņņa ... in wisdom is Sāri-putta ... in having psychic powers is Mahā Moggal-lāna ... in leading a course life is Mahākassapa ... in having supernatural vision is Anuruddha ... in coming from a high family is Bhaddiya Kāļīgodha ... in having a sweet voice is Lakunḍaka ... in making roarous proclamation is Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja ... in delivering sermons is Mantāniputta. The present nipāta further remarks that the watery beings are far greater in number than those that live on land. Just, so, the number of other species is far greater than those who are born as human beings. Just so, the ignorant are far greater in number than those who are wise ... Just so, those who remain in bondage are far greater in number than those who are liberated. This nipāta is distinctive in the sense that the vaggas rather than the discourses constitute its real divisions. It should be noted in this connection that the nipāta is not a collection of independent suttas and even all the vaggas of this section are not unified and independent.

(ii) The Duka Nipāta\textsuperscript{263} in sixteen chapters treats of two kinds of evils which should be avoided,

\textsuperscript{263} Aṅguttaranikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 47-100; (The) Aṅguttaranikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 46-92.
e.g., evils which bear evil fruits even in the present
birth and evils which lead one to rebirth in the hell,
two kinds of balas or powers, i.e., the power of seeing
with close observation the evil effects of sinful acts
through body, speech as well as mind, and the power
of cultivating the seven elements of wisdom (satta
sambojjhangas), the causes of the origin of the
good and evil, different kinds of hopes or desires,
i.e., the desires for gain and longevity, two
kinds of gifts, e.g., the gift of material objects and
the gift of dhamma, different kinds of assemblies of
the bhikkhus, i.e., the assemblies of the bhikkhus
who have not fully realised the four noble truths and
the bhikkhus who have done so, of the bhikkhus
who dwell in concord and harmony and the bhikkhus
who do not live in amity. The present nipāta further
records that there are two attitudes, namely, grate-
fulness and ungratefulness; two conditions—of the
criminal becoming powerful over the government
and of the government being powerful over the
criminal; two conditions in the Saṅgha—of the
bad monks becoming powerful over the good
and of the good monks being powerful over the
bad; two kinds of assemblies—that in which the
members do not pay heed to a deep sermon on the
dhamma, but do that to a shallow flowery lecture of
a common speaker and that in which the members
do otherwise; two persons are born for the good of
the many—the perfectly enlightened one and the
cakkavatti king; two persons are not shaken at a
sudden roar of the thunder—the Buddha and a lion
in the forest; and there are two kinds of fools—one
who does not discharge a duty which is his own and
one who undertakes upon himself a duty which is of
some one else. This nipāta also distinguishes between 'Neyattha' and 'Nītattha' suttantās. Indeed such a distinction remains a disputed point among the sects and may have appeared only after the canonical literature has reached a considerable extension. Thus in this nipāta, there are suttas on two things which one must avoid, two dark and two bright things, two reasons for living in the forest, two kinds of Buddhas, and the like.

(iii) The Tika Nipāta\(^{264}\) which is the collection of classifications by three comprises sixteen chapters. In it Buddha reveals that those persons are fools who perform evil deeds through body, speech, and mind and that the wise people do not accordingly. The Blessed One praises gifts, renunciation of the household life, and supporting one's own parents; recommends exertion for checking the growth of the evils which have not arisen, for developing the dhammas which have not arisen, and for removing the evils which have already arisen. In this connection he refutes some heretical views and presenting a lucid exposition of his fundamental teachings says that there are some saṃānas and brāhmaṇas who hold that the pleasant or painful and neither-pleasant-nor-painful experiences are due to previous deeds, others who think that these are providential, while some others who consider that these are due to no cause whatsoever. In this nipāta Buddha condemns these heretical views and offers an explanation of the chain of causation and the four aryan truths. He further speaks on the duties of a recluse (saṃāna) and on the subject of well-being (maṅgala).

\(^{264}\) Aṅguttaranikāya (P.T.S.), vol. i, pp. 101-304; (The) Aṅguttaranikāya (P.P.B.), vol. i, pp. 93-280.
Exalted One considers that a person who commits sinful acts through body, speech, and mind is thrown into the hell, abyss; on the contrary, an individual who is properly restrained in his body, speech, and mind and performs meritorious deeds through these attains to the heaven, a happy state, and enjoys there immeasurable pleasure and happiness. The present nipāta further relates that the bhikkhu should always remember places of his ordination, attainment of insight into the truth and attainment of final emancipation; there are three types of persons, viz., those who are hopeless, hopeful and free from any hope; three qualities are essential for a good bhikkhu, namely, mastery over the senses, moderation in food, and awakeness; there are three kinds of people, i.e., who are like a rotting sore on the body, like the lightening, and like a diamond; and there are three qualities of a true friend, viz., readiness to offer whatever he possesses, readiness to render his best possible service, and not minding even a serious offence. Further in the Kesamitti Sutta of this nipāta Buddha says: “O Kālāmas, not by heresy, not by tradition, not by customary, not by bookish authority, not by mere sophistry, not by an example, not by a grand form, not by the glamour of a philosophical view, not by grandeur, and not with the thought that one’s teacher should be respected. But O Kālāmas, be guided by your own knowledge and conviction”. This nipāta in the Sutta No. 21 again discusses among other topics the saddhāvimutti, the Kāyasakkhi and diṭṭhipatta. It may appear of late origin since it uses the term ‘anāgamin’ technically for the third stage towards arahatta. In form, however, the discourse consists of a controversy between monks like
Savittha, Mahakotiṭhita and Sāriputta, followed by the question being referred to the Blessed One who declares that each of the participants in the controversy has judged but partially. Further in this nipāta we get a verse quoted from the Pārāyaṇa-Punnakapañha and two cited from the Pārāyaṇa-Udayapañha. This fact suggests that it is at least later than the earliest stratum of the texts in the Nikāyas. The Sutta No. 134 of this nipāta also appears late because of the abstractness of its expression which suggests much doctrinal development. So it is said: "Uppādā vā Tathāgatānam anuppādā vā Tathāgatānam thitā vā sā dhātu dhammaṭṭhitata dhammaniyāmatā sabbe saṅkhāra anicca ..." Thus in this nipāta suttas on the trinity of deeds, words and thoughts, three kinds of monks, (i.e., those who have no desires, those who have some, and those who are free from all desires), the three messengers of the gods (i.e. old age, disease and death), the three reasons why death rules the world, three kinds of silence, three things which lead women to hell, and the like are collected. One of the most beautiful speeches in this nipāta is that of the three messengers of the gods, about whom king Yama asks the evildoer in the nether world—old age, disease, death—whereupon he hands them over to the guardians of hell for punishment.

(iv) The Catukka Nipāta which is a collection of classifications by four contains in twenty-six chapters some important sayings of Buddha who holds that a person who is not possessed of four things, i.e., holy conduct, concentration, insight, and

emancipation, is said to have fallen from the norm and discipline (dhammavinaya). The Blessed One states that an ignorant man who praises one who does not deserve praise, speaks ill of one who is worthy of praise, rejoices wherein one should not rejoice, and does not rejoice wherein one should rejoice, stores up much demerit. On the other hand, a wise man who acts properly in these respects earns much merit. The nipāta mentions four kinds of beings who exist in the world, namely, (a) a being who is ill-versed and leads not a virtuous life, (b) a being who is ill-versed but leads a virtuous life, (c) a being who is well-versed but leads not a virtuous life, and (d) a being who is well-versed and leads a virtuous life. It also describes sloth and energy as evils, recommends exertion, and deals with the topics of wrong disposition as well as right disposition. The nipāta further speaks of four kinds of resources, namely, pamsukulačīvara, pīṇḍiyālopabhojanam, rukkhamūlasenāsana and pūtimumtutabhesajja, which can be acquired and are faultless. The Exalted One here treats of the four ancient, agelong and traditional noble lineages and says that a bhikkhu should rest content with whatsoever robe, alms, dwelling place, and medicine he obtains. He further discusses four kinds of blessings, namely, dwelling in a suitable region (paṭirūpadesavāso), taking refuge in good men (sappurisūpassaya), right realisation of (attasammāpanidhi) and good deeds done in former existence (pubbe ca katapuññatā); four types of kindly feelings; four qualities which make one a great personage; four qualities which guard a bhikkhu against his falling away and qualify him to be close to nibbāna; signs of a true bhikkhu; oblations which are
performed without cruelty; four ways of self-concentration; four classes of people who foster hatred, hypocrisy, gains and honour not the norm; four hallucinations; four faults of recluses and brāhmaṇas; four yields in merit and virtue which bring about happiness; four yields in merit which bring about heavenly bliss; and four ways of living together. In the present nipāṭa Buddha tells about the duty of a layman, of blessings and happiness, gratitude to parents, lures to hell, four kinds of evil persons, four kinds of snakes, the fall of Devadatta, four exertions, and righteousness as well as unrighteousness. He also says that a bhikkhu who is virtuous, well-versed, strenuous, possessed of insight, is endowed with thoughts of renunciation, benevolence, love, and right views, follows the perfect way of conduct, and his knowledge is employed to destroy the intoxicants. This nipāṭa also deals with earnestness; mindfulness; fetters; understanding; evil and good individuals; morality; concentration; insight; persons of subdued and unsubdued in body, mind and body as well as mind together; four lustres of moon, sun, fire, and wisdom; four radiances; four lights; four effulgences; four lamps; four kinds of misconduct by word, namely, falsehood (musāvāda), malicious words (pisunāvācā), harsh speech (pharusavācā), and frivolous talk (samphappalāpa); four classes of good conduct by word, e.g., truthful words (saccavācā), not uttering malicious words (apisuṇāvācā), gentle speech (saṅhavācā), and thoughtful speech (mantāvācā); four essences, viz., morality (sīla), concentration (samādhi), knowledge (paññā), and emancipation (vimutti); four faculties as well as four powers, e.g., faith (saddhā), energy (viriya), mindfulness (sati),
and concentration (samādhi); four objects which lead to decay and disappearance of the norm; four objects which lead to the preservation of the norm; elements; annihilation of personality; and āsavas or intoxicants. Buddha in this nipāta says that there are four persons, namely, Tathāgata, Paccakabuddha, Tathagatasāvaka and Rājacakkāvatti, who are really worthy of honour and veneration. This nipāta also mentions four shortcomings in a judicial authority, viz., giving decision by one's own desire, by ill-will, by dullness and by fear; four qualities necessary for keeping others favourable to oneself, namely, offering presents, uttering sweet words, extending assistance and displaying equal treatment; four ways of disposing of a question, e.g., answering absolutely, with reservation, by a counter question and by paying no heed to it; four pervertions of a view, e.g., taking the transitory to be permanent, taking the miserable to be bliss, taking the non-self to be self, and taking the dirty to be clean; four defilements of the sun and the moon due to which their brilliance becomes dull, i.e., cloud, mist, dirt, and eclipse; four families of the serpent-king, viz., Virūpakka, Erāpatha, Chabyāputta, and Kanhāgotamaka; four qualities of a good men—speaking not against others even being asked, readily speaking in praise of others even without being asked, disclosing one's own fault even without being asked, and feeling shy in disclosing one's own merits even being asked; four persons—who are dark destined to darkness, dark destined to light, light destined to darkness, and light destined to light; four kinds of clouds—that which thunders but does not rain, that which rains but does not thunder, that which neither thunders nor
rains, and that which both thunders and rains; four places of pilgrimage—the places where the Blessed One is born, attains the perfect enlightenment, turns the wheel of the dhamma, and passes away; four paths—which are difficult and slow, difficult but quick, easy but slow, and both easy and quick; four originations—love from love, hatred from love, love from hatred, and hatred from hatred and four postures, i.e., the posture of a corpse—lying flat on the back, the posture of the sensual man—lying on the left side, the posture of the lion—lying on the right, and the posture of the Tathāgata who is absorbed in different stages of jhāna. The present nipāta speaks also of the nine divisions of the canon and hence assumes for it a previous development which should be long enough for the analysis of its complexities to become crystallized into this formula. It also deals with four types of effort (padhāna), namely, restraint (saṁvara), rejection (pahāṇa), cultivation (bhāvanā), and preservation (anurakkhaṇa). In this nipāta, therefore, discourses on the four things which lead to emancipation from existence (i.e. virtue, meditation, intuition and deliverance), four things by which man reaches hell, and four things by which one reaches heaven, four causes (i.e. good and bad deeds in a former birth) of some women's being ugly and poor, others ugly and rich, others beautiful and poor, and still others beautiful and rich and the like are included. Here again Ānanda, like a modern advocate of the emancipation of women, asks Buddha about the reasons of not having any seat for women in the public assembly. In answer the Blessed One says that womankind is choleric, jealous, envious, and stupid.
(v) The *Pañcaka Nipāta* alho like the previous one consists of the twenty-six chapters. It describes in details the five sekhabalas or the strength of the learner or disciple, e.g., faith (saddhā), bashfulness (hiri), shrinking back from committing sin (ottappo), energy (viriya) and wisdom (paññā); similar five balas or powers of the Tathāgata; five upakkilesas or sins of the body; five nīvaraṇas or obstacles, viz., desire for sensual pleasures (kāmacchanado), evil desire (vyāpādo), sloth and torpor (thinamiddham), haughtiness and restlessness (uddhaccakakkuccaṃ) and doubt (vicikicchā); five objects of meditation, viz., disagreeable (asubha), no self (anatta), death (maraṇa), disagreeableness in food (āhāre paṭikkula), and not finding pleasure in the whole world (sabbaloke anabhirati); five phāsuvihāras, namely, friendliness (mettaṃ), action by body (kāyakammam), action by speech (vacikammam), action by thought (manokammam); observance of the morality; holding right views which lead to the extinction of suffering; degradation of the brāhmaṇas; evils which befall a bhikkhu who becomes angry; and evils of wrong conduct. In this nipāta we are further told that a bhikkhu who is endowed with five evil qualities like avītarāga (not free from passion), avītadosa (not free from hatred), avītamoha (not free from delusion), makkho (hypocrisy), and palāsa (malice) is not liked by his fellow monks. On the other hand a bhikkhu who is endowed with five good qualities is welcomed by his fellow monks. This nipāta also relates that purity of life ensures right concentration, right concentration ensures insight and ultimate

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266 Aṅguttaranikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 1-278; (The) Aṅguttaranikāya (P.P.B.), vol. ii, pp. 273-516.
realisation, insight and ultimate realisation ensure detachment and renunciation, and detachment as well as ultimate realisation ensure the realisation of emancipation; that there are five advantages in charity—love of people, association of the noble, name and fame, fulfilment of the duties of a householder, and birth in heaven hereafter; that one must constantly reflect on the five facts, viz., age is sure to come, disease is difficult to avoid, there is an undoubtedly surity of death, there is bound to be a separation from the near and dear ones, one’s own actions are the causes of one’s state and destiny; that eating harmful food, not being moderate in eating, being an over-eater, roaming about untimely and being not controlled in the senses of the five factors which are not conducive to the longevity of an individual; and that just like the black serpent, the woman has five evils in her—excessive anger, revengefulness, poison, being double-tongues, and unfaithfulness. This nipāta further records the social position of the brāhmaṇas during the period of the appearance of Buddha. It reports that the brāhmaṇas are of high and pure birth through seven generations on both the father’s side and the mother’s side. They practise brahmacariya or the holy life, forty-eight years, studying the Vedic hymns. According to Buddha, these brāhmaṇas may be classified into five groups, viz., (a) Brahmāsama or those resembling Brahmā, (b) Devasama or those resembling the gods, (c) Marīyāda or those respecting their ancient tradition, (d) Sambhinna-marīyāda or those disregarding their ancient tradition, and (e) Brāhmaṇa-canḍāla or those leading a vulgar life. The brāhmaṇas of the first group after finishing their study take up the
position of teachers, depending only on alms for their livelihood and thereafter they abandon the worldly life to lead the life of ascetics, practising the four Brahmavihāras, namely, Mettā, karuṇā, muditā and upekkhā. The brāhmaṇas of the second group dwell as householders and marry girls only from their own caste at the end of their study. They meet their wives in proper time only for producing offspring. Thereafter they leave the worldly life. The brāhmaṇas of the third group at the completion of their study live as householders like those of the second group and adhere strictly to their age-old customs and rituals. But they generally do not abandon the household life during their old age. The brāhmaṇas of the fourth group, on the other hand, not only live as householders but also marry girls belonging to any social grade and meet always their wives to produce offspring and to enjoy sensual pleasures. The brāhmaṇas of the fifth and lowest group having finished their study not only live as householders and marry girls from all social grades but also adopt any profession according to their choice, for their livelihood (sabbakammehi jivitam kappeti).

(vi) The Chakka Nipāta\textsuperscript{267} which is a collection of classifications by six reveals in twelve chapters that a bhikkhu who is endowed with six good qualities becomes worthy of veneration and worship and indifferent to the objects of sight, sound, savoury, taste, tangible things, as well as phenomena. Such a bhikkhu should remember six dhammas, cultivate the feeling of loving friendliness as regards his body, speech and mind, observe the rules of morality.

\textsuperscript{267} Aṅguttaranikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iii, pp. 279-452; (The) Aṅguttaranikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iii, pp. 3-150.
and hold right views which lead a person to the destruction of suffering. In this nipāta Buddha presents an exposition of the six dhammas as follows: there is no delight in deeds (na kammārāmatā), ... no delight in sleep (na niddārāmatā), ... no delight in company (na saṅganikārāmatā) and association with the virtuous ones (kalyāṇamittatā). Buddha here also proclaims that the highest of sight is the sight of the Tathāgata, the highest of hearing is the hearing of the preaching of doctrines by the Tathāgaththa, the highest of gain is the gain of faith in the Tathāgaththa, the highest of learning is learning the doctrine preached by the Tathāgata, the highest of service is serving the Tathāgata and his disciples, and lastly the highest of recollection (anussati) is the recollection of the Tathāgata and his disciples who walk and act rightly. This nipāta further shows that six are disadvantages to a learner, i.e., having too much of business, gossiping, too much of sleep, having a large company, unrestraint in the senses, and lack of moderation in food; six roots of greed, namely, greed, ill-will as well as dullness being the roots of bad actions and renunciation, kindness and wisdom being the roots of good actions; six qualities, i.e., contentedness, devotion, purity of character, energy, mindfulness and wisdom, by which a bhikkhu advances on the path of spirituality; and six impossibilities, namely, a man of right view should have disregard for Buddha, his doctrine, his order, his teaching, fall in a woeful state and take on the eighth birth.

(vii) The Sattaka Nipāta which is the collection of classifications by seven, consisting of nine

chapters includes discourses on seven requirements for meditation; seven miracles; seven kinds of wives; seven kinds of riches (dhanas), e.g., faith (saddhā), conduct (sīla), bashfulness (hiri), shrinking from committing sins (ottappa), learning (suta), sacrifice (cāga), and wisdom (paññā); seven bonds (samyojanas), viz., friendliness (anunaya), repugnance (paṭīgha), false belief (diṭṭhi), doubt (vicikicchā), pride (māna), existence (bhava), and ignorance (avijjā); and the like. In this nipāta Buddha is found to condemn the sacrifices in which slaughter of living beings is conducted. According to him, a true and noble disciple never troubles himself with the thought relating to Tathāgata's existence after demise. This nipāta offers also an interesting description of the Vedic sacrifice (i.e. yañña), in which sundry animals are often slaughtered. The acts of laying down (ādhāna) of the fire and the setting up (ussāpana) of the sacrificial post, according to the brahmanical tradition bear great merits. The Blessed One declares that in a 'sacrifice' are involved three kinds of weapons (tīni satthāni), viz., of body, speech and mind, which are useful for extinguishing three fires, such as, rāga (passion), dosa (hatred) and moha (delusion). In the explanatory portion of the discourse, the order of enumeration of kāya, vacī and mano is reversed, because in actual sequence manokamma (mental action) precedes vaṭikamma (vocal action) and kāyakamma (physical action). But its usual order which may be traced in the Rāhulovāda Sutta should be kāya, vacī and mano. The present discourse reveals that a real sacrifice is that in which are honoured three fires, viz., āhuṇeyyaggi, gahapatagga and dakkhineyyaggi. The first is
represented by the parents, the second by the wives, children, servants as well as other dependants, and the third by holy men and recluses. Buddha here in the Aggi Sutta supplying a vivid description of a bloody sacrifice, at which thousands of animals are brought near the sacrificial post for being slaughtered, says that the yañña or sacrifice consists not in taking the life of beings but in self-control and ‘offering’ of charities. Thus he presents a spiritual interpretation of the procedure of the sacrifice. Indeed the discourse reveals that “the brahmanic ritual of Vedic times has been given (by Buddha) a changed and deeper meaning. Buddhism has discarded the outward and cruel form and has widened its sphere by changing its participant, its object as well as the means and ways of ‘offering’, so that the yañña now consists entirely in a worthy application of a worthy gift to a worthy applicant” (P.T.S. Pali-English Dictionary, p. 547). In the present nipāta are also mentioned seven kinds of strength, e.g., faith, energy, modesty, discretion, mindfulness, concentration, and insight; seven conditions of welfare of the Vajjis, namely, assembling together very often, assembling together with unanimity, not breaking their tradition, respecting their superiors, not misbehaving with the girls and ladies of the community, worshipping their shrines, and extending protection to the elderly monks; seven circumstances of prosperity of the lay disciple, e.g., not neglecting to visit the bhikkhus, to listen to the religious discourses, to train himself in good conduct, being strong in devotion, not indulging in seeing faults of the bhikkhus, not looking elsewhere for guidance and offering his services for the welfare of the saṅgha; and seven qualities of a true
friend, viz., readiness for making best sacrifice, rendering best services, not finding out a fault, revealing the hidden secret, keeping secrecy, not deserting during adversity and maintaining regards even in poverty.

(viii) The Atthaka Nipāta\footnote{\textit{Aṇguttaranikāya (P.T.S.),} vol. iv, pp. 150-350; \textit{(The) Aṇguttaranikāya (P.P.B.),} vol. iii, pp. 270-430.} which is the collection of discourses by eight, also in nine chapters, contains discourses on eight things by which the wife binds the husband and the husband the wife, eight kinds of alms, eight qualities which women should possess in order to be reborn as divine beings, the uposatha ceremony, mindfulness, and eight causes of an earthquake. This nipāta further relates that there are eight advantages in the practice of loving kindness (mettā)—sleeping peacefully, awaking peacefully, having no bad dreams, becoming loveable to men and gods, having protection of the gods, being immune of harm due to fire, poison, or weapon, and being born at least in the world of Brahmā; and eight ways of the world—gain, loss, fame, blame, dispraise, praise, pleasure and pain. The Siha Sutta of this nipāta narrates the conversion of Siha, a famous disciple of Niganṭha. This nipāta further proclaims that there are eight impurities—not-revision is the impurity of a memorised stanza, lack of upkeep is the impurity of a building, sloth is the impurity of beauty, negligence is the impurity of a watchman, misconduct is the impurity of the wife, misery is the impurity of the charitable, evil deeds are the impurities of this world as well as of the next, and ignorance is the worst of all impurities; a woman by weeping, smiling, talking, moving on one side, twisting the brows, per-
fumes, offering food and touching entangles the heart of the man; there are eight wonderful characteristics of the ocean, viz., gradual depth, not rising beyond the shore, not betting a corpse stagnate in it, accommodating the water falling from different rivers, constancy of volume, unity of saltish taste, treasure of all previous stones, and abode of huge beings; and there are eight kinds of gifts—gifts given due to attachment, due to some hope, considering it to be good, to the bhikkhus thinking it to be proper, for fame, as well as for self-purification.

(ix) The Navaṇa Nipāta²⁷⁰ comprises the nine chapters, in which are spoken of nine kinds of persons, namely, one who has attained the summum bonum (arahanta), one who has reached the third stage of the arahatta (arahattāyapati-panno), one who has reached the third stage of sanctification (anāgāmī), one who has attained the fruition of the third stage of sanctification (anāgāmiphalasacchikiriyāyapati-panno), one who has reached the second stage of sanctification (sakadāgāmī), one who has reached the first stage of sanctification (sotāpanno), one who has attained the fruition of the first stage of sanctification (sotāpattiphalasacchikiriyāyapati-panno), an ordinary man (puthujjano); of nine kinds of objects of thought (saññās), viz., impurity (asubha), death maraṇa), disagreeableness in food (āhāre paṭikkula), not finding pleasure in the whole world (sabbaloke anabhīrati), impermanence (anicca), suffering in impermanence (anicce dukkha), not a self in suffering (dukkhe anatta), abandonment (pahāna), and absence of passion (virāga); five constituent

²⁷⁰ Aṅguttaranikāya (P.T.S.), vol. iv, pp. 351-466; (The) Aṅguttaranikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iv, pp. 3-98.
elements, e.g., passion (rāga), sensation (vedanā), perception (saññā), mental coefficients (sañkhārā), as well as consciousness (viññāna), and five destinies of worldly beings, viz., hell (niraya), world of animals (tiracchānayoni), realm of the departed spirits (pettivisaya), human beings (manussā) as also gods (devā). The present nipāta further reports that an individual can attain arahatship by putting away passion (rāga), hatred (dosa), delusion (moha), anger (kodha), enmity (upanāha), ill feeling (makkha) and spite (palāsa). In the same nipāta it is also said that the family cultivating the following nine manners should not be met by the bhikkhus—the family which does not greet respectfully, which does not pay due regard, which does not offer honourable seats, which does not give recognition to existing qualities, which offers little even if it has plenty, which offers bad things even if it has good, which offers with disregard, which does not come near, and which does not pay heed to the dhamma; and there are nine graduated cessation—worldly desires cease in him who has obtained the first stage of meditation (jhāna), mental application ceases in him who has got the second stage of meditation, thrill ceases in him who has got the third stage of meditation, respiration ceases in him who has attained the fourth stage of meditation, sense of form (rūpa) ceases in him who has reached the stage of ākāsānañcayatana, sense of space ceases in him who has attained the stage of viññānañcayatana, sense of consciousness ceases in him who has got the stage of ākīnañcayatana, sense of nothingness ceases in him who has reached the stage of nevasaññānañcāññāyatana, cognition and affection cease in a person who
has attained the stage of saññāvedayitanirodha.

(x) The *Dasaka Nipāta*\(^{271}\) which is the collection of classifications by ten, consists of discourses, arranged in twenty-two chapters, on the ten powers of Buddha; ten fundamental questions; ten reasons for the institution of the Pātimokkha; ten kinds of rich people; dissension among the order (saṅghabheda); ten saññās, namely, impermanence (anicca), non-self (anatta), death (marāṇa), disagreeableness in food (āhāre paṭikkula), dissatisfaction towards the whole world (sabbaloke anabhīrati), bone (aṭṭhika), one of the asubha kammaṭṭhānas which is called puḷavaka, i.e., the contemplation of the worm-infested corpse, one of the asubha kammaṭṭhānas obtained by the contemplation of a corpse black with decay (vinūoka), one of the asubha kammaṭṭhānas obtained by the contemplation of a corpse fissured from decay (vicchidaka), and the idea of a bloated corpse (uddhumātaka); seven elements of knowledge, e.g., recollection (sati), investigation of doctrine (dhammavicaya), energy (viriya), delight (pīti), calmness (passaddhi), concentration (samādhi), and indifference (upekkhā); three kinds of knowledge, viz., knowledge of previous existence, knowledge of the passing of beings from one existence to another, and knowledge of the destruction of intoxicants of the mind (āsava); and ten purifications (pārisuddhis), namely, right view (sammaṭṭhi), right determination (sammañkappo), right speech (samma vācā), right action (samma kammanto), right livelihood (samma jīvo), right exertion (samma vāyāmo), right mindfulness (samma sati), right

concentration (sammāsamādhi), right knowledge (sammāñānaṁ), and right emancipation (sammāvimutti). In the present nipāta Buddha has further explained to the bhikkhus the true nature of virtue as well as of sin, of noble as well as of ignoble ways, and of good and bad qualities. The same nipāta also relates that purity of character generates non-repentedness, joy, thrill, tranquility, ease, concentration, insight, detachment, and realisation of emancipation; Tathāgata has laid down the rules of the Pātimokkha with a view to the following ten purposes—for the well-being of the saṅgha, for the convenience of the saṅgha, for restraining the rough, for the destruction of the evils hereafter, for generating faith in the faithless, for developing faith in the faithful, for the long life of the dhamma, as well as in the best interest of the discipline; and a bhikkhu must not enter into the inner apartments of the royal palace, for the ten following reasons—a smile on his face in the presence of the queen may be misunderstood by the king, the king may suspect him of having caused conception in the queen forgetting that it is actually done by himself, he may be involved unnecessarily in a case of theft, he may be suspected of having divulged the secrecy of the government and the like.

(xi) The Ekādasaka Nipāta272 which is known as the collection of classifications by eleven, in three chapters describes the qualities which are essentially indispensable for the attainment of Nibbāna and which helps one to become the highest and best among gods and men, eleven blessings which

272 Aṅguttaranikāya (P.T.S.), vol. v, pp. 311-361; (The) Aṅguttaranikāya (P.P.B.), vol. iv, pp. 357-400.
are to be expected from the exercise of benevolence, eleven gates leading to Nibbāna and eleven conditions for acquiring the knowledge of human passion. In this nipāta it is also stated that only through vijjā and caranā an individual can attain to Nibbāna. Here it is further said that a person who cultivates loving kindness (mettā) earns the following eleven merits, viz., he sleeps peacefully, gets up peacefully, does not see a bad dream, wins the love of men as well as of the spirits, is protected by the gods, is not harmed by fire or poison or weapon, attains concentration easily, gets a glowing face, meets a peaceful death, and at least reaches the world of Brahmā after his tenure of the earthly existence.

Thus it is evident from the above brief survey of the suttas collected in the Dīgha-, Majjhima-, Saṃyutta-, and Aṅguttara Nikāyas, that the early Pāli canonical texts contain interesting discussions not only on the intricate Buddhist doctrinal points but also on some secular matters. These discourses, have, therefore, become veritable mines of information about society, religion and ethical standard of Ancient India.
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