

A HISTORY OF PALI LITERATURE

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POST-CANONICAL PĀLI LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

In between the closing of the Pāli canon and the writing of the Pāli commentaries by Buddhadaṅga, Buddhaghosa, and Dharmapāla, there is a short but dark period of development of Pāli literature which has not as yet engaged adequate attention of scholars. Broadly speaking, the period extends from the beginning of the Christian era to the close of the 4th century A.D. The Nettipakaraṇa, the Paṭṭakopadesa, and the Milinda-Pāṭiḥa are undoubtedly the three extra-canonical and highly useful treatises that may be safely referred to the earlier part of this period. There are a few other works, more or less, of a commentarial nature that are closely pre-supposed by the great commentaries of Buddhadaṅga, Buddhaghosa, and Dharmapāla. These comprise, among others, (1) certain earlier commentaries written in Sinhalese, such as the *Mūla va Mūla-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Uṭṭara Vihāra aṭṭhakathā* (the Commentary of the dwellers in the "North Vihāra"), *Mahāmaucariya*, the *Kuṇḍaliya* or *Mahākaraṇḍa aṭṭhakathā* quoted by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries, (2) two other earlier commentaries, the *Andhaka* and the *Sakkhepi* current in South India, particularly in Kāñchīpuraṃ or Conjevorum, and quoted by Buddhaghosa, (3) the *Vinayavivādhaya* by Buddhastīla, a fellow bhikkhu of Buddhadaṅga, pre-supposed by the *Vinayavivādhaya* of Buddhadaṅga and the *Saṃvanta-pāṭiḥā* of Buddhaghosa, (4) the Sinhalese commentary on the canonical Jātaka-book referred to and quoted by Buddhaghosa under the name of *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*, (5) certain views and interpretations of the schools of sects quoted by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries, (6) the *Uparavāsa*, the earlier Pāli chronicle quoted by Buddhaghosa

in his commentary on the Kathāvatthū, and (7) the Apāḥarāḍḍā Mahāvāṇā composed by Mahānāma's great disciple of Ceylon.

The writings of Buddhadhitta, Buddhaghosa, and Dharmapala come necessarily after these earlier works in both Pāli and Sinhalese and occupy chronologically a place next to them. The Mahāvāṇā of the great epic chronicler of Ceylon composed by Mahānāma, the Aṅguttaraṇṇā, a later supplement to the Buddhavaṇṇā, and the Jāṭakuttavivaraṇā written by a thera at the personal request of the ruler Attadāsa, Buddhavalla of the Mahāpāsāḍaśāka and Mahāpāla Buddhadeva of clear intellect, may be assigned to almost the same period of Buddhist literary activities in Ceylon which is covered by the writings of Buddhaghosa. Mahānāma's Mahāvāṇā may be regarded as a Pāli model of certain chronicles the Pūjāvāṇā and the rest written in Sinhalese. The commentaries on the books of the Vinaya, Sūtra, and Abhidhamma Pitakas were followed by several *ṭīkā*s to be chronologically determined as *saḍḍā* and *saṃ*, *Andāḍā* and *Sāṅgāḍḍā* being noted as authors of some of these *saḍḍā* and *saṃ* *ṭīkā*s. From the sixth or seventh century A.D. onwards we see also the beginning of a Pāli grammatical literature headed by Karadāyana's *Paṇi* Grammar as well as of Pāli lexicons headed by the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*. The literary processes connected with the commentaries and sub-commentaries and the compilations in the shape of handbooks continued resulting in the growth of a somewhat different type of later literature. The *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* and many other books of great authority written by the eminent Sauraddha and others are to be counted as remarkable literary output of this stage of the development of Pāli. The *Narādīyāṭṭhā* quoted in the *Nidānakkathā* of the *Jāṭakavāṇāna*, the *Paḷakāṭṭhagāthā* ranking with the *ḍāṭakā* headed by the compositions of Dharmapala, the *Āṅgavāṇā* which is a *hāva* attempted in Pāli has successfully as the model of *Āṅgavā-*

gloṣṭhāna, Buddhacarita, the Paḍḍamadhā, a Pāli poetical composition produced in Ceylon, the Paṭṭa-gaddhāpātā and the Saḍḍhammopāyana, two similar poetical compositions of Ceylon and the Raṅgavāhinī, a book of interesting Buddhist folktales, written in simple prose, are some of the literary pieces that are included in our scheme of Post-Classical Pāli literature. We are generally to exclude from our scheme various Pāli works on law, grammar, prosody, lexicography, and the commentaries written in Burma and Ceylon from the 15th century A.D. onwards. In dealing with the Post-Classical Pāli literature we are first of all to take up the extra-canonical works presupposed by the Pāli commentaries, next the Pāli commentaries, then the Pāli chronicles, Pāli Manuals, Pāli literary pieces and lastly Pāli grammars, books on prosody and lexicons the classification being arbitrary.

CHAPTER 17

EXTRA CANONICAL WORKS PRESUPPOSED BY PĀLI COMMENTARIES

The title *Nettipakaraṇa*¹ as explained by
Nettipakaraṇa
Māraṇasāpāka, means explication of
that which leads to the knowledge
of the Good Law. The *Netti* shows the methodical
way of attaining textual knowledge. It contains
much of the materials which are so grouped as to
form a book by itself. The commentary on the
Nettipakaraṇa says that without an able instructor
it is impossible for one to be guided in the right
understanding of the doctrine.

This treatise was translated into Burmese by
Thera Mahācūḍavāsiya in the fifteenth century of
the Christian era, and again two centuries later, by a

¹ This work has been edited by Prof. E. Hardy for the P.T.S.,
London, and published by the said society in 1908. There is also
a Burman edition of this work. The text is not entirely free from
inaccuracies but all such defects are perceptible when we remember
that it is a printed work. The text edited by the P.T.S. is based
on the following manuscripts:

- (i) Palm leaf manuscript of the India Office in Burmese
character (see Catalogue of the Manuscript MSS in the
India Office Library by Prof. V. Prentiss, F.R.S.,
1909);
- (ii) Palm leaf manuscript of the India Office (Playto collec-
tion), likewise written in Burmese character (see
Catalogue of the Pāli MSS in the India Office Library
by H. Oldenberg);
- (iii) Paper manuscript (transcribed from V. Sūtrak by Prof.
D. S. Datta) in Devanāgarī character (Khandukhan,
b. 1207) Prof. Hardy has relied on the palm
leaf manuscript of the India Office in Burmese
character in adding readings wherever they are
found to contribute to a better understanding of
the text.

Nettipakaraṇa revised and edited by U. Sūrasā then and finally
revised by V.ā. Pāṇṇangala Burmanā, Ceylon, 1922, should
be consulted.

See P. J. Davis translated 'Nettipakaraṇa' as 'The Book of
Instructors' *Stages of Buddhist Origin*, p. 137.

dwelling in the Pubbarama-Vihāra. It was composed at the request of These Dharmasarakkhita and highly praised by Mahākaccāna. The Mandalay manuscript ascribes its authorship to Mahākaccāna as every section bears a clear testimony to the authorship of Mahākaccāna who has been described here as Jambhavanavāsi, i.e. dweller in the rose-apple grove.

The Nettī is essentially a Pāli treatise on the logical and epistemological methodology, a Buddhist treatment upon the whole of the Tantra Yuktis discussed in the Kantthiya Arthasāra, the Sūtramañjhita, the Sārahassānūtibā, and the Saṅgāyā-Ṭhāṇṇa. The Nettī and Jāṇasambhāsa Kāstra have many points in common as they were written to serve a similar purpose. It stands in the same relation to the Pāli canon as Yāska's Nirukta to the Vedān. The scheme of methodology has been worked out in a progressive order, the thesis being developed or elaborated by gradual steps. To begin with we have the opening section, Saṅgahavāra, or the synopsis of the whole book which is a lecture also of the Milinda Paṭha. Then we have the Vibhāgavāra of the section presenting a systematic treatment in classified tables. This section comprises three tables or sub-sections:—(1) Uddesavāra, (2) Niddesavāra, and (3) Paliniddehavāra. The Uddesavāra merely presents a bare statement of the thesis and as such it serves as a table of contents. It is followed by the Niddesavāra which briefly specifies the import or definitions of the theses awaiting detailed treatment in the section immediately following, we meet the Paliniddehavāra, which is but an elucidation and elaboration of the Niddesavāra. The theses in the Uddesavāra are introduced in three separate tables or enūmeratī:— (1) that of sixteen bāras (connected chains), (2) that of five peyyas (modes of imposition), and (3) that of eighteen mūlāpades (main ethical topics). The sixteen bāras consist of dhamma (the method of ascertainment), vicaya (the method of enquiry), pūta

(the method of establishing connection in groups), *paśatthāna* (the method of teaching with reference to the fundamentals), *lakṣhaṇa* (the method of determining implications by characteristic marks), *antaryāga* (the method of fourfold array), *avastā* (the cyclical method), *vibhakti* (the method of classification), *parivāṭana* (the method of transfiguration), *śābdeśā* (the method of synonyms), *prāñīkṣā* (the method of determining significance), *stānāṅga* (the method of determining slope), *śāḍḍham* (the method of rectification), *adhīttthāna* (the method of determining positions), *paśikkhāra* (the method of discriminating causal relations), and *mutārūpaṅga* (the method of attribution).

The five *avayvas* consist of the following modes of viewing things: (1) *maṅkiyāvasthā* (2) *ṭipakkhaḷa* (by the triple lotus), (3) *athavajkṛitā* (the lion like sport), (4) *divalokan* (heaven vision), and (5) *nīkhesa* (focussing).

The eighteen *nīlāpasādas* comprise nine *śāśādas* and nine *akusālas*. The nine *nīlāpasādas* are *tuṇhā* (dull), *avijjā* (ignorance), *lobha* (covetousness), *dosa* (hatred), *maḍa* (delusion), *saḍḍasāraṇā* (false idea of purity), *nīrasāraṇā* (false idea of permanent), *atassānā* (false idea of personal identity), etc. The nine *akusālas* are *śāntullha* (tranquillity), *vīpāssanā* (insight), *gobha* (absence of covetousness), *adosa* (absence of hatred), *avodha* (absence of delusion), *anābhāsaṇā* (idea of impurity), *dukkha-sāraṇā* (idea of discoloration), *avīceya-sāraṇā* (idea of impermanence), and *asattā-sāraṇā* (idea of non-identity).

In the *Niddesa-sūtra*, the reader is to expect nothing more than a general specification of the meaning of the topics proposed in the *Niddesa-sūtra* for treatment. From the *Niddesa-sūtra* the reader is led on to the next step, the *Paṭiśāddesa-sūtra* which contains four broad divisions, namely, (1) *Ṭhānāvibhāṅga* (explanations of the connected chains), (2) *Ṭhāraṇāpāṭa* (discussions of the *Ṭhāra* projections), (3) *Navaśāmanīyāṭṭhāna* (exposition of the method of inspection), and (4) the *Sāmaṇapāṭṭhāna*

(the classification and interpretation of Buddha's instructions).

The treatise deals in detail with sixteen *hīras* in the specified order as follows :

The *Dhammāhāro* directs the reader to notice six distinctive features in the Buddha's method of instructions, namely, *maṅḍala* (right side), *adimaṅḍala* (back side), *niṣamaṅḍala* (groups of recaps), *phalaṅ* (fruitful), *opāya* (means of success), and *āsethā* (the moral upshot). It also points out that Buddha's instructions are carefully adapted to four classes of hearers, namely (1) those of right intellect (understanding things by mere hints), (2) those needing short explanations, (3) those to be slowly led by elaborate explications, and (4) those whose understanding does not go beneath the words. In the same connection it seeks to bring home the distinction between the three kinds of knowledge, *ekāramāyā*, *duddamāyā*, and *bhāvaśāramāyā*.

In the *Vijayabhāra* the method of connecting over the subjects of questions and thoughts and repetitions in thought as *kuṭṭha* does, and this is elaborately illustrated with appropriate quotations from the canonical texts.

In the *Yotthāhāra* we are introduced to the method of grouping together connected ideas and the right application of the method of reasoning or inference in interpreting the dharmas.

The *Paṇḍitāhāra* explains the doctrinal points by their fundamental characteristics and exemplifies them. This *hāra* has an important bearing on the *Mūlāra* explanation.

The *Takkhaṅghāra* points out that when one of a group of matters characterized by the same word is mentioned, the others must be taken as implied. For instance, when the name of eight is mentioned in a passage, the implication should be that other senses received the same treatment.

The *Antavyābhāra* unfolds the method of understanding the doctrines by using the following points :—

(1) the text, (2) the term, (3) the purpose, (4) the introductory episode, and (5) the sequence, illustrating each of them with quotations from the earliest text.

The *Āyatsāhāra* aptly illustrates with authoritative quotations how in the teachings of the Buddha all things can be found to form cycles of inter-
fundamental ideas such as *kuṇḍā*, *svijjā*, the four *Arāya* faults and the like.

The *Vikhaṭṭhāra* explains the method of classifying Buddha's discussions according to their character, origin or occasion, or according to their value, inferior, superior or mediocre.

The *Parivattanaḍḍhā* contains an exposition of the method by which the Buddha tried to transform a bad thing into a good thing and transform also the life of a bad man.

The *Yogavannāhāra* calls attention to the dictionary method of synonymy by which the Buddha tried to impress and clarify certain notions of the Dhamma. This section forms a landmark in the development of Indian lexicography.

In the *Paṭṭasānikā* it is stated that though the Dhamma is one, the Lord has presented it in various forms. There are four noble truths beginning with *dukkha*. When these truths are realized then knowledge and wisdom come to aid then the way to Nibbāna is open to the knower. The elements may be compared but Nibbāna cannot be compared.

In the section on *Uparāpa* the *Nāḍī* illustrates how in the schemata of Buddha's doctrines diverse notions spontaneously descend under the burden of certain leading topics such as, *indriyas*, *paṭṭa*, *saṃsarpāḍā*, *five bhavāsās* and the like.

The *Nāḍī* illustrates the method by which the Buddha corrected the form of the questions in the replies offered by him.

The *Āśāpāṭṭhāna* explains in detail the method of determining the respective position of different ideas according as they make for certain occasion

notions. In the *Adhithānāsāna* the basis of all work is given. The four tenths beginning with *dukkham* are described and side by side *avijjā* is shown to be the cause working in opposite ways. There are also parts bringing about the extinction of *dukkha*, etc. The various *kaṅga* and *dhāra* are also considered. *Samādhi* is the only means in following *arā*.

In the *Parikkāmaśāra* the *Arā* explains and exemplifies how one can distinguish between the causal elements, broadly between *hetu*: *Samū* other causal relations. This section has an important bearing on the *Paṭṭhāna* of the *Abhidhamma* *Piṭaka*.

We come at last to the section called the *Samūhacūpanna*. This section explains and illustrates the Buddha's method of fourfold attribution, (1) by way of fundamental ideas, (2) by way of synonyms, (3) by way of contemplation, and by way of getting rid of the immoral perpetration.

Māra *Sāmpāda* is a division which is dependent on the *hāra* as its purpose is to prevent the projection or main moral implications of the *hāra* or the connected division previously dealt with.

This division like the preceding one consists of sixteen parts exactly under the same heading.

In the *Māra* *Sāmpāda* the commentator *Therapāṇḍita* has added and rearranged to my new *Āraṅga*. He cites the passages from the text and then puts a lay dissertation on them by way of questions and answers. This division stands almost as an independent treatise by itself.

Deva *hāra* *Sāmpāda* - In this division it is laid down that *Māra* involves only a mine which is quite unprotected (*paraṭṭhacārita*) which is based on false beliefs, or illusions, etc.

Vienya *hāra* *Sāmpāda* - In this section it is laid down that desire (*taṇhā*) is of two kinds: *bhava* and *akusala*. The one leads to rebirth and the other to birth and suffering (*saṁsāra*). Blind to both *bhava* and *akusala* is *avijjā*. The real nature of things can only be seen in the fourth *Arā* stage. The

various signs and nature of nibbāna and samādhi are described. Samādhi has five characteristics, namely, joy, happiness, consciousness, enlightenment, and right perception. There are ten objects of meditation (kaggāyatanāni), e.g., pāthavī, āpo, etc. They are then detached to three objects, anicca (non-permanent), dukkha (suffering), and anatta (non-existence of soul).

A differentiation is brought about between an ordinary man and a man with knowledge. The former can do any kind of offence that may be possible. But the latter cannot. The former man even kill his father or mother, can destroy the nāgā but the latter cannot; when one practices the four Jhānas, and attains to Sāmaññā, his previous life and future life are known to him.

In the Vatthū-hāra-samūpāta it is stated that doth, sloth and misery disappear from him who is well protected in mind, firm in resolution, and adheres to right seeing.

In the Parikkhāna-hāra and Sakkhāna-hāra-samūpāta, the parikkhāna (restraint) are described as belonging to one who is well restrained in mind, words, and actions and who by the proper attainment of paśāyāsāya realises the highest path.

In the Cūḍa-vyūhāhāra-samūpāta, Āvāsa-vira-samūpāta, Vibhūttī-hāra-samūpāta, etc., great stress is laid on right perception, mindfulness, and kamma deeds which lead to the knowledge of jhāna-samūpāta.

The third division called the Nayasamūttāna contains a detailed treatment of the five specified modes of viewing things. Under the Namāyūveḍḍa mode, it is pointed out that the earlier extremity of the world cannot be known owing to avijjā (ignorance) which has taṇhā (desire) at the root. Those who walk in the field of pleasure are bound down in heretical beliefs and are unable to realise the truth. There are four noble truths--Dukkhaṃ, dukkhasamudayaṃ, dukkhasamuccayaṃ, and dukkha-nirodha-gāminīyaṃ. There is a noble path

(majjhime patipanna) which rejects the two extreme views and which is identified with the eightfold noble path (*asīḥaṭṭhaṅgiko magga*). He who has avoided *diṭṭhi* (false view) escapes from *kāma* (lust). Hence avoidance of desire (*rāga*) and ignorance (*avijjā*) leads to quietude or renounce. *Kaṭṭha* is recognised as the cause of the world of suffering. But consciousness and all that concerns consciousness may be seen in their increment in the last sutta. The ordinary enjoyment of food and touch, etc., is the cause of distress of a man with desire.

The previous *saṅgas* (*cīna*) are next described. The suffering of a man with attachments, faults, and wrong views are also narrated. The four *padhā*, the four foundations of recollection, the four *dhūras*, the four essentials (*anussappanadhūras*), the four meditations, the four pleasure yielding states, etc., are also stated: each of these is described as an antidote for the man with attachment, delusion, and wrong views.

Buddhas, *Parukka-Buddhas*, the disciples, and all those who are devoid of attachment, hatred, delusion, etc., are like lions. Those who look to the eight aspects, the senses, the counter forces of the views with as strong reasons as Buddhas, *Parukka-Buddhas*, etc., are said to have seen things just like a lion. Human types are four in number. Each of these has to undergo some sort of training. To each of them is offered an *adhiya* as to *tanhā* (desire), *rāga* (attachment), *maṇa* (pride), etc. This is the way shown to be of the *Tīpakkhala* and of the *Andhā* described in the text.

Now turning to the fourth division, the *Sāma-juttāna*, we get a treatment of the proper method of classification and interpretation of the texts of the *Dharmas*. That is to say, the *Sāma-juttāna* embodies a classification of the Pāli passages according to their leading thoughts. It is suggested that the discourses of the Buddha can be classified according to the themes into: (1) *Sakkāyapariyāyika* (those dealing with selfishness or egoism), (2)

Vāsanābhāgiya (those dealing with desire), (3) Nibbedhabhāgiya (those dealing with penetration), (4) Asakhabhāgiya (those dealing with the subject of a non-learner), (5) Saṅkilesabhāgiya and Vāsanābhāgiya, (6) Saṅkilesa and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (7) Saṅkilesa and Asakhabhāgiya, (8) Saṅkilesa and Nibberha and Asakhabhāgiya, (9) Saṅkilesa and Vāsanā and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (10) Vāsanā and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (11) Taṇhāsāṅkilesabhāgiya, (12) Ditthasaṅkilesabhāgiya, (13) Duccaritasāṅkilesabhāgiya, (14) Taḍḍāvadānabhāgiya, (15) Ditthāvadānabhāgiya, (16) Duccaritāvadānabhāgiya. Of these, saṅkilesas are of three kinds, taḍḍā (desire), ditthi (false view), and duccarita (wrong actions).

Various *paḍas*, *ślokas*, and texts are cited while explaining each of these textual classifications.

The eighteen main *paḍas* are those which are worldly (*lokiḷāsa*), nonworldly (*lokuttarāṇā*), etc. In fact the chapter is made highly interesting by its numerous quotations from similar texts and it does not enter deep into philosophical or logical arguments. But the classification and reclassifications are no doubt interesting as intellectual gymnastics.

That the *Nettipakaraṇa* is an earlier book than the *Paṭṭhāna* (*Mahāpācamaṇa*) has been already shown by Mrs. Elys Davids (J.R.A.S., 1925, pp. 111-112). She says that in the *Netti* there is a short chapter on *parikkhāna*, i.e., equipment. Usually applied to a monk's necessities of life, it is here applied to mean all that goes to bring about a happening, all the conditions to produce an effect. These are twofold—*paracaya* and *hetu*. Take now this happening: "A seeing by something". Here the eye is the dominant condition (*adhipatīyyapaṇḍarāyatāya paṇḍarāya*). The thing seen is the object condition (*ārambhaṇa paṇḍarāyatāya paṇḍarāya*). The light is the medium condition (*ārambhāyatāya paṇḍarāya*). But attention is the *hetu*. In conclusion it states: Whatever is sufficient condition (*upanissaya*) that is a causal antecedent (*parikkhāna*). "This simple

exposition," says Mrs. Evelyn Rawls. "is a development of the yet simpler wording in the Suttas. There no distinction is drawn between *hetu* and *puccaya*."

She then turns her attention to the *Paṭṭhāna*. Here at the start not only has a distinction been drawn but an elaborate classification of *puccaya* twenty-four in kind, is drawn up as standardised knowledge.

Hetu is a species of *puccaya*, first and chief of these. Further, 'dominance', 'object', 'medium', 'sustaining condition', are chosen as *puccaya*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5. And further, the invariable way of assigning causal relation to a happening is not the *Netti*'s way but (*hetu*, etc.) *puccayena puccaya*. We may conclude from this that the writer of the *Netti* did not know the *Paṭṭhāna*. He did know some *Abhidhamma*. He alludes to a method in the *Dhammasaṅgī*, to a definition in the *Vibhāṅga* but never to that notable scheme in the *Paṭṭhāna*.

The *Peṭakopadeśa* is another treatise on the textual and the exegetical methodology prescribed in *Mahāśālistā* and it is nothing but a different manipulation of the subject treated in the *Antipexarāna*. Interest of this treatise, if it was at all a work of the same author, lies in the fact that it throws some new light here and there on the points somewhat obscure in the *Netti*. Its importance lies also in the fact that in places it has quoted the Pāli canonical passages mentioning the sources by such names as *Sarivasthāna* (= *Sāmye* the *Nīlāya*) and *Floutaraka* (= *Khattara* or *Abhidhāna Nīlāya*). Its importance arises no less from the fact that in it the four *Āriya* in the are stated to be the central theme or source of Buddhism, the point which gained much ground in the literature of the *Śāristānādin* school. The importance of the last point will be realised all the more as we find how the discourses developed in the *Netti* in the course of formulating the textual and exegetical methodology centered round the

four Arigyan brothers. This work has not yet been edited. The P.T.S., London, has undertaken an edition of it. *Spécimens de Pāliaproducs* by R. Fuchs, Berlin, 1908 deserves mention.

The *Milinda Pañña* or the questions of Milinda had originally been written in Northern India in Sanskrit or in some North Indian Prakrit by an author whose name has not, unfortunately enough, come down to us. But, the original text is now lost in the land of its origin as elsewhere; what now remains is the Pāli translation of the original which was made at a very early date in Ceylon. From Ceylon, it travelled to other countries, namely, Burma and Siam, which have derived their Buddhism from Ceylon, and where at a later date it was translated into respective local dialects. In China, too, there have been found two separate works entitled "The Book of the Blackish Nāgārjuna Sūtra", but whether they are translations of the older recensions of the work than the one preserved in Pāli or of the Pāli recensions is difficult to ascertain. However, in the home of Southern Buddhism, the book is accepted as a standard authority, accorded only to the Pāli Piṭakas. Prof. Rhys Davids rightly observes, "It is not merely the only work composed among the Northern Buddhists which is regarded with reverence by the orthodox Buddhists of the Southern schools, it is the only one which has survived at all amongst them".

The book purports to discuss a great number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism; and this discussion is treated in the form of conversations between King Milinda of Sāgala and Thera Nāgārjuna. Milinda raises the questions and puts the dilemmas, and thus plays a subordinate part in comparison to that played by Nāgārjuna who answers the questions and solves the puzzles in detail.

Character of the work.

problems and disputed points of Buddhism; and this discussion is treated in the form of conversations

Naturally, therefore, the didactic element predominates in the otherwise romantic account of the encounter between the two.

Milinda who has been described as the King of the Yonas with his capital at Sāṃbha (Sāhala = Sialkot), has long been identified with Menander, the Bactrian Greek King who had his sway in the Punjab. He was known, as our author makes him say, at Kalasi in Alexandria, i.e., Alexandria and if we are to believe our author, i.e., resident of all doubts as a result of his long conversations with Nāgāsena, came to be converted to Buddhism. Nāgāsena, however, cannot be identified with any amount of certainty.

The name of the sūtra, as we have already said, has not come down to us. A close analysis of the book shows that a considerable number of place names refer to the Punjab and adjacent countries, such a few to the sea coast, e.g., Sarat, Ustrakoucha, etc. Most of the places named refer again to the Punjab. It is, therefore, natural for us to conjecture that the author of the book resided in the far north-west of India or in the Punjab. Mrs. Rhys Davids has a theory of her own regarding the author of the *Milinda Pañha*. She thinks that the recorded conversations of Milinda and Nāgāsena were edited in this new book form after Milinda's death, by special commission by a Pāṭiśāra of Buddhist Collegiate training, named Moggallāna. She points out that the author was not a convinced Buddhist and that the detached final portion of the *Milinda Pañha* is in no way to be matched in style or ideas with the quite different dilemmas and the following portions. The first part is a sort of jolly rather desultory talk breaking off and leaving marks of being genuine notes taken by recorders at the time. The latter portions are evidently written compositions, during conversations. "As to his name," says Mrs. Rhys Davids, "that is not by any means of any importance; it is, let us say, a playful game: — *kaṭṭhamaṇṇa* name

Use the Shakespearean hidden allusions, alluded to in a *gāthā*, which there was no reason for quoting save as a hint at the name".

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain exactly the date of *The Book*. *Milinda or*
Morander is, however, ascribed to the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C. The book must, therefore, have been written after that date. On the other hand, it must have long been an important book of authority when Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator, flourished in the 5th century A.D. For, he quoted from the book often in his commentaries, and that in such a manner that it follows that he regarded the book as a work of great authority. From a close analysis of the books referred to as quoted by the author of the *Milinda Pañha*, Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, the learned editor and translator of *Milinda Pañha*, came to the conclusion that "the book is later than the canonical books of the Pāli Piṭakas (the author of the *Milinda Pañha* quotes a large number of passages from the Piṭaka texts), and on the other hand, not only older than the great commentaries, but the only book outside the canon, regarded in them as an authority which may be implicitly followed".¹

The *Milinda Pañha* has a marked style of its own. Its language is most elegant, and studied against the background of ancient Indian prose, it is simply a masterpiece of writing. The formal exactness of the early Piṭakas as well as the studied ornamentation of later-day Pāli or Sanskrit-Buddhist treatises are alike absent from its pages. The charm of the style is captivating and there are passages that are eloquent in their meaning and gesture. The pre-eminence with which the long discussions are often closed are supreme inventions by our author of the art of conversation as well as of writing. Its style

¹ I.E.E., Vol. XXXV July, p. 400-01

and diction bear a close resemblance in and no somewhat manner than those of the famous Hasti-
nāpura inscription of Kharavela which is assigned
by Dr. H. M. Bryant to the second quarter of the
3rd century A.D.¹

At Nāgala, a city of wealth and affluence, ruled
King Milinda versed in arts and
sciences and skilled in astronomy.

He had his doubts and puzzles with regard to
Buddha's doctrines and utterances and other knotty
problems of Buddhism. To resolve these doubts
he went to Nāgasena, the famous scholar; and then
began a wonderful conventional discourse between
the two. But before the discourse really begins,
we are introduced by our author to the previous
birth history (*Pūbba jātā*) of these two personages
and then to the outline of various sorts of puzzles.

We are told that Nāgasena in a previous birth
of his was one of the members of
the religious brotherhood near the
Ganges, where Milinda, in his turn, in a previous
birth of his, was a novice. In accordance with his
acts of merit in that birth and his aspirations, this
novice after wandering from existence to existence
came to be born at last as king of the city of Nāgala,
a very learned, eloquent, and wise man. Now he
had doubts and problems in his mind, and in vain
did he seek the venerable Kassapa and Bhaddiya
Gautā to have them solved while all these were
happening. The brother of the religious brother-
hood who came to be born in a Brahman family was
Nāgasena. When he was seven years old he learnt
the three Vedas and all else that could be learnt
in a Brahmanical house. Then he left the house,
meditated in solitude for sometime and he was
afterwards admitted into the order as a novice by a
respectable Buddhist priest, Rohana and was
eventually converted into Buddhism. He was then

went to Pataliputra to the venerable Buddhist sage (Mahamurukhita) where he became an Arhat. Now while he was living there he was invited at the Grandest Slope in the Himalayas by an innumerable company of ascetics who were being harassed by King Milinda who delighted in putting knotty questions and arguments this way and that. Nāgaseṇa readily accepted the challenge of Milinda and went to Sāgnik attended by a band of ascetics. Just at that time Milinda had met Āyupala, an Arhat of the Karkleyya monastery, whom too he confronted with his casuistry. Nāgaseṇa who was then living at the same hermitage came now to the rescue of the Order. Milinda with five hundred Yonakas then repaired to Nāgaseṇa, and after mutual exchanges of courtesy and compliments the conversational discourse began.

The first discourse turned on the distinguishing characteristics of good qualities. (in book 11. Milinda inquired how Reverend Nāgaseṇa was known and what was his name. Upon it Nāgaseṇa initiated a discussion on the relation between mass and individuality, and explained it thoroughly with the help of an instructive simile. The king then, obviously to test his knowledge, put to him a riddle and questioned him as to his seniority of years. Nāgaseṇa fully vindicated himself, and the king also satisfied sought the permission of the Reverend Arhat to discuss with him. The Arhat in his turn told that he was agreeable to a discussion if he would only discuss as a scholar and not as a king. Then on by one Milinda put questions and Nāgaseṇa solved them with his wonderful power of argumentation, simile, and illustration. He contended that there was no soul in the breath; he explained one by one the sin of Buddhist renunciation, the Buddhist idea of reincarnation, the distinction between wisdom and reasoning, and wisdom and intelligence. He further contended that virtue was the basis of the five moral powers requisite for the attainment of nirvāṇa, and

that other moral powers were faith, perseverance, mindfulness, and meditation which a recluse should develop in himself. The characteristic marks of each of these qualities were expounded in detail, and their power to put an end to evil dispositions. A very important metaphysical question is next discussed wherein Nāgārjuna wants to establish with the help mainly of illuminating illustrations that when a man is born, he remains neither the same nor the another: like a child and a growing man through different stages of life. "One comes into being" another passes away; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. In this connection it is discussed if a man who will not be reborn had any painful sensation; and then what is after all reborn. A discussion is next initiated as to what is meant by "time", the root and the ultimate point of it. This leads to another discussion as to the origin and development of qualities, as to other existences or non-existence of anything as soul, which in its turn must naturally lead to a further discussion as regards thought-perception and right-perception, and lastly to the distinguishing characteristics of contact or phassa, sensation or vedanā, idea or saññā, purpose or cetanā, perception or viññāna, reflection or vitakka, and investigation or vicāra. In all these discussions and solutions, Milinda is fully convinced and is full of admiration for Nāgārjuna.

The second discourse turns on the question of removal of difficulties and dispelling of doubts in the way of attaining a life of renunciation. The various questions as to these doubts are not always related to one another, but all of them are instructive and helpful to solve doubts in the mind of Milinda, the King. He wants to know why really there is so much distinction between man and man, how renunciation is brought about, what is the character of the influence

of karma, and what is after all *nirvāṇa*, and whether all men attain it or not. The interesting point raised next is whether rebirth and transmigration are one and the same thing, and if there is a soul or any being that transmigrates from this body to another. Among other doubts that troubled Milinda were if the body was very dear to the Buddha, if the Buddha had really thirty-two bodily marks of a great man, if the Buddha was pure in conduct, if *śīlā* was a good thing. Milinda further enquired of Nāgaseṇa what had been the real distinction between one full of passion, and one without passion, and lastly what was meant by an Arahant who recollected what was past and done long ago. Then there were also other difficulties of various kinds which were all solved by the venerable Nāgaseṇa. Milinda was satisfied that he had propounded his questions rightly, and the replies had been made rightly. Nāgaseṇa thought that the questions had been well-put and right replies had been given.

This book deals with solutions of puzzles arising out of contradictory statements made by the Buddha. These puzzles were many and varied and were distributed in eighty-two dilemmas which were put by Milinda to Nāgaseṇa, who, in his turn, gave satisfactory explanations to each of them. The contradictions in the Buddha's utterances were more apparent than real. About these dilemmas was likely to arise, and it was difficult to find a teacher like Nāgaseṇa. An early solution of these dilemmas was imperative for the guidance of intending disciples of the Order. "These dilemmas are particularly interesting as well as instructive and it is profitable to be acquainted here with a few examples. Milinda was puzzled by dilemma--If the Buddha has really passed away, what is the good of paying homage to his relics? Nāgaseṇa said to him, "Blessed One, O King, is entirely set free from life and he *nirupāyaṇa*. If gods or men put up a building

to contain the jewel treasures of the relics of a Tathāgata who does not accept their gift, still by that homage paid to the attainment of the supreme good under the form of the jewel treasure of his wisdom do they themselves attain to one or other of the three glorious states (Tissa Sampattiyo). There are other reasons too. For, gods and men by offering reverence to the relics, and the jewel treasure of the wisdom of a Tathāgata, though he has died away, and accepts it not, can cause goodness to arise in them, and by that goodness can escape and can ally the fever and the torment of the threefold fire. And even if the Buddha has passed away, the possibility of receiving the three attainments is not removed. Beings, oppressed by the sorrow of becoming, men, when they desire the attainments, still receive them by means of the jewel treasure of his relics such of his doctrine, discipline, and teaching, like the seeds which through the earth attain to higher developments are the gods and men who, through the jewel treasure of the relics and the wisdom of the Tathāgata, though he has passed away and consent not to it—being firmly rooted by the roots of merit, become like unto trees casting a gradually shade by means of the trunk of contemplation, the sap of true doctrine and the branches of righteousness, bearing the flowers of emancipation, and the fruits of monkhood. It is for all these reasons that even when the Buddha has passed away, an act done to him notwithstanding his not consenting thereto, is still of value and bears fruit."

A second dilemma that troubled Milinda was, how can the Buddha be omniscient, when it is said that he reflects or thinks? To solve this dilemma, Nagaseno analysed the thinking powers of man from the lowest individual full of lust, ill-will and delusion to the highest Buddha having all knowledge and bearing about in themselves the manifold power and whose thinking powers are on every point brought quickly into play, and not with ease. The

then classified these different kinds of thinking powers into seven classes. The thinking power of the Supreme Brahman is of the last or seventh class, and its staff is very fine, the dart is highly tempered and its discharge is highly powerful. It altogether embraces the other six and is clear and active by its high quality that is beyond an ordinary man's comprehension. It is because the mind of the Blessed One is so clear and active that the Blessed One has worked so many wonders and miracles. For his knowledge is dependent on reflection, and it is an illusion that he knows whatever he wishes to know. It is more rapid than that, and more easy in action in the all-embracing knowledge of the Blessed One, more rapid than his reflection. His all-embracing knowledge is like the store-house of a great king who has stores of gold, silver and valuables, and all sorts of articles; it is with the help of reflection that the Blessed One grasps easily and at once whatever he wants from the big store-house of his knowledge.

A third dilemma was, why did the Blessed One admit Devadatta to the Order, if he knew of his uncharitableness? In giving a solution out of this dilemma Nāgārjuna told Milinda that the Blessed One was both full of mercy and wisdom. It was when he in his mercy and wisdom considered the life history of Devadatta that he perceived how having heaped up karma as karmas, he would pass for an endless series of kalpas from torment to torment, and from perdition to perdition. And the Blessed One knew also that the infinite karmas of that man would, because his bad interest the Order, become finite, and the series caused by the previous karmas would also therefore become limited. But if that foolish person were not to enter the Order, then he would continue to heap up karmas which would endure for a kalpa. And it was because he knew that that, in his mercy, he admitted him to the Order. And by doing so, the Blessed One acted like a clever physician, and would light the

heavy arrow of Devadatta, who would never be suffer many hundreds of thousands of kalpas. For having caused schism in the Order, he (Devadatta) would no doubt suffer pain and misery in the purgatories, but that was not the fault of the Blessed One, but was the effect of his own karma. The Blessed One did in his case act like a surgeon who with all kind intent and for man's good seizes a wound with burning ointment, cuts it with sword, cauterises with caustic, and administers to it a salty wash. So did the Blessed One cause Devadatta to suffer such pain and misery that at the end he might be relieved of all pain and misdeeds. If he had not done so, Devadatta would have suffered torment in purgatory through a succession of existences, through hundreds of thousands of kalpas.

Of other puzzles that arose in Milinda's mind, mention may be made of three out of many. These were, for example, how was it that an Arhat could do no wrong; why did not the Hinduha promulgate all the rules of the Order at once and how could Vasumitra's giving away of his children be approved. Speaking us to the faults of the Arhats, Nāgarens told Milinda that the Arhats, like laymen, could be guilty of an offence, but their guilt was neither due to carelessness or thoughtlessness. Sins are of two kinds—those which are a breach of the ordinary moral law, and those which are a breach of the Rules of the Order. Now, an Arhat, in the true sense of the term, cannot be guilty of a moral offence; but it is possible for him to be guilty of any breach of the Rules of the Order of which he might have been ignorant. Next, speaking us to the method of promulgating the Rules from time to time and not all at once, Nāgarens quoted the authority of the Tattvāgama; for the Tattvāgama thought thus, "If I were to lay down the whole of the hundred and fifty rules at once the people would be filled with fear, those of them who were willing to enter the Order would refrain from doing so, they would not trust my words, and through

their way of faith they would be liable to rebirth in states of woe. An occasion arises, therefore, illustrating it with a religious discourse, will I lay down, when the evil has become manifest, each Rule." As to the justification of King Vessantara's giving away his beloved sons in slavery to a Brahman, and his dear wife to another man as wife, Nāgaseṇa told Milinda that he who gave gifts in such a way as to bring even sorrow upon others, that giving of his brought forth fruit in happiness and it would lead to rebirths in states of bliss. Even if that be an excessive gift it was not harmful, rather it was praised, applauded, and approved by the wise in the world.

The last four dilemmas of Milinda are concerned with the difficult problem of Nirvāṇa. Is Nirvāṇa all bliss or partly pain; the form, the figure, duration, etc., of Nirvāṇa, the resolution of Nirvāṇa, and the place of Nirvāṇa, these are the puzzles that afflicted the mind of the king. Nāgaseṇa solved them all one by one to the satisfaction of Milinda. According to him Nirvāṇa is bliss unalloyed, there is no pain in it. It is true that those who are in quest of Nirvāṇa afflict their minds and bodies, restrain themselves in standing, walking and sitting, lying, and in food, suppress their sleep, keep their senses in subjection, abandon their very body and their life. But it is after they have thus, in pain, sought after Nirvāṇa, that they enjoy Nirvāṇa which is all bliss. By no metaphor, or explanation, or reason, or argument can its form or figure, or duration, or measure be made clear, even if it be a condition that exists. But there is something as to its qualities which can be explained. Nirvāṇa is untrammelled by any evil dispositions. It allays the thirst of the craving after facts, desire for future life, and the craving after worldly prosperity. It puts an end to grief, it is an ambrosia. Nirvāṇa is free from the dead bondage of evil dispositions, it is mighty and boundless, it is the abode of great men, and Nirvāṇa is all in blossom of purity, of knowledge and untrammelled.

sipation. Nirvāna is the support of life, for it puts an end to old age and death; it bestows the power of birth (fruition) of all beings, it is the source to all beings of the beauty of holiness, it puts a stop to suffering in all beings, to the suffering arising from evil dispositions, and it overcomes in all beings the weakness which arises from hunger and all sorts of pain. Nirvāna is not born, neither does it grow old, it dies not, it passes not away, it has no return, it is unmeasurable, thence early it not, old it is not, attached to anything, it is the sphere in which Arahats move, nothing can obstruct it, and it is infinite. Nirvāna satisfies all desires, it causes delight and it is full of lustre. It is hard to attain to, it is unquelled in the beauty of its perfume, it is praised by all the Noble Ones. Nirvāna is beautiful in Righteousness, it has a pleasant taste. It is very exalted, it is irremovable, it is accessible to all evil dispositions, it is a place where no evil dispositions can grow, it is free from desire to please and from resentment.

As to the time of Nirvāna, it is not past, nor future, nor present, nor produced, nor not produced, nor producible. Peaceful, blissful, and delicate, Nirvāna always exists. And it is that which he who orders his life aright, grasping the idea of all things according to the teaching of the conquerors realises by his wisdom. It is known by freedom from distress and danger, by confidence, by peace, by calm, by bliss, by happiness, by delicacy, by purity, and by freedom. Lastly as to the place of Nirvāna, there is no spot either in the East, or the South, or the West, or the North, either above or below, where Nirvāna is. Yet it exists just as fire exists even if there is no place where it is kindled up. If a man puts two sticks together, the fire comes out, so Nirvāna exists for a man who orders his life well. But there is such a place on which a man may stand, and ordering his life aright, he can realize Nirvāna, and such a place is virtue.

This book deals with solution of problems of

inferious. Milinda asked Nāgaseṇa how they could know that Buddha had ever lived. (2) book v. Nāgaseṇa, told him that as the existence of ancient kings was known by their royal insignia, their crown, their slippers, and their fans, so was the existence of Buddha known by the royal insignia used by His Blessed One and by the thirty-five eminent qualities that make up Arāhatahīp which formed the subject of discourses delivered by Gotama before his death to his disciples. By these can the whole world of gods and men know and believe that the Blessed One existed once. By this reason, by this argument, through this inference, can it be known that the Blessed One lived. Just as the sight of a beautiful and well-planned city, one can know the ability of the architect, so can one, on examining the City of Righteousness which the Buddha built up, come to know of his ability and existence.

The sixth book opens with an interesting discussion. (3) book VI. Can laymen obtain Nivāna? Nāgaseṇa told that even laymen and women could see how to face the conditions of peace, the supreme goal, Nivāna. "But, what purpose then do extra vows serve?" asked Milinda again. To this Nāgaseṇa replied that the keeping of vows implied a mode of livelihood without evil. It has blissful calm as its fruit, it avoided blame and it had such twenty-eight good qualities on account of which all the Buddhas alike longed for them and held them dear. And whoever thoroughly carried out the vows, they became completely imbued with eighteen great qualities without a previous keeping of the vows by those who became imbued with these good qualities, there was no realisation of Arāhatahīp; and there was no perception of the truth to those who were not purified by the virtues that depended on the keeping of the vows. Nāgaseṇa next explained in detail with the help of a good number of similes the character that came as a result of keeping

the vows for the good growth of the seed of sanctification and for the attainment of Nirvāṇa. But those who being unworthy take the vows incur a twofold punishment and suffer the loss of the good that may be in him. He shall receive disgrace and ruin and suffer torment in the purgatory. On the contrary those who being worthy take the vows with the idea of upholding the truth deserve a twofold honour. For he comes near and dear to gods and men, and the whole religion of the world becomes his very own. Nāgasaṇṇa then gave Māhinda the details of the thirteen certain vows by which a man should bathe in the mighty waters of Nirvāṇa. Uparāya the elder, perceived all these purifying merits of the vows and blessed One was delighted at his conduct. The thirty graces of the true release are detailed next and whoever is endowed with these graces is said to have obtained in the peace and bliss of Nirvāṇa. Cāripūṭṭa, according to Nāgasaṇṇa, was one like this who became in this life of such exalted virtue that he was the one who, after the Master, set rolling the royal chariot wheel of the Kingdom of Righteousness to the religion of Gotama, the Blessed One.

The seventh or the last book is concerned with a detailed list of the similes or qualities of Arahatship; of these similes thirty-eight have been lost and sixty-seven are still preserved. Any member of the Order who wishes to realize Arahatship must be endowed with these one hundred and five qualities. Māhinda silently and reverently heard detailed descriptions of these qualities; and at the end he was full of admiration for the venerable Thera Nāgasaṇṇa for his wonderful solution of the three hundred and four puzzles. He was filled with joy of heart; and all pain was suppressed within him. He ceased to have any more doubt and became aware of the virtue of the religion of the Buddha. He then entreated Nāgasaṇṇa to be accepted as a supporter of the Faith and as a true convert from that day onward

as long as life should last. Milinda did homage to Nāgaseṇa and had a vibhāra built called the 'Milinda-Vibhāra' which he handed over to Nāgaseṇa.

The Milinda Pañha like the Maṅgalavāt Gīthā is the most interesting and instructive literary production of an age which is heroic. Its long narrative is composed of a long series of philosophical content between two great heroes, King Milinda on the one hand and the 'Thera Nāgaseṇa on the other. A patha-yoga or prelude is skillfully devised to arouse a curiosity in the reader to witness the contest and watch the final result with a great eagerness. On the whole, the Milinda successfully employs a novel literary device to put together the isolated and disconnected controversies in the Kāthā within as representing different stages in the progress of the philosophical battle, and in doing so it has been in one place guilty of the literary plagiarism in respect of introducing King Milinda as a contemporary of the six heretical teachers on the model of the Sūrasūtraphala Sūtra.

Place and exact name in the Milinda Pañha.

Alexandria (rīpa) the island town of Alexandria on the Indus, founded by Alexander.

Yavana (Bactria)—That province watered by the Oxus or the Amu-Daria and the premier satrapy of the Achaemenian kings later on came to be conquered by Alexander and in 321 B.C. fell to the share of Seleukos Nikator. Hundred years later the Bactrian Greeks threw off their allegiance to their Seleukidian lord, asserted independence, and gradually moved towards India to establish there an independent principality. Milinda or Alexander was east of the limits of this line of Bactrian Greeks who came to establish their power in India.

Isharukucha an ancient important equivalent to modern Simash in the Kaim district in Guzarat; Barygaza of the Greek geographers.

China (country) - China.

Gandhāra (gandhāra) an important ancient kingdom that had its capital at Puruṣapura or Peshawar in the North western Frontier Province.

Kalīṅga—an ancient kingdom on the Orissa coast, identical with the modern Gaujami region. All older works, such as the *Jāta*, *Maṅgala*, and *Ugga Nikāya*, mention a kingdom named Kalīṅga with its capital Dhantapura even before Buddha's time.

Kalasa (kaṣa) a village situated in the Alexander island on the Indian the birthplace of Mīlinda.

Kujungala mentioned in very early Buddhist Pāli texts as a locality somewhere near Rajmahal.

Kāśmir (kaśmīra)—a famous kingdom in the North of India.

Kāśān an ancient province identical with South Bihar, capital Śāśvatī.

Kedapullāvan an ancient seaport probably on the Coromandel coast.

Magadha (maggadha) an ancient kingdom identical with the Bihar; capital Pāṭaliputra.

Māthura (māthura) an ancient city identical with modern Mathura. Coins of Alexander have been found here.

Nikumbha (nikumbha) somewhere in the north-west of India.

Śākya (śākya) identical with Śākya, modern Sakk, capital city of the King Mīlinda.

Bāketa identical with ancient Ayodhyā country.

Sāka country—the kingdom of the Sakas or Scythians in the time of Menander was confined to the Eastern lands south of the Oxus and to Sogdiana to the north.

Savāna ancient Savāna, the country of the Savāna tribe adjacent to the Sindhu country.

Suvālan (suvaṇa) an ancient seaport identical with modern Surat.

Bāhuvān—modern Bengala.

Suvānabhūmi identical probably with Lower Burma and Malay Peninsula.

Pataliputra (पाटलिपुत्र) an ancient city, capital of Magadha near modern Patna.

Udissa—a country in the north-west of India.

Varāṅga identical with East Bengal.

Vilāta—an ancient kingdom somewhere in the north-west of India.

Takkola an ancient seaport near Thuban in Lower Burma.

Ujjain identical with ancient Ujjayini, capital of the ancient Malwa country.

Greek (country)—ancient Greece in Eastern

Europe.
Names of rivers in the Mahābhārata.
 1. **Gaṅgā**—The Ganges.
 2. **Aciravati**—an ancient river in Eastern India flowing through the Kamala country past Srāvastī.

3. **Yamunā**—a tributary of the Ganges, the Iamoua of the Greeks.

4. **Sarabhi**—identical with Sarayū, a tributary of the Ganges.

5. **Mahī** a river south to the Vindhya flowing into the Bay of Bengal. These five rivers are often mentioned together in the Mahābhārata.

6. **Sarasvatī**—an ancient tributary of the Indus.

7. **Vitastā**—identical probably with Vitasta, a tributary of the Indus, the Hydaspes of the Greeks.

8. **Candrabhāgā**—identical with modern Chaul, a tributary of the Indus.

A. Names silently referred to:—

1. **Digha Nīkāya**, 2. **Kathāvatthū**, 3. **Anguttara Nīkāya**, 4. **Mādāyagga**, 5. **Chālaragga**, 6. **Vesantara Jātaka**, 7. **Sīl Jātaka**, 8. **Majjhima Nīkāya**, 9. **Sutta Vibhāṅga**, 10. **Cātuma Sutta**, 11. **Dhammacakkā-pavattana Sutta**, 12. **Ambe Jātaka**, 13. **Dummedha Jātaka**, 14. **Villira Jātaka**, 15. **Khantivāda Jātaka**, 16. **Cūka-nandīya Jātaka**, 17. **Taraha Sākyā Jātaka**, 18. **Carīya-pātaka**, 19. **Nihva-nāga Jātaka**, 20. **Babhadātha Jātaka**, 21. **Apamāka Jātaka**, 22. **Nippralla-miga Jātaka**, 23. **Mahāpavāna**

Works referred to and mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

Jātaka, 24. Ummagga Jātaka, 25. Sutta Nipāta, 26. Therā Gāthā, 27. Saṃyutta Nikāya, 28. Dharmapada, and 29. Nigrodha Jātaka.

1. Vinaya, Sutta, Abhidhāna, 2. The Suttavāla, 3. Mahānirvāṇasūtra, 4. Vihāra, 5. Dharm-Katha, 6. Puggala Paṇṇatti, 7. Kathā-Vaṭṭu, 8. Yonaka, 9. Paṭṭhāna, 10. The Abhidhamma Piṭaka, 11. The Vinaya Piṭaka, 12. The Sutta Piṭaka, 13. Mahā-Saṃyasa Suttanta—(Dīgha Nikāya), 14. Mahā-nirvāṇa Suttanta—(Sutta Nipāta), 15. Sama-cittapariyāya Suttanta—(Suttanta), 16. Rāhulovāda Suttanta (Majjhima), 17. Parābhava Suttanta—(Sutta Nipāta), 18. Saṃyutta Nikāya, 19. The Sutta Nipāta, 20. Kāṭhina Sutta—(Sutta Nipāta), 21. Kūṣāṇḍha Paritta—(not traced), 22. Māra Paritta, 23. Dharmacaya Paritta—(Jātaka Book), 24. Atanāṭiya Paritta (Dīgha Nikāya), 25. Aṅgulimāla Paritta—(Majjhima Nikāya), 26. The Paṭṭhāna 27. Dhammac-dāyada Sutta (Majjhima Nikāya), 28. Dukkha Vibhāga of the Majjhima Nikāya, 29. Cariyā Piṭaka, 30. Navavagorū Buchāla Paṇṇath, 31. Dīgha Nikāya, 32. Majjhima Nikāya, 33. Khuddaka Nikāya, 34. Mahā Rāhulovāda (Majjhima Nikāya), 35. Parā-bheda Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 36. Kāṣha Vivāda Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 37. Chhā Vyāha Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 38. Dākā-Vyāha Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 39. Tavaṅka Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 40. Sāriputta Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 41. Mahāsaṃyasa Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 42. Sakka-Pāṇha Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 43. Pāṇḍita Suttanta (Khuddaka Piṭaka), 44. Kāṭhina Nikāya (Anguttara Nikāya), 45. Dhurūya Sutta (Sutta Nipāta) 46. Kammaṅgama Suttanta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 47. Sarva Suttanta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 48. Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka, 49. Dharmapada, 50. Kāṭhina Jātaka, 51. Kāṣha Jātaka, 52. Lamahāṅgama Paripya, 53. Chakkavāka Jātaka, 54. Culla Nivāda Jātaka, 55. Lakṣheṇa Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 56. Phāṭṭiya Jātaka, 57. Parinibbāna Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya).

Index or page-
s of books here
given by name

V. Trenckner's edition of the *Milinda Pañha* first published by Williams and Noyes in 1880 has been reprinted by the trustees of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, in 1928 with a general index by C. J. Rylands and an index of gāthas by Mrs. Rhys Davids. There is another edition of this work by Harya Upe, Rangoon, 1915. A Burmese word for word interpretation of this text by Ariyaratnam, Rangoon, should be consulted. It has been translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids and included in the *Sacred Books of the East Series* as Vols. XXXV-XXXVI. There is a Sinhalese translation of the *Milinda Pañha* by Tissa Kumbara under the title "Milinda praśnāna", Cofombo, 1900.

The following books may be consulted :

1. *Le Bonheur du Nirvāṇa extrait du Milindapañhasya ; ou Mirail des doctrines diverses traduit du Pāli par Louis de Sylva Pandit.* (Revue de l'histoire des religions, Paris, 1886.)

2. *Deux Traductions chinoises du Milinda Pañha* par R. Spérandi avec introduction par S. Lévi.

3. Chinese translations of the *Milinda Pañha* by Takakura, *J.I.L.A.S.*, 1896. This paper contains a number of Chinese translations in existence, the date of the two translations and the story of the discussions of King Milinda and Bhikkhu Nāgenna found in the Buddhist sūtra called *Saṅgitta-kāśyapāka*.

4. Historical basis for the questions of King Menander from the Tibetan, by L. A. Waddell, *J.I.L.A.S.*, 1897. This paper points out that the *Milinda Pañha* is known to the Tibetans.

5. *Nāgenna*, by Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, *J.I.L.A.S.*, 1891.

6. *Milinda Questions* by Mrs. Rhys Davids (1928).

7. Critical and philological notes to the first chapter of the *Milinda Pañha* by, V. Trenckner revised and edited by Dr. Anderson, *J.P.T.S.*, 1903.

8. Paul Pelliot : Les noms propres dans les traditions chinoises du Milinda Pañsa. (Journal Asiatique, Paris, 1914.)

9. There is a Bengali edition of this work published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, which can vie, if it can vie at all, in its ornamental method and blunders.

10. F. Otto Schröder, Die Fragen des König Menandros (Berlin, 1903).

11. Garbe, "Der Milindapañsa, ein Kätterhistorischer Roman", Indische Kulturgeschichte.

12. G. Cognola, Dialoghi del Re Milinda (Italian translation of the Milinda Pañsa).

13. Milinda by T. W. Rhys Davids (Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, pp. 631-633).

14. M. Winternitz, Geschichte der Indischen Literatur (vol. 2, Leipzig, 1920).

In the *Handbharman* (pp. 58 foll. J. P. T. S., 1896) which is a comparatively

modern Pāli compilation we have an interesting classification of the

Buddhist teachers of India, Ceylon, and Burma connected with Pāli literature. This classification goes to divide the teachers chronologically into three orders: (1) *Porāṇācariyas*, (2) *Aṭṭhakathācariyas*, and (3) *Ucchhāṅkārācariyas*. By the *Porāṇācariyas* or ancient teachers are meant the distinguished and profoundly learned teachers of old numbering about 2,500 Arhats, who are selected representatives of different sections of the orthodox Saṅgha took part in the proceedings of the first three Buddhist Councils and rehearsed the canonical texts. These teachers are arbitrarily identified with the *Aṭṭhakathācariyas* or teachers commanding the conventional authority. *Buddhaghosa* and others are, according to this classification, to be counted among the *Ucchhāṅkārācariyas* or teachers representing individual authority. Such teachers may also be known as *Asokācariyas* or different authors.

The *Ucchhāṅkārācariyas* expressly treats the earlier Sinhalese commentaries such as *Kaṇṇakīya* attha-

both and the Mahāparanīya sūtrakathā presupposed by the writings of Buddhaghosa as remarkable productions of individual authorship.¹

We may be prepared to appreciate this suggestive chronological classification in so far as it leads us to contemplate the beginning of individual authorship from a certain stage of literary development, a stage which is represented by *Madhukakkāya*, *Buddhagāyana*, and *Dhammapāli*. In the first or early stage we have the various texts of the three Pāli *piṭakas*, all of which the Saṅgīhikāras made their own by virtue of a joint rehearsal and canonisation. Through tradition ascribes the *Kaṭṭhavatthū* and the *Paṭivārapāṭha* to two different authors, namely, *Moggallāputtadāma* and the learned *Dīpa*. one need not be astonished to find that the claim of individual authorship has altogether merged in the interests of the Saṅgīhikāras, and ultimately of the saṅgha as a whole.

The authority of the *Milinda Pañha* has been wrongly cited by Buddhaghosa and others with the stamp of individual authorship of their Nāgaseṇa. It is the same thing to ascribe the *Milinda Pañha* to the authorship of Nāgaseṇa as to ascribe all the Pāli canonical texts to the authorship of the Buddha. As a matter of fact Nāgaseṇa plays no more than the rôle of the more powerful of the two protagonists in the dramatic narrative of the *Milinda Pañha*—a position which is in many respects similar to that assigned to Vasudhara in the dramatic conventional narrative of the *Blagavat Gītā*.

The *Caṅgīhavarāna* (p. 59) ascribes the *Netti* and the *Paṭakopakkasā* along with four other treatises, exegetical and grammatical, to the authorship of Mahāśaccāyana,—the venerable Mahāśaccāyana who was one of the immediate disciples of the

¹ *Caṅgīhavarāna*, p. 59. "Kāṇṇhe mahāparīyāyāṇi katha Caṅgīhavarāna kammakāyāṇiṇaṃ nāma akāsi. Athānantaṃ kāmāya mahāparanīyāyāṇaṃ vāma sūtrakathāya akāsi. Athānantaṃ kāmāya khaṅgīhavarāna sūtrakathāya akāsi".

Buddha, doing his missionary work in western India. This is a lump of unreason which is too big for a critical scholarly mouth to swallow. As regards individual authorship, the Nettī and the Paṭṭhāpīṭṭhā stand in the same position as the Mūlānā Paṭṭhā. Therefore in this respect to confront a different position with regard to the earlier Sinhalese commentaries under notice? Highly doubtful is the source of information that has enabled the author of so modern a work as the *Chullavācchā* to say that a certain individual author wrote out a treatise called *Kurundīpanṭha*, another author, the *Mahāpācariya-aṭṭhakathā* and another author, the *Aṭṭhakathā* of the *Kurundīpanṭha*.

Some earlier commentaries have been quoted by Buddhaghosa without even meaning to regard them as works of any individual authors. Even in cases where he has referred to them as personal authorities, he appears to have recourse to such an indefinite expression as *aṭṭhakathācariya*.¹ On the other hand there are several statements in which Buddhaghosa and other commentators have regarded these earlier commentaries not as works of any individual authors but as authoritative books of interpretations of different schools or schools of teachers (cf. *Samañtapaśādikā*, I, 1.9., pp. 1-2; *Aṭṭhasālinī*, p. 2).

* *Mahāvīhārasaṅgaha dīpayanta vānicchayānā*
Aṭṭham pakkaṣṣayāmi sāmāyācārikānā.

The earlier commentaries mentioned or cited by Buddhaghosa in his *Samañtapaśādikā*, *Aṭṭhasālinī*, *Samañgalavāṭṭhānī*, and other commentaries are:—

- (1) The *Mahā Aṭṭhakathā*.
- (2) The *Mahāpācariya*.
- (3) The *Kurundī* or *Kurundīya*.²
- (4) *Andha Aṭṭhakathā*.
- (5) *Samkhāya Aṭṭhakathā*.

¹ *Aṭṭhasālinī*, pp. 84, 101, and 217.

² *Bojanavāṇanāthikā*, p. 2, v. 19.

(6) *Āgamaṭṭhuladhā*.¹

(7) *Samantapāsādikā* (8)

According to the *Sudhamma Saṅgaha*, the *Mahā*, the *Mahāpaṇḍarī*, and the *Kuruvā* are the three earlier Sinhalese commentaries quoted by Buddhaghosa in his *Samantapāsādikā* while the *Mahā-attakathā* was made the basis of his commentaries on the first four nikāyas.²

The *Periplus* and the *Atthakathācuriyā* represent indeed a broad chronological classification of the publications which may be inferred from Buddhaghosa's own statements. In the prologue of his *Samantapāsādikā*, he expressly says that the *Mahā*, the *Mahāpaṇḍarī* and the *Kuruvā* are the three earlier commentaries that were written in the native dialect of Sinhala (Ceylon) (*śāstīyamaṇā aññakāḍḍhakaṃ vākyaṃ, Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 2).

The *Mahā-attakathā* otherwise known as the *vāḍā attakathā* or simply the *attakathā* is undoubtedly the old Sinhalese commentary on the three pitakas developed in the school of the *Mahāvihāra* or Great Monastery at Anurādhapura. There was a second monastery at Anurādhapura called *Uttaravihāra* or North Monastery. A commentarial tradition was developed also in this school. The distinction between the traditions of *Mahāvihāra* and *Uttaravihāra* would seem to lie in the background of Buddhagatta's two *Vinaya maṇḍalā*—the *Vinaya-vāḍācchaya* and the *Uttarvinicchaya*. The name of *Mahāvihāra* or Great East can be well called "from its having been constructed on a raft somewhere in Ceylon" (*Buddhammaśāstrāgama*, p. 65). This suggested origin of the name is quite fanciful and therefore unreliable like the *Mahā* or *vāḍā*. The *Mahāpaṇḍarī* appears to have been a distinct compilation of a monastic school of Ceylon. The *Kuruvā* was

¹ *Atthasālinī*, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³ *Sudhamma Saṅgaha*, pp. 53-55, 117-118, 119-20.

so called because it was composed at the Kurunelavesvilūta in Ceylon (Saddharmasmūhāra, p. 55).

The *Andha-āpṭhakathā* represented a constitutional tradition handed down at Vaṭṭāpura (Vunjevaram) in South India. Presumably it was written in some native dialect of the Deccan.

The *Sātikhepa-āpṭhakathā* or short commentary is mentioned together with the *Andha* commentary and it is likely that like the latter it was a South Indian work.

The *Āgamatthakathā* referred to in Buddhaghosa's *Atthasālinī* is now taken to be an old general commentary on the *Āgama* or *nikāyas*.

Acariyānaṃ Samvāsaṭṭhukathā has been unrecognized by Mrs. Rhys Davids as though it were a separate commentary but the context of the passage in Buddhaghosa's *Atthasālinī* (p. 80) in which the term occurs, shows the matter to be otherwise. By this expression (*Katika Acariyānaṃsamvāsaṭṭhakathā* *oṣṭha, Atthasālinī*, p. 80) Buddhaghosa appends simply to *oṣṭha* an explanation which is common to all the schools of interpretation. If so, there will be no justification whatever for regarding the term *Acariyānaṃ samvāsaṭṭhakathā* as a title of any commentary.

Pausböhl's edition of the *Jātika* commentary now extant is known by the name of *Jātakatthavaggaṇā*¹ containing about 550 *Jātikas*.² In the *Jātakatthavaggaṇā* itself there is a reference to an older commentary namely, the *Jātika-āpṭhakathā* which, as rightly guessed by Prof. Rhys Davids, is "the older commentary of Ān, or old Singhalosa, on which the present work is based".³ This older commentary must have been the source from which

¹ Pausböhl's *Jātika*, Vol. 1, p. 1— "...*Atthasālinī* Atthavaggaṇā Mahāpāli-āpṭhakathā vācānāyoggaṇāṭṭham bhāṣaṇā".

² Strictly speaking the total number of the *Jātikas* contained in it is 549.

³ Pausböhl's *East Asiatic*, p. 173, fn. 2; Pausböhl's *Jātika*, I, p. 62.

Buddhaghosa has quoted several birth stories in his commentaries. Judging by Buddhaghosa's narrations of the Jātakas bearing a close resemblance with those in the present *Atthavaggaṇṇā*, we can say that the contents and arrangements of the Jātakas in the *Atthakatha* had not materially differed from those in the *Atthavaggaṇṇā*. It is evident from Buddhaghosa's own statement in his *Sumāṅgala-vāṭṭā* that the total number of the Jātakas already came to be counted in his time as 577.¹ But as shown by Dr. B. M. Barua, the earlier total as mentioned in the *Chālanīde*, (p. 30—“*Mhagava pacca jātaka-nāṇi bhāṣanto aṭṭavo ca purāṇā ca aṭṭāro aṭṭhassī*”), which is a canonical commentary on the *Khaṅgyavāṇṇa Sūta* and the suttas of the *Pācīyavagga*, was not 550 but 600 (*pacca jātaka-aṭṭāni*). He seems to think that the same inference as in the earlier total of the Jātakas may as well be drawn from an account of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien stating that he witnessed representations of 500 Jātakas when he visited Ceylon in the beginning of the 5th century A.D.² The various literary processes by which the Jātakas were mechanically multiplied have been well discussed³ and need no further exposition here.

The word *vinicchaya* means “investigation, trial, ascertainment, and decision”.

Atthakatha
Vinicchaya
 The meaning which suits the title of the work under notice is “decision”. Certain decisions helping the right interpretation and application of the *Vinaya sūtras* and prescriptions embodied in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* grew up as a result of discussions arising the shores of Ceylon and South India, the decisions of the *Mahāvihāra* school being generally regarded as the

¹ *Sumāṅgalavāṭṭā*, I, p. 24—“*Apasāyāna jātakāni paṇḍita dāṭṭhāni pacca jātaka-nāṇi ārahan ti vāṭṭābhāṣe*”.

² *The Travels of Fa-hien* by H. A. Giles, p. 71—“representations of the five hundred different forms in which the Bodhisattva was usually appeared”.

³ B. M. Barua's paper—*History of the Jātakas*, J. O. U.

most authoritative. These decisions referred to in the lump by Buddhaghosa as *atthakathāvīnicchaya*s were also incorporated in such Sinhalese commentaries as the *Mahā* (*Mahāvīhāra*), the *Mūlā-katūdiya*, and the *Mahāpaccariya*. It was binding on Buddhaghosa and other later commentators to see that his interpretations suggested by them were not only not inconsistent with the canonical texts but also with the *atthakathāvīnicchaya*s.¹ In many places of his *Saṃsantapāsādikā* Buddhaghosa has named even his own decisive interpretation as a *Vīnicchaya*.² Even apart from the decisive interpretations in the earlier Sinhalese commentaries, Buddhaghosa appears to have cited certain authoritative *Vīnaya*-*vīnicchaya*s without mentioning the source from which he cited them. Looking out for the source we are apt to be led back to a treatise written by that Buddhavāsi which clearly bore the title of *Vīnaya*-*vīnicchaya*.

In the epilogue of his *Vīnaya*-*vīnicchaya* Buddhavāsi expressly says that his own work was nothing but an abridged form of Buddhavāsi's treatise. Buddhavāsi himself is represented as a *saddhāvihāri* of a fellow monk residing in the monastery erected by Veṅṇadāsa or Kaṅṇadāsa in the beautiful river port of Kāveṇī.³

No trace of Buddhavāsi's treatise lingers except perhaps in citations in Buddhaghosa's *Saṃsantapāsādikā*. The treatise was in all probability written in prose while Buddhavāsi's is a manual written entirely in verse.

Nāraṇḍagāthā is the title of an interesting Pāli

¹ *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 53^b. In discussing a particular *bhikkhū*, Buddhaghosa says "atthakathāyā vīnicchayehi anesāsi", i.e. it does not tally with the decisions of the commentaries.

² Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 811: "Ayaṃ tvaṃ vāso dabbhūṃ siddhāsi vikappetiṭṭhāsi siddhāsiṃ vīnicchayaṃ". Again at p. 841: "ayaṃ vīnicchayehi manamāyaṃ pade vīnicchayaṃ".

³ Buddhavāsi's *Vīnaya*-*vīnicchaya*, p. 261.

"mittaṃsaṃsaṃsantapāsādikāya vīnayaṃ vīnicchayaṃ
Buddhāvāsīnaṃ sādāraṇīyaṃ sādāraṇīyaṃ siddhāsiṃ
kato 'yaṃ paṇaṃ Buddhāvāsīnaṃ siddhāsiṃ siddhāsiṃ"

octade consisting of eight stanzas composed in an elegant style. The theme of this poem which became very popular throughout Ceylon is a description of 32 majestically marks of the Buddha represented as a lion-like man (*narasimha*). The gāthas are characteristically put into the mouth of Rāhulamātī. Only the first stanza of the ancient octade is quoted in the *Pāli Jātaśuddhanta-kathā* (Pānoli, Jātaś, I. p. 89), the reading of which goes to show that its wording obtained here and there in the octade as it comes down to us through the Buddhist literature of Ceylon.

(a) Earlier reading—

“*Simidhamsilucanulakuñcitakero
suriyasamimbalatalābhīnūlūto
yattatañṇamuchikāyatanṇo
raṇṇijāḍavitato narasiho' ti.*”

(b) Later reading—

“*Suddhēntamndakrahītalaso
suriyasamimbalatalābhīnūlūto
yattatañṇamuchikāyatanṇo
raṇṇijāḍapāṭito narasiho.*”

The octade may be regarded as an earliest specimen of the Sinhalese Pāli poetry.

The *Dīpaśavva* is the oldest known Pāli chronicle of Ceylon (*dīpaśavvā*) and of Buddhism, the account of which is dated with the reign of King Mahāsena which may be assigned to the middle of the 4th century A.D. Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* a book of the *Abhidharma Piṭaka*, expressly quotes a number of verses from the *Dīpaśavva* as a traditional authority in support of a certain statement of his, from which it is easy to infer that the chronicle in its present form was extant in the 4th century A.D., if not earlier. It goes without saying that the tradition of both the kings and themes of Ceylon as well as of their Indian contemporaries grew up and accumulated gradually.

The stanzas quoted by Buddhaghosa may be traced without in the *Dīpaṅkara* (p. 38).

Though a metrical composition, the verses of this earlier chronicle interspersed in places with certain prose passages some of which may be traced in such authoritative canonical texts as the *Vinaya* (*Chulavagga*).² In the opening verses of the *Dīpaṅkara* we are told that the chronicle embodied in it was handed down by tradition from man to man (*vaṇṇaṇi pavaḥkhaṇaṇi paṇḍitaṇḍagataṇi*). So we need not be astonished to find certain verses occurring in the *Vinaya* *Parivārapāṭha* and furnishing the traditional materials for the *Dīpaṅkara*. The verses incorporated in the *Parivārapāṭha* may be just one of the isolated earlier specimens, there being many others that are probably now lost. Thus what we find in the *Dīpaṅkara* is the first fruit of a methodical attempt at the composition of a systematic chronicle narrative on the basis of certain traditions prevalent in both prose and verse. We need not dilate further on this subject as we have dealt with it in detail in the section on the Pāli chronicles.

The very name of the *atthakatha* *Mahāvastu* may sound strange to the ears of those who are taught to think that the Pāli *Mahāvastu* is the first work of its kind. To get rid of this predilection the reader may do well to acquaint himself with the

¹ *Kathāvatthupakkaraṇa-atthakatha*, J.P.T.A., 1887, p. 8.

² *Vuttach* p. ii *atth* *Dīpaṅkara*.

*Kāraṇagāthā pāpabhikkhā bhāṇā Vajjiputtakā
 aṇṇā pakkhā bhāṇā aṇṇā aṇṇā lobhā jand.
 Dhammāṇā samāgāṇā aṇṇā aṇṇā aṇṇā
 tammāṇā aṇṇā aṇṇā aṇṇā aṇṇā*

³ *Tājaraṇa*, p. 83.

*“Dhammāṇā samāgāṇā aṇṇā aṇṇā aṇṇā
 Vajjiputtakā Vajjiputtakā Vajjiputtakā
 kappā aṇṇā aṇṇā kappā aṇṇā aṇṇā
 kappā aṇṇā aṇṇā kappā aṇṇā aṇṇā
 aṇṇā aṇṇā kappā aṇṇā aṇṇā
 kappā aṇṇā aṇṇā kappā aṇṇā aṇṇā
 aṇṇā aṇṇā kappā aṇṇā aṇṇā aṇṇā”*

cf. *Vinaya* *Parivārapāṭha*, ch. vii, p. 224

verses forming the prologue of his great chronicle. In these opening verses, the author says :

“ Mahāvastuṃ parakkhāsu uḍḍhānācchi-
kārikāsu.

Parānchi kato p'eso ativithārito kvāsi,
atāva kvāsi sabbhūta, unekapunnacuttako,
Vajjitāni tehi dānāchi sukhaḡḡahānācchārapāṇi”
(Mahāvastu, Chapter I).

Dr. Gédgar translates “ I will write the Mahāvastu, of varied contents and lacking nothing. That (Mahāvastu) which was compiled by the ancient (sages) was here too long drawn out and there too closely knit ; and contained many repetitions. Attend ye now to this (Mahāvastu) that is free from such faults.” (Gédgar's translation of the Mahāvastu, p. 1.) Thus the author of the Pāli Mahāvastu himself alludes to an earlier chronicle and claims that the chronicle compiled by him was nothing but a thoroughly revised version of the earlier compilation. Here the question arises whether of the earlier compilations the author of the Pāli Mahāvastu intended to mean the Dipavastu or some other work, especially one bearing the title of Mahāvastu. There are two arguments that may be placed in favour of the Dipavastu : (1) that the faults “ here too long drawn out and there too closely knit ; and contained many repetitions ” are well applicable to the Dipavastu ; and (2) that the narrative of the Pāli Mahāvastu, precisely like that of the Dipavastu is closed with an account of the reign of King Mahāsena of Ceylon. Undoubtedly the Dipavastu is the earlier chronicle on which the Mahāvastu narrative was mainly based. But there are many points of difference, which are in some cases material. These cannot be satisfactorily accounted for without bringing in a somewhat different authority. Fortunately Dr. Gédgar in his instructive dissertation on the Dipavastu and the Mahāvastu has convincingly proved the existence of an earlier great chronicle in Sinhalese.

He has been able to ascertain that the earlier form of the great chronicle was a part of a commentary written in old Sālavāsa prose mingled with Pāli verses. The commentary could be found in different monasteries of Ceylon and it is just the other earlier work that served as a basis of the Pāli Mahāvaṃsa recited in Them Mahāvāṃsa (Geiger, *Mahāvāṃsa* m., intro., p. 2).

Among the important elements of the ideal Dharmasāgara the Milinda Pañha conditions came via schools of reciters of the Buddhist holy texts, namely, (1) *Īśakabhāṅgā*, the reciters of the *Īśakā*, (2) *Uḅhābhāṅgā*, the reciters of the *Uḅhā Nikāya*, (3) *Majjhima bhāṅgā*, the reciters of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, (4) *Sāmyutta bhāṅgā*, the reciters of the *Sāmyutta Nikāya*, (5) *Anguttara bhāṅgā*, the reciters of the *Anguttara Nikāya*, and (6) the *Ekuddakūḅhāṅgā*, the reciters of the *Ekuddaka Nikāya*. To this list may be added *Dharmaparābhāṅgā*, the reciters of the *Dharmapara*, mentioned in Buddhaghosa's *Attasālinī* (p. 18). *Bhāṅgā* or a reciter of the Buddhist holy texts is met with in a large number of Buddhist native inscriptions of Bharhut and Sāhri as a distinctive epithet of the monks. Buddhaghosa in the introduction to his *Samavāgaya*-*ḅhāṅgā* records a remarkable tradition accounting for the origin of the different schools of the bhāṅgā. The same tradition is met with in the *Mahāvaḅhisaṃsa* with a slight variation. According to this tradition, it so happened that during the session of the first Buddhist Council as near as the Vinaya was recited and the Vinaya texts were compiled, the preservation of the Vinaya traditions and texts by regular recitations was entrusted to the care of the venerable Upāli while in the course of rehearsal of the *Dharmapada*, the *Uḅhā*-*āgama* or the *Uḅhā Nikāya* came to be compiled, the preservation of this text was entrusted to the care of the venerable Ananda; in a similar way the preservation of the *Majjhima*-*āgama* or the

CHAPTER V

PALI COMMENTARIES

Before proceeding to deal with the Pali commentaries it would be interesting to record here biographical sketches of three of the most celebrated Buddhist scholars.

Buddhadatta, a contemporary of Buddhaghosa, was a celebrity of the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon and was an inhabitant of the Kāveṇ region in the kingdom of the Uṣṇa. He was born in Uragapana (modern Uruyūr) and flourished during the reign of King Acetasvāksanta of the Kalambu (Kadambas) dynasty. His works which were all written in the famous monastery erected by Kaṇhadatta (Kaṇhadatta) or Veṇudatta (Veṇudatta), evidently a near Vaiṣṇava reformer of the Deccan,¹ on the banks of the river Kāveṇ are so far as known to comprise the following:

- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (1) Uṭṭaravinīcchaya | } Known as Buddhā- | |
| (2) Viṅṇayavinīcchaya | | } datta's Maṅgala. |
| (3) Abhidharmasūvatāra | | |
| (4) Kāpitrūpavithāṇa | | |
- and (5) Mādhamachariyāsini, a commentary on the Buddhavaśīsa.

He was a patriotic poet of considerable reputation. It is stated in the Viṅṇayavinīcchaya that when Buddhadatta was going to India from Ceylon, he was met by Buddhaghosa who was then proceeding to Ceylon at the request of the Buddhist monks of India with the object of translating the Sinhalese commentaries into Pali. Hearing of the mission of Buddhaghosa of whose deep learning he was fully convinced and delighted thereat Buddhadatta spoke

¹ Barua, Religion in India; Śāntaratna: 30, 100, 200 P.

² Skandapurāṇa, Buddhā-kāvya.

thus: "When you finish the commentaries, please send them up to me so that I may encourage your labours". Buddhaghosa said that he would gladly comply with this request and the Pāli commentaries were accordingly placed in the hands of Buddhadatta who summed up the commentaries on the Abhidhamma in the Abhidhammāvatāra and those on the Vinaya in the Vinayavinicchaya (see Buddhadatta's, *Manuals or Summaries of Abhidhamma*, edited by A. P. Buddhadatta, for the I.T.S. in 1915, p. xix). Buddhadatta was no doubt a great scholar. From the Vinayavinicchaya commentary we know that he was highly esteemed by the eminent commentators, Saṅghasāra Saṅgharāja, Buddhaghosa, and other great scholars of the period for his scholarly attainments (cf. *Mādisāpi kaṭṭhantā Theridattatte divaṅgate*).

Buddhadatta opens his scheme with a fourfold division of the composition, e.g., mind, mental properties, material quality, and Nibbāna; while Buddhaghosa expounds his psychology in terms of the five Khandhas. In this respect Buddhadatta's representation is perhaps better than that of Buddhaghosa.¹

There is no reason to disbelieve the statement that the two teachers met each other. It is clear that they drew materials from the same source. This fact well explains why the *Visuddhimagga* and the *Abhidhammāvatāra* have so many points in common. Buddhadatta has rendered invaluable service to the study of the Abhidhamma tradition which has survived in Theravāda Buddhism to the present day. The legendary account is that Buddhadatta put in a condensed shape that which Buddhaghosa handled on in Pāli from the Sinhalese commentaries. "But the psychology and philosophy are presented through the prism of a second vigorous intellect, under fresh aspects, in a style often less discursive and more graphic than that of the

¹ See Rhye Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, Boston Ed., p. 174.

great commentator, and with a strikingly rich vocabulary."

As we have already pointed out that when one sees Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa and learns that the latter was going to Oxyton to render the Sādharaṇa commentaries into Pāli. He requested Buddhaghosa to send him the commentaries when finished so that he might summarise his labours. Buddhaghosa complied with his request. Buddhadatta then summed up the commentaries on the Abhidhamma in the Abhidhammāvatāra and then on the Vinaya in the Vinayavinicchaya. Mrs. Rhys Davids says, "It is probably right to conclude that they both were but heading on an analytical formula which had evolved between their own time and that of the final closing of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka (Buddhist Psychology, Second Ed., p. 178).

Like Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta employed the simile of the partridge and the hare to explain the relation between Nāma and Rūpa (Abhidhammāvatāra, P.T.S., p. 115). Buddhadatta's division of the term into Samūhā and Asamūhā is another interesting point (*ibid.*, p. 81). It will be remembered that such a division of terms as this was far in advance of the older classification embodied in the Puggalaṭṭhāṭṭhi commentary (P.T.S., p. 173).

Supposing that Kuruśāgupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty was a contemporary King of Oxyton and that Buddhaghosa was a contemporary of them Buddhadatta it follows that King Avantiśakata of the Kalamba dynasty was a contemporary of Kuruśāgupta I.

According to Prof. A. P. Buddhadatta, Buddhadatta was either older than Buddhaghosa or of the same age with him. "Aṅguttara Buddhadatta-cariya Buddhaghosācariyeva samāna vassiko vā thokāṭh vudḍhataro vā ti sallakkhama" (Viññāpamānā, pp. xiii-xiv, Buddhadatta's Varanasi, 1916). This statement is however doubtful. In the Buddhaghosappatti (p. 50) we find Buddhadatta addressing Buddhaghosa by the epithet 'Arya' which is

applied to one who is younger in age. The passage runs thus "Āyasa Buddhaghosa, aham sayā pubbā lañhāsipe Bhagavato sāgārā kāmā ugatombi ti vatvā, aham appayuko.....". This shows that according to the tradition recorded in the Buddhaghosuppatti, Buddhaghosa was younger than Buddhadatta.

The different accounts of the comparative age of Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa are hardly reconcilable. The account given in the introduction of the Abhidhammāvatāra clearly shows that Buddhadatta lived to write abridgments of some of Buddhaghosa's works. This goes against the legend contained in the Buddhaghosuppatti that Buddhadatta left Ceylon earlier than Buddhaghosa without translating the Sinhalese Apābhakṣa apprehending that he was not to live long.

In the history of Pali literature, the name of Buddhaghosa stands out pre-eminent as one of the greatest commentators and exegetists. He is one of those Indian celebrities who have left for us no other records of their names than their teachings and works to be appraised for what they are worth. So far as his life history is concerned we have nothing except his commentaries and a few legends and traditions, and it is not an easy matter to separate the few grains of biographical detail from the mass of extraneous matter gathered in them. Besides the meagre references that Buddhaghosa himself has made to the details of his life in his great commentaries, the earliest connected account of his life is that contained in the second part of Chapter XXXVII of the great Ceylonese chronicle, the Mahāvamsa. This section, however, is considered to be later than the remaining portions of the Chronicle, having been added by Dharmapala, a Ceylonese Seamaṇa of the middle of the 19th century A.D. This compilation though made after the lapse of more than eight hundred years is not altogether unworthy of credence, and is very probably derived from older materials.

Buddhaghosa, according to this account, was a learned youth born in the neighbourhood of the terrace of the great Bo-tree in Magadha. After he had accomplished himself in the "Vijjā" and the "Sippa" and achieved the knowledge of the time "kalyāṇ", he established himself in the character of a disputant, in a certain Vihāra. There he was set upon by a Buddhist then who convinced the Indian youth of the superiority of the Buddha's doctrine and converted him to the Buddhist faith. As he was as profound in his "ghoṣa" or eloquence as the Buddha, they conferred on him the appellation of Buddhaghosa or the voice of the Buddha. He had already composed an original work called "Māndavyāyā" and written the chapter called "Atthakathā" on the Dharmasaṅgāhā. He went to Ceylon to study the Sinhalese Atthakathā in order to undertake the compilation of a "Pīṭṭha-atthakathā" or a general commentary on the Pīṭakāṅgā. He visited the island in the reign of King Mahanāma, and there at the Mahāpāsāṅga Hall in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura, he listened to the Atthakathā and the Theravāda, became thoroughly conversant of the true meaning of the doctrine of the Lord of Dharmā, and then sought the permission of the priesthood to translate the Atthakathā. In order to convince them of his qualifications he composed the commentary called "Vissuddhi-mugga" out of only two gāthās which the priests had given him as a test. Most successfully he came out of the test to the rejoicings of the priesthood; and taking up his residence in the secluded Gaṇṭhākāra Vihāra at Anurādhapura, he translated according to the grammatical rules of the Magadhā, the whole of the Sinhalese Atthakathā (into Pāli). Thereafter, the object of his mission being fulfilled, he returned to Jambudvīpa to worship the Bo-tree at Uruvelā in Magadha.

The most important service that Dharmapāli (the author of the supplementary chapter of the Mahāvamsa from which the above account is com-

plied) readers to our knowledge of the great sage is that he fixes definitely the time when Buddhaghosa lived. The King Mahāsāhā as the Ceylonese chronicle shows, reigned in the first half of the 5th century A.D.; and as Buddhaghosa visited Ceylon and worked there during this period we can be certain about the age he lived in. This date is also substantiated by internal evidence derived from the commentaries of Buddhaghosa himself. He shows his acquaintance with the *Milinda Pañha* as also to other post-canonical Buddhist works, such as the *Mahābhūṭṭara* and *Anāgata-vastava* besides some ancient *Aṭṭhakāṇṭha*, and other works which are no longer extant.¹ It is to be observed that in none of these cases there is the least reason for thinking that any of the works quoted from or referred to by Buddhaghosa was of a later date than that allotted to him by Mahānāgārjūna. The Burmese tradition as recorded by Bishop Bigandet also points to the beginning of the 5th century A.D. as the time when the great commentator is said to have visited the shrine of Suvannabhūmi.²

Mahānāgārjūna's account of Buddhaghosa's proficiency in the Vedas and other branches of brahminical learning is also substantially correct. It is confirmed by internal evidence from the great exegete's own commentaries; they reveal that he was acquainted with the four Vedas as also with the details of Vedic sacrifices. But the Vedic texts were not the only brahminical works known to Buddhaghosa. He reveals his knowledge of "Hinduism", of the brahminical systems as also of the different systems of Hindu Philosophy.

Besides these comparatively authentic accounts of the life of the great commentator, there is a mass

¹ The account given by Mahānāgārjūna of the life of Buddhaghosa agrees generally with what the great exegete has said about himself in his own commentaries, specially in the *Milindapañha* or story of the origin of the works at their respective beginnings. For details see my "Buddhaghosa", pp. 15-24.

² For details, see my "Buddhaghosa", pp. 11-17.

³ Buddhaghosa's Parables by Capt. T. F. F. F. F., p. xviii, n. 1.

of legendary accounts of his life. Such legends are found in the *Buddhaghosapatti*, also known as the *Mahābuddhaghosasa Nidānavatthu* by the priest Mahāmaṅgala who lived in Ceylon evidently after the time when the Mahāvastu account was written. Other late works of the Southern school such as the *Samdhavāṇa*, the *Sāmasvatthā*, and the *Saddhammasūvatthu* furnish some additional details. But the accounts of all these works are of the nature of legends in which fact and fiction are often hopelessly blended together. In their kernel, however, they agree in more important points with Dharmapāli's account in the Mahāvastu. Of further points we learn that Buddhaghosa's father was one Keśi, a brahmin preceptor who used to instruct the king of the realm in the Vedas; Keśi was, however, later on converted by his son. The *Buddhaghosapatti* refers to Buddhaghosa's deep knowledge of Sanskrit displayed before the Ceylonese monks as well as his quick wisdom.

Some are of opinion that after having completed his work in Ceylon, Buddhaghosa came to Burma to propagate the Buddhist faith. The Burmese ascribe the new sect in their religion to the time when he visited their country from Ceylon. He is said to have brought over from that island to Burma a copy of Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar which he translated into Burmese. He is also credited with having written a commentary on it. A volume of *Paśādas* in Burmese language is also attributed to him. The Burmese work of *Maṅgala*, too, is said to have been introduced into Burma from Ceylon by the same Buddhist scholar. But the text itself is silent on this point. The *Chronicles of Ceylon* to which we owe the information about Buddhaghosa, and which must have been well-informed on the subject, give no account of his journey to Burma. All serious scholars doubt his tradition.²

Buddhaghosa was not only a metaphysician.

² Mackenzie's *Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 62

His scholarship was wide and deep and of an encyclopaedic character. His works reveal his knowledge of Astronomy, Grammar, Geography, of the Indian sects and tribes and kings and nobles of Buddhist India, of the fauna and flora of the country, of ancient manners and customs of the land, and of the history of Ceylon.

The quality and bulk of the work produced in a single life-time show that Buddhaghosa must have been toiling steadily and indelatably, year in and year out, working out the mission with which he was entrusted by his teacher, imitated in a cell of the great monastery at Anurādhapura. Such a life is necessarily devoid of events, and we cannot expect to find in it the variety and fulness of the life-story of a great political figure. Born in Northern India, brought up in Brahmanic traditions, versed in Sanskrit lore and an adherent of the system of Patañjali, it is really surprising to know how he acquired such a thorough mastery over the Pāli language and literature and over Buddhist religion and philosophy. His was a useful career, and as long as Buddhism remains a living faith among mankind, Buddhaghosa will not cease to be remembered with reverence and gratitude by Buddhist peoples and schools.¹

An individual of South India, Dhammapāla dwelt at Pūducalittu in the island of the Parāśara. He was also a celebrity of the Mahāvihāra. He seems to have based his commentaries on the Sinhalese *Atthakathās* which were not preserved in the main land. T. W. Rhys Davids is of the opinion that Dhammapāla and Buddhaghosa seem to have been educated at the same University. In support of this view he refers to the published works of the two writers, a careful study of which shows that they hold very

¹ For a fair and more detailed treatment read my book, 'The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa', Theodor Zahn & Co., Calcutta, 1921.

similar views, they appeal to the same authorities. They have the same method of expression, they have reached the same stage in philological and etymological science and they have the same lack of any knowledge of the simplest rules of the higher criticism. The conclusion follows that as far as we can at present judge, they must have been trained in the same school (Hastings' *Ency. of B. and E.*, Vol. IV, 701).

It seems probable that Dharmapāla was born at Kāñcīpura, the capital of the Vārāṅ country. Hsiao Tsang who visited Kāñcīpura in the 7th century A.D. was told by the natives there that Dharmapāla had been born here at Kāñcīpura.

The *Śaundharāraṃ* (p. 58) enumerates the following works ascribed to Dharmapāla: (1) *Nāripakāśaṅgā-āṭhakatā*, (2) *Chandaka-āṭhakatā*, (3) *Uḷāṅga-āṭhakatā*, (4) *Chalyāyitaka-āṭhakatā*, (5) *Phan* and *Tibet-gāthā-āṭhakatā*, (6) *Vindavāṭhānt* or the *Vindavāṭhā-āṭhakatā*, (7) *Vindavāṭhānt*, or the *Petaravāṭhā-āṭhakatā*, (8) *Paramattha-vaśīṣā*, (9) *Tristuba-pakṣaṅg* on the four *āṭhakatā*s of the four *uḷāṅga*, (10) *Līlābhāṣyaṅgī* on the *Jāṭaka-āṭhakatā*, (11) *Nettithā-kāṭhavyākā*, (12) *Caṅgāṭhā-āṭhakatā*, and (13) *Amatthavajjant*.

From his works it appears that Dharmapāla was well read and well informed. His explanation of terms is very clear. His commentaries lay a considerable light on the social, religious, moral, and philosophical ideas of time like the commentaries of Buddhaghosa. In his commentaries Dharmapāla follows a regular scheme. First comes an introduction to the whole collection of poems, giving the traditional account of how it came to be put together. Then each poem is taken separately. After explaining how, when, and by whom it was composed each clause in the poem is quoted and explained philologically and exegetically.

Mrs. Klye David in her introduction to the translation of the *Pherigga* (188. of the *Sūtra*,

प. ३३१ अन्ते" In the fifth or 6th century A.D. either before or just after Buddhaghosa had flourished, and written his great commentaries on the prose works of the Vinaya and Sutta Pitakas. Dharmapala of Kāśīpurā, now Comptown, wrote down in Pāli the available expository material constituting the then extant Dharmakathās on the Psalms and incorporated it into his commentary on three other books of the Canon, naming the whole 'Dharmakathāpanti or Description of the Ultimate Meaning'. He not only gives the Akhāṇḍa to each Psalm but adds a paraphrase in the Pāli of his day, of the more archaic idiom in which the psalms were composed." This further points out that the presentation of verses, solemn or otherwise, in a framework of prose narrative is essentially the historical Buddhist way of imparting canonical poetry. Dharmapala's chronicles are, for the most part, unduplicated in any other extant work: but not seldom they are on all fours, not only with parallel chronicles in Buddhaghosa's commentaries, but also with a prose framework of poems in Sutta Nipāta or Saṅgīyalla Nikāya, not to mention the Jātaka (PSS. of the Brothers, p. 88).

According to Indian tradition, a commentary means reading new meanings back into old texts according to one's own education and outlook. It explains the words and judgments of others as accurately and faithfully as possible; and this remark applies to all commentaries, Sanskrit as well as Pāli. The commentary or bhāṣya, as it is called in Sanskrit, implies, as suggested by the great Sanskrit poet Māgha in his famous kāvya, 'Śiṅgāśābha', an simplification of a condensed utterance or expression which is rich in meaning and significance:

"Śaṅkhiptasāyāpyatīkṣayīva vākyaśāntīśā-
gāṅgāśāh
Suvītaratāśvācobbhāṣyabhoṭa bhāvānti me"
(ii. 24);

but at the same time an element of originality, also implied by its definition as given by Bharu in his lexicography. "Those who are versed : the bhāṣya call that a bhāṣya wherein the meaning of a condensed saying (sūtra) is presented in words that follow the text and where, moreover, the own words of the commentator himself are given."

“*Śūtesūtrāḥ varṇyāḥ yatra padaiḥ sūtrān
 vācibhiḥ
 āvyaṣṭāni eva varṇyante bhāṣyam bhāṣya-
 vidovidub
 Iti śāstrakāṅkṣināḥnikāyānāḥ Dharmakāḥ*”—
 (Śāstrakāṅkṣurama)

The need for an accurate interpretation of the Buddha's words which formed the guiding principle of life and action of the members of the Saṅgha, was felt from the very first, even during the life-time of the Master. There was at that time the advantage of referring a disputed question for solution to the Master himself, and therefore we can trace the first stage in the origin of the Buddhist commentaries. The Buddhist and Jain texts tell us that the itinerant teachers of the time wandered about in the country, engaging themselves wherever they stopped in serious discussions on matters relating to religion, philosophy, ethics, morals, and polity. Discussions about the interpretation of the absolute utterances of the great teachers were frequent and the reason *ad* of the development of the Buddhist literature, particularly of the commentaries, is to be traced in these discussions. There are numerous interesting passages in the Tripiṭaka, telling us how from time to time contemporary events suggested manifold topics of discussion among the bhikkhus, or how their peace was disturbed by grave doubts calling for explanations either from the Buddha himself or from his disciples. Whenever an interested sophist spoke vehemently in many ways in disparage of the Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Order (Dighe, I :

whenever another such capital misinterpreted the Buddha's opinion (Majjhima, Vol. III, pp. 207-8), whenever a ferocious disension broke out in any contemporary brotherhood (Majjhima, Vol. II, Sāraṅgasaḍṭṭa), or whenever a bhikkhu behaved improperly, the bhikkhus generally assembled under the pavilion to discuss the subject, or were exhorted by the Buddha or by his disciples to safeguard their interests by presenting a strong defence of their case. The Uḍḍha and Majjhima Nikāyas contain many illuminating expositions of the Buddha, e.g., Mahākaccinavibhaṅga, the Sākyatāvibhaṅga, (Majjhima, Vol. III, pp. 207-222), etc. Then we have from Them Sūriputta, the chief disciple of the Buddha, a body of expositions of the four Aryan truths, the Saccaṅgavibhaṅga. We have also to consider other renowned and profoundly learned disciples of the Buddha, among whom were some women, who in their own way helped forward the process of development of the commentaries. Mahākāśyapa wrote some exegetical works like Kacciyarupamaṇḍo, Mahāniruttigandho, etc. We have similar contributions from Mahākāśhila, Muggallāna, Ānanda, Dharmapala, and Khemā. But it is needless to multiply instances.

There is another class of ancient Buddhist literature, the poṭṭhas, of which our knowledge is at present based only upon some extracts in the aṭṭhakathās. We are told in the Cāudhavaṇṇa that those who are Parāṇāyika are also Aṭṭhakathariya, or teachers who wrote the aṭṭhakathās, and were evidently the earliest contributors to the commentary literature. A number of quotations made by Buddhaghosa may be found in his works concerning the views of the poṭṭhas. It shall be noted here that the poṭṭhas do not represent a consistent school of philosophical thought. Each teacher must have been responsible for himself alone, and it is hopeless to discover any organic connection among the numerous short and long passages attributed to the poṭṭhas in Buddhaghosa's

writings (vide my "The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa," Chap. III). There is a paper on the weight of the Buddhist scriptures with illustrations by R. C. Childers, J. R. A. S., 1871, pp. 299-302, which should be consulted.

The works of Buddhacatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dharmapala are the most important Pāli commentaries. They are rich in materials for reconstructing a secular and religious history of ancient India. They also throw a flood of light on the philosophical, psychological, and metaphysical aspects of the period with which they deal. A large variety of interesting is available from these commentaries and hence their importance is very great. Thanks to the indefatigable labours of the Pāli Text Society, London, for printing and publishing in proper position of the Pāli commentaries and making them accessible to the reading public. Besides, there are some other Pāli commentaries, such as the *Sādhānāpajjālikā* or a commentary on the *Niddesa* written by Upasena; *Saddhammapūjāvatī*, a commentary on the *Paṭisambhādhānaya* written by Mahāśāka Tissa of Anurādhapura, and the *Vissuddhimūlāsīlāvatī* or a commentary on the *Apādāna* written by an unknown author.

A. WORKS OF BUDDHACATTA

The *Abhidhammatthasāra* was written by Buddhacatta; and it has been in continuous use amongst the students of the Buddhist scriptures. Buddhacatta was held as a personage of exceptionally high scholarly attainments by Buddhaghosa and others. It is interesting to note the incidents which led to the writing of this work. Buddhacatta was going from Ceylon to India when he was met by Buddhaghosa who was then proceeding to Ceylon for the purpose of rendering the Sinhalese commentaries into Pāli. Knowing the

Abhidhammatthasāra and its importance

mission of Buddhaghosa. Buddhadatta was highly pleased and spoke thus, "When you finish the commentaries, please send them up to me that I may summarise your labours". Buddhaghosa consented to comply with his request and the Pāli commentaries were accordingly placed in the hands of Buddhadatta who summed up the commentaries on the Abhidhamma in the *Abhidhammasāra* and that on the Vinaya in the *Vinayasūtrīcchaya*.¹ He was the author of the *Rūpārūpavibhāga* and of the commentary on the *Buddhavaṃsa*. The *Abhidhammasāra* is written partly in prose and partly in verse. It discusses the following points :

viññāna, *viññāna*, *vedanā* (that which refers to the mind), *ārambha* (object-identity), *vipāka*, *ritta* (consequence of mindfulness), *rūpa* (form), *paññatti* (designation), etc.

The *Rūpārūpavibhāga* deals with *nāma*, *arūpa*, *viññāna*, *vedanā*, etc. It is written in prose. Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta has edited Buddhadatta's *Mamaka* or summaries of *Abhidhammasāra* (*Abhidhammasārasāra* and *Rūpārūpavibhāga*) for the first time for the P.T.S., London.

The *Vinayasūtrīcchaya* and *Uttarasūtrīcchaya* containing the summaries of the Vinaya *Piṭaka* have been edited by the Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta of Ceylon, and published by the Pāli Text Society of London. These two treatises on the Vinaya seem to have been composed, after the *Samantapāsādikā*, in an abridged form, in verse.

The *Vinayasūtrīcchaya* contains thirty-one chapters whereas the *Uttarasūtrīcchaya* contains twenty-three chapters. The author of these treatises was a distinguished brahmin named Buddhadatta who was a native of Uraḡapur (or modern Uraḡur) on the banks of the Kāveri in the Chola Kingdom of South India. The *Vinayasūtrīcchaya* was composed while he was residing in a monastery built by Piṇḍiśāsa

¹ *Vinayasūtrīcchaya*
and *Uttarasūtrīcchaya*.

in the neighbourhood of Bhūtanāgula, a prosperous town on the banks of the Kēvedī during the reign of King Acyutarikṣama of the Kālantha clan. According to the editor of these treatises Buddhodatta and Buddhaghosa were contemporaries: but the former was senior to the latter. Buddhodatta came to Ceylon earlier, studied the Sinhalese commentaries and summarised them in Pāli.

There are two Pāli commentaries of these two treatises. The commentary on the Vinayavinicchaya is known as the Vinayaśūlībhūḍipāṇī and that on the Uṭṭaravinnicchaya as the Uṭṭaravinnicchayaśūlībhūḍipāṇī supposed to have been written by Vāsiṣṭha Mahāsāmi. There is also a Sinhalese commentary on the Vinayavinicchaya written by King Parākramavāha II but this work is now extinct.

The Vinayavinicchaya opens with the Parāḷikakathū in verse and is followed by the Saṅghādisesakathū, Ariyakathā, Nissaggiya-Pācītiyakathā, Paṭidesaniyakathū, and the Sekhiyakathā. Thus the Bhikkhuvibhāṅga is closed. Then this treatise deals with the Bhikkhuvibhāṅga under the following heads: Parāḷikakathū, Saṅghādisesakathā, Nissaggiya-Pācītiyakathā and Paṭidesaniyakathā. Then khandhakakathā, kammakathā, jakkhīyukathā, and kammācchāsanakathā are narrated in verse. The treatise consists of 3,183 verses which are written in simple language and marked by good diction.

The Uṭṭaravinnicchavalakkhā consists of 969 verses. Under the Mahāvibhāṅga it treats of the Parāḷikakathā, Paṭidesaniyakathā and Sekhiyakathā. Under the Bhikkhuvibhāṅga it deals with Parāḷikakathā, Saṅghādisesakathā, Nissaggiyakathā, Paṭītiyakathā, Caturpātikathā, Adhikaraṇapaccayakathā, Khaṇḍhakapucchā, Āpatisamācchānakathā, Akuttaranaya, Cakkavācākaṅkathā, Sāllāṅgāpandhāraṇakathā, Lakkaṇakathā and Sādhanaśālikānaya.

The Madhurattavarāṇā is a commentary on the Buddhavaṇṇa. The author was Buddhodatta

There. Spence Hardy mentions a commentary on the Buddhavamsa by Buddhaghosa. This is probably the Atthakatha entitled the Madhurnthavamsini whose authorship is assigned by Grimbald not to Buddhaghosa but to a Buddhist monk living at the mouth of the Kaveri in South India.¹ There is a valuable edition of this commentary by Yaginala Pathananda Thera revised by Mahāgoda Siri Nanjāna Thera, Colombo, 1922.

B. WORKS OF BUDDHAGHOSA

The *Vismūdhimaggā*² was written by Buddhaghosa at the request of the Thera Saṅghapāla, it is generally believed, in Ceylon in the beginning of the 5th century A.D., when King Mahāsīhanāb was on the throne at Anurādhipura. Buddhaghosa, on reaching the Mahāvihāra (Anurādhipura) entered the Mahāpāḷāsa Hall, according to the account of the Mahāvamsa, the great Ceylonese Chronicle, and listened to the Sinhalese Atthakathā and the Theravāda, from the beginning to the end, and became thoroughly convinced that they conveyed the true meaning of the discourses of the Lord of Dharmā. Thereupon paying reverential respect to the priesthood, he thus petitioned: "I am desirous of translating the Atthakathā; give me access to all your books". The Ceylonese priesthood for the purpose of testing his qualification, gave only two gāthās saying, "Hence prove thy qualification; having satisfied ourselves on this point, we will then let thee have all our books". From these (taking these gāthās for his text), and consulting the Piṭakattaya, together with the Atthakathā and condensing them into an abridged form, he composed the commentary called the "Vismūdhimaggā".

¹ Indian Antiquary, April 1880, Vol. XIX, p. 110.

² The *Vismūdhimaggāpāṭha*, a famous Pāli work, requires the difficult passage of the *Vismūdhimaggā* (Buddh. Lit. Literature of Burma, p. 12, 13.)

The Mahāvastu account of the circumstances that led to the composition of the "Viuddhimagga" agrees substantially with what Buddhaghosa has written about himself in the Nidānakkathā or some of the origins of the works at their respective beginnings. Thus in the Nidānakkathā to his Viuddhimagga, Buddhaghosa at the very beginning quotes the following gāthā of Buddha's own saying:—

"*Etā patābhaya nara saṃsāra,
Cittāni paññāni ca bhāvaṃ,
Atāpā vipāka bhikkhū,
Nāmaṃ vipākaṃ jetaṃti*"

(After having been established in precepts, a wise person should think of saṃsāra and paññā, as a slave and also bhikkhū disentangles this knot.)

Next he proceeds to record the circumstances under which he wrote his commentary on Paṭṭhama (i.e., the Viuddhimagga). "The mad muzzling of Sīla, etc., is described by means of this stanza uttered by the great sage. Having acquired ordination in the Order of the Jain and the benefit of the Sīla, etc., which is tranquil and which is the straight path to purity, the yojis who are desirous of obtaining purity, not knowing purity as it is, do not feel purity though they exert. I shall speak of the Viuddhimagga according to the instruction of the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra, which is pleasing to them, and which is the correct interpretation: Let all the holy men who are desirous of obtaining purity listen to what I say, attentively" (Viuddhimagga, P.T.K., Vol. I, p. 2).

At the end of the work again, Buddhaghosa refers to that very gāthā which he has adopted as his text for writing the Viuddhimagga, and after referring to his promise quoted above, thus delivers himself: "The interpretation of the meanings of the Sīla, etc., has been told in the aṭṭha-kathā or the five nikāyas. All of them being taken into consideration, this interpretation gradually becomes manifest, being free from all faults due to

confusion; and it is for this reason that the *Vissuddhimagga* should be liked by the Yogas who are desirous of obtaining purity and who have pure wisdom."

Thus, according to Buddhaghosa, the whole of his *Vissuddhimagga* was written as a commentary on that one *gāthā* uttered by the Master. Evidently it was this *gāthā* which the writer of the Mahā *vaṅṇa* account had in his mind when he wrote that the *Vissuddhimagga* was written as a comment on and expansion of the two *gāthās* which were set by the Sinhalese Kingbrahmins at the Mahāvihāra to test Buddhaghosa's learning and efficiency. The *Vissuddhimagga* is in fact an abridged edition of the three *pitakas*, the *Vinaya*, the *Sūtra*, and the *Abhidhamma*, whose main arguments and conclusions are here condensed into a single treatise. In the *gāthā* itself, of which the *Vissuddhimagga* is a commentary, there is however no mention either of the word "*vissuddhi*" or "*magga*"; but there is mention of *sīla*, *samādhi*, and *paññā*. *Sīla* is observance of the *sīla* *konḍā* in the purification or *vissuddhi* of the *kāya* or body, while the practice of *samādhi* leads to the purity of soul and the thinking of *paññā* to perfect Wisdom. A wise man alone is capable of disentangling the web of craving and desire and is fit to attain *Nirvāna*. The disentangling of the web, as it is called, is the final goal, it is called "*vissuddhi*"; and *sīla*, *samādhi*, and *paññā* are the ways or "*magga*" to attain to it. As the ways or "*magga*" to attain to purity or "*vissuddhi*" have been explained in the book, it is called "*Vissuddhimagga*" or "*Path of Purity*".

The vocabulary of the text is astonishingly simple as compared with the archaic simplicity of the *pitakas*. The quotations in the *Vissuddhimagga* from the *pitakas*, the Sinhalese commentaries, the *purāṇas*, etc., are numerous; in other words it is an abridged compilation of the three *pitakas* together with quotations from *attakāthās*. The work deals with *konḍā*, *ākusala*, *neyyākatammāna*,

śyotsna, dbāta, eśipatchāna, kaṇṇasa, taḷasa and many other topics of Buddhist philosophy, and may be said to contain in fact the whole of the Buddhist philosophy in a nutshell. Sīla (conduct, precept), samādhi (concentration) and paññā (wisdom) are the three essential matters which are dealt with in this work. In the chapter on sīla are explained cetasāka, cetasika sīla and saṅgharāsa. The advantages of sīla is also mentioned therein. There are in it Pāṭimokkhaṇṇāyanaṣṣā and Indriyasaṅgahaṇṇāṣṣā. Pāṭimokkha (monastic rule) in saṅghavāsa (restraint) which purports to speak of restraint in form, sound, smell, contact, etc. It is interesting to read the section dealing with various kinds of precepts as well as the section on Dhutaṅga.

The subject of concentration is next discussed—its nature, its advantages and disadvantages. Meditation comes so next for explanation the four stages of meditation: meditation on fire, wind, water, delight, demerita, etc. The section on meditation on demerita is important containing the discussion of a variety of topics, viz.: Buddhānussati (recollection of the Buddha), Dharmacānussati (recollection of dharma), Saṅghānussati (recollection of saṅgha), cātānussati (recollection of self-saṅgī), devatānussati (recollection of gods), pariyāyaṇaṇṇānussati, nāgānussati, kāyagāṇṇāṇṇānussati, mettābhāvanā, karuṇābhāvanā, apēkkhābhāvanā, ākāśānācāryatāna-kammaṭṭhāna, aññāsaññāyatana-kammaṭṭhāna, nevaśāññāna-saññāyatana-kammaṭṭhāna, and āhāraṇāpākaṇṇānussati. Ten iddhi or miracle powers next come in for systematic treatment. There is one section on abhiññā (supernatural knowledge) in which is discussed the nature and definition of wisdom, its characteristics, and the advantages of contemplating on it. Itūpa, veduzā, saṅgā, and saṅkhaṭṭa come one after the other for elucidation; ponds worth considering in this connection are those on dyutana (abode), indriya (senses), succa (truth), dukkha (suffering), paṭicca-samuppāda

(dependent origination) and *nāmarūpa* (name and form).

Maggūcchaya Nāmalogyasavindhi is this: This is the right path and this is not the right path, the knowledge which has been well acquired is what is called *maggūcchayavīḍḍhānūcchayavindhi*. Further may be noted the discussions of the nine important forms, viz.: delight, knowledge, faith, thorough grasp, happiness, emancipation, knowledge of all the four paths, right realization of the truth and lastly removal of all sin.

The *Vimaddhimagga* is really an encyclopaedia of Buddhism, a good abstract of Buddhist doctrines and metaphysics and a vast treasure house of Buddhist lore. It has earned for its author an overhauling fame. The *Samaṅgalavithāna* records the contents of the *Vimaddhimagga* in a nutshell. The contents may be stated as follows:—nature of the *ślakāśā*, *dhammedhamma*, *karomaṅghāna* together with all the *caṅṅavāḍḍhā*, *jhāna*, the whole scope of the *kaṇṭhapaṭi*, the whole of *abhiññā*, the exposition of the *paññā*, the *kharaṭṭha*, the *dhātu*, the *systemā*, *indriyā*, *caḍḍariyā*, *saḍḍariyā*, *paṇḍarā*, the *puṇa* and *caṅṅavāḍḍhā*, *maggā* and *vipassanā*.

Buddhaghosa is strong in his attacks on *Pakalvada*, i.e., the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* systems which believe in the dual principles of *Pratya* and *Prakṛti*. He showed an extravagant zeal for differentiating the Buddhist conception of *vijjā* from the *Prakṛti-vādi*'s conception of *Prakṛti* as the root cause of things (*Vimaddhimagga*, Vol. II, p. 625). The *Vimaddhimagga* points out that the relation between *phassa* and its object is the relation between eye and form, ear and sound, mind and object of thought (p. 403). *Vedna* is of five kinds, *sukha*, *dukkha*, *somanassa*, *domanassa* and *upekkhā* (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 169). *Sañña* is only perception of external appearance of an object, while *viññāna* means thorough knowledge of the thing (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 462). According to the *Vimaddhimagga*

(Chap. XIV) we have 51 Saṅkhaṛasa (confessions) beginning with pleasure (contact) and ending in vicikicchā (doubt). Kamma, according to Buddhaghosa, means consequences of good or bad, merit and demerit (Vissuddhimagga, Vol. II, p. 404). Kamma is of four kinds: kamma which produces result in this life and in the next life, kamma which produces result from time to time and past lifetime (*Ibid.*, p. 401). There is no kamma, he says, in vipāka and no vipāka in kamma. Each of them is void by itself, at the same time there is no vipāka without kamma. A kamma is then said of its vipāka (consequences) which comes through kamma. Vipāka come into origin on account of kamma (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 403). Consciousness is due to saṅkhāra which is produced by ignorance (*Ibid.*, p. 460). Saṅkhāra cover their existence in the past and will owe their existence in future to saṅgīpā (*Ibid.*, 522 f.). The Vissuddhimagga enumerates the twelve ayatana as cakka, rāpa, sota, zaddā, jhāna, gandha, jīva, rāsa, kāya, phoṭṭhabba, rūpa, and dharmas (*Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 381). The sense organs are due to kamma and it is kamma which differentiates them (*Ibid.*, pp. 414-415). In the section on rūpsakkāsaḍḍha, Buddhaghosa has divided rūpa into two, viz.: bhatarūpa and apalārūpa. By bhatarūpa four great elements are implied whereas by apalārūpa are implied twenty four kinds (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 259; *Ibid.*, pp. 443-444).

The Vissuddhimagga contains a description of the evil effects of the violation of aṭṭa (Vol. I, pp. 6-58). Buddhaghosa takes the word "Indra" in the sense of the bhaddha (Vissuddhimagga, p. 491). In his Vissuddhimagga (Vol. II, Ch. XVI) he mentions twenty-two indriya beginning from cakkaṅdriya or organ of the eye and ending with aṅgataṅdriya. Upekkhā (indifference) according to him is of two kinds beginning from phalaṅga (six senses) and ending with paṇisaḍḍhi (purification) (Vissuddhimagga, Vol. I, p. 160). The advantages of practis-

ing meditation are the five kinds of happy living (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 84 foll.). Nirvāṇa includes absence of passions, destruction of pride, killing of thirst, freedom from attachment and destruction of all sensual pleasures. These are the attributes of Nirvāṇa (*Vimuddhimagga*, Vol. I, p. 293) which can be obtained, it is suggested, through meditation, wisdom, precept, abstention, etc. (Vol. I, p. 8).

Buddhaghosa had a fair knowledge of Anatomy as is evident from his account of the thirty-two parts of the body recorded in his *Vimuddhimagga* (Vol. I pp. 249-263).

The *Saṃsaṅgīteśadikā*¹ is a voluminous commentary on the five books of the Vinaya Piṭaka. It was written by Buddhaghosa at the request of the Therā Buddhacari. The principal contents of the book are as follows:

(1) The cause that led to the holding of the Buddhist council, (2) Election of members for the Council, (3) The Council cannot be held without Ananda, (4) Place of the Council, (5) What Ananda did with Candakuti, (6) Eighteen Mahāvihāra, (7) Building of a nice pandal for the meeting, (8) Recital of the first and last words of the Buddha, (9) Classification of the Vinaya, Sutta, and the Abhidhamma, (10) How Vinaya was handed down to the third Council, (11) Life of Moggallāna Brāhmana, (12) Account of Āśoka, (13) Prasaṅga sent by Āśoka, (14) Discussion on pitāsukha and jāṇas, (15) Importance of Vajjībhūmi and Vajjiputtana, (16) Various kinds of pregnancy, (17) Account of Mahāvāra at Vesālī, (18) Importance of Bharukaccha as a port, (19)

¹ There is a book called *Parameythanāyaka* which is a collection of *Vimuddhimagga*. Besides the Pāli edition of the *Paṭiśāra* there is an incomplete edition of this work in English by *Uppalāsa Chāyāyāra* and *Boṇṇa* (1921).

² *Ibid.* II, 62. Warren's paper on Buddhaghosa's *Vimuddhimagga* 4th International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1891.

³ Read "Full Elements in Chinese Buddhist", a translation of Buddhaghosa's *Saṃsaṅgīteśadikā*, a commentary on the Vinaya, found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka by J. Takakura, B.A.; J.F.A.S., 1897.

Account of Kuṅṅarasaḍḍa at Mahāvamsa at Vaicāḍī, (90) Discussions on kammaṭṭhāra, sātī, samādā, pāṇāmbhūti, vāta, viññāna, hadiḍya and four parājikābhāṅgas, etc. Unlike other commentaries of this nature, *Samantapāsādikā* is free from any elaborate tangle of similes and metaphors, and is written in an easy language.¹

The facts and contents of historical and geographical interest in this commentary may in short be stated as follows:—

Once when they were much troubled on account of a famine at Vesāḍī, the bhikkhus wanted to repair to another place. The Buddha, therefore, crossed the Ganges at Prayag direct from Vesāḍī and reached Brāhmi (Vol. I, 201).

King Ajātasattu ruled Magadha for 24 years (Vol. I, 72). He bore the cost of repairing at Rājagṛha 18 Mahāvihāras which were deserted by the bhikkhus after the parinibbāna of the Buddha (Vol. I, 9).

The Blessed One passed away in the eighth year of Ajātasattu's reign (Vol. I, p. 72).

The missionaries who were sent to various places to preach the dharma of Aśoka were all natives of Magadha.

Udaya Bhadda was one of the kings of Magadha who reigned for 25 years. He was succeeded by Sumatṭha who ruled for 18 years. Kāṭhaka had ten sons who ruled for 24 years. Then came the Nanda who ruled over the country for the same period. The Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Candraguṭta who ruled the kingdom for 24 years and he was succeeded by Bindusara who sat on the Magadhan throne for 18 years. He was succeeded by Aśoka who also followed his father for some time

¹ Portions of this work have been edited by Dr. Takakura and Nagai for the I.C.S., London. Successive, Sinhalese, and Burmese editions are available respectively in Siam, Ceylon, and Burma. A portion of the *PEU Samantapāsādikā* was rendered into Chinese by Fa-hsiang-tsun in the 8th century A.D. (See *Hariman's Library History of Buddhist Literature*, p. 218.)

in making donations to non-Buddhist ascetics and institutions. But being displeased with them he stopped further donations to them, and gave charities to the Buddhist bhikkhus alone (Vol. I, 44). Asoka's income from the four gates of the city of Pataliputta was 4,00,000 kahāpanas daily. In the saṅgha (country) he used to get 1,00,000 kahāpanas daily (Vol. I, 52). Rājagṛha was a good place having accommodation for a large number of bhikkhus (Vol. I, 8). Asoka is said to have enjoyed undivided sovereignty over all Jambudīpa after slaying all his brethren except Viśva. He reigned without coronation for four years (Vol. I, 41).

Two other kings of Magadha are mentioned in the *Samaññasāsudhika*, *Anurādha*, and *Mudra* (Vol. I, 72-73). Anurādha succeeded his father Mahā Anurādha and reigned for 18 years. Then came Nāga Dāsaka who reigned for 24 years. Nāga Dāsaka was banished by the citizens who appointed the minister named Śāmalīya as King (Vol. I, 72-73).

Timbiśāra is stated to have hundred sons (p. 411) and Asoka is said to have built 84,000 viharas in the whole of Jambudīpa (p. 115). Reference is made to Pataliputta (p. 35) where the King Dharmasāstra would appear and rule the whole of Jambudīpa.

There were eighteen Mahāvihāras at Rājagṛha (p. 2). On one occasion Mahākāśyapa asked Āsanda about dharmas (p. 15).

This commentary records the first and the last words of the Master (p. 17).

The different classifications of the Vinaya, Sūtra, and Abhidhamma Piṭakas (p. 18) are detailed in this commentary. It contains also an interesting account of how Vinaya was handed down till the third council (p. 32).

Thus we have accounts of the Therā Kingśāli-jatta Tissa (p. 37), who once went to a mountain named Alagāṅgā. In order to refute the doctrines of others, the Therā composed the *Kathavatthuppa-kāma* (p. 61). The commentary then gives an

account of the missionaries sent to different countries by Maṅgaliputtasāriya (63-64).

The Saṃmaṃpāsādikā refers to Kusinara, a town of the Malla, which between the two Sāla trees, on the full moon day of the month of Vesākha, the Blessed One passed away (p. 4).

There are references to Uruvilva and Gaggara (p. 121) and to many other places, e.g., Venūjā (once visited by Samma), Sāvatthi, Thūnḍarā, Savaṃbhūti, Uruvilvaka visited by traders in Kosa (p. 125); Uruvilva, Kāpilavastu inhabited by many good families (p. 241), Bhaddiya, a city (p. 280), etc. Further, we are told by the river Ganges, Mahāsal (which was once reached by the Buddha after crossing the Ganges), Kosyā, Vesālī and Mahāvamsa (p. 201). Mention is made of a village of the Vajjī (p. 207). We are told of the kings of the Licchavikula (p. 212). There is a reference to Uppalavāsā, a beautiful daughter of a ruler of Kusinara (p. 212). The commentary speaks of the Gijjhakūṭa mountain of Māgadhā when: once the Blessed One dwelt (p. 285) and where Sakka, a Malla, was once seen with a bhikkhu named Mettāya (p. 699), of Laghī, a mountain, and Kasi Kosala countries (p. 288). Bimbisāra is mentioned here as the lover of the Magadhīa who had an army of troops (p. 287).

There was a golden ceiling (dagala) built by Prince Uttara (Saṃmaṃpāsādikā, Vol. III, p. 644). A brahmin named Phosita built a monastery which was named after him (*Ibid.*, p. 574). Veluvana was a garden surrounded by lapis lazuli and it was beautiful and of blue colour having a wall with a wall 18 cubits in circumference (*Ibid.*, p. 675). During the reign of King Mahāliya there arose a dispute regarding the doctrine between the theros of Mahāliya and Aśvajit (*Ibid.*, 882). Kāśyāpī is described as a jumbhū (*Ibid.*, 813). Sāvatthī is described as a city containing 37 hundred thousand families and Rājagṛha is mentioned as a city inhabited by 15 kings of human beings (*Ibid.*, p. 814).

There is a reference to the Gāndhārā Uśāya in Vesālī visited by the Buddha (*Jāt.*, p. 437). There is a reference to the Mahā-nāthakacchā and Kuruśāyābhakṣāṭhā (p. 201).

The *Kaṅkharāvīraṇṇī* is a masterly commentary on the *Pāṭimokkha*, a book of the *Vibhaya Piṭaka*¹; and was written by Buddhaghosa in his own initial or prime time between 410 and 432 A.D. A manuscript of an ancient Sinhalese glossary on this work is preserved in the Government Oriental Library, Colombo. The work is remarkable for the restraint and mature judgment that characterise Buddhaghosa's style. While commencing on the precepts of the *Pāṭimokkha*, he has incidentally brought in much new information throwing light on the later development of the monastic life of the Buddhists.

The *Sumanāsavilāsinī*² is a famous commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, written by the celebrated Buddhist exegete Buddhaghosa at the request of the Saugādhara Dāṭṭha. It is rich in historical information and folklore, and abounds in narratives which throw a flood of light on the social, political, philosophical, and religious history of India at the time of the Buddha. A vivid picture of events and pastimes as well as valuable geographical and other data of ancient days are carefully provided in it.³ The book gives us a glimpse of the erudite learning of Buddhaghosa who flourished in the 5th century A.D. Its language is a bit less confused than that of his other commentaries.

In the introductory verses of his *Sumanāsavilāsinī*, Buddhaghosa makes the following reference

¹ We have Sinhalese and Burmese editions of this work.

² *Paṇḍa Paṭṭamaṅgaṭṭharaṇṇī* which is a miscellany on the *Sumanāsavilāsinī*.

³ The whole work has been printed and published in Burma, and all the volumes in ten parts have been published in Ceylon; and there is also an excellent Sinhalese edition in three parts.

to the history of the composition of his commentaries. Thus he observes:—"Through the influence of serene mind and merit which accrues to the recitation of the Three Refuges and which put an end to obstacles, in order to explain the meaning of the Dīgha Nikāya containing long suttas, which is a good signata, described by the Buddha and minor Buddhas, which brings faith, the Attakathās have been sung and afterwards recited from the beginning by five hundred theras, and are brought to the island of Laṅkā by the wise Mahinda and put in the language of the island of Laṅkā for the welfare of its inhabitants. Discarding the Sinhalese language and rendering the Attakathās into a good language which is like Tami and which is free from faults and not repeating the explanations of the theras who are the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra, who are the heads of the group of theras and who are good interpreters, I shall explain the meanings, avoiding repetitions, for the delight of the good men and for the long existence of Dharmā."*

Here also Buddhaghosa refers to his *Vimuddhimagga* (S.V., pt. 1, p. 2) thus: "I shall not again discuss what has been well told in the *Vimuddhimagga*. Standing in the midst of the four āgamas, the *Vimuddhimagga* will explain the meaning which has been told there, this being done, you will understand the meaning of the Dīgha Nikāya taking it along with this *Attakathā*" (i.e. *Samaññasavilāsinī*).

There are according to Buddhaghosa four kinds of suttas:—(1) *Attajjhānaya*, i.e., suttas delivered by the Buddha of his own accord; (2) *Parajjhānaya*, i.e., suttas delivered to suit the intention of others; (3) *Pucchāvādo*, i.e., suttas delivered in answer to the question of the Supremely Enlightened One; (4) *Abhuppatiko*, i.e., suttas delivered in course of delivering other suttas.

The examples of each class are given below:—(1) e.g., *Mahāsatipapaṭṭhana*, *Ākaṅkheyya Suttam*, *Vatthasantaṭṭha*, etc., (2) e.g., *Cūḍarākulavāḍa*, *Mahāraṅgula*, *Dharmasakkapavattana*, etc., (3) e.g.,

Mārasamūyutta, Devatāsaṅgahaṅgā, Sakkapaññāsaṅgāhā, Sūmaññaphalaṅkāraṇa, etc., (d) e.g., Dharmasūtra, Cūḷavācāsaṅgāhā, Aggikkhandāpama, Brahmasālasutta (Sūmaññāvilāsiṇi, pp. 88-91).

The Sūmaññāvilāsiṇi furnishes us with some information regarding a bhikkhu's daily life. In the day time a bhikkhu should free his mind from all obstacles by walking up and down and sitting. In the first watch of the night he should lie down and in the last watch he should walk up and down and sit. Early in the morning he should go and cleanse the space surrounding the ceṭiya and the Bodhi-tree. He should give water to the root of the Bodhi-tree, and keep water for drinking and washing. He should then perform all his duties towards his teacher. After finishing ablution, he should enter his own dwelling place, take his rest on the ground and think of kammaṭṭhāna. At the time of going for alms, he should sit up from meditation, and after taking his alms-bowl and garment he should first of all go to the Bodhi-tree and after adorning it he should go to the Ceṭiya. After he has adored the Ceṭiya, he should enter the village for alms and after having finished begging for alms, he should give religious instruction to many persons who desirous of hearing it. Then he should return to the vihāra (S.V., pt. I, pp. 186-187).

The Sūmaññāvilāsiṇi gives the following reasons for calling Buddha the 'Paṭhagata':

1. He has come in the same way.
2. He has gone in the same way.
3. He is endowed with the sign of Tathā (truth).
4. He is supremely enlightened in Tathā dhamma (truth).
5. He has seen Tathā (truth).
6. He preaches Tathā (truth).

¹ Read two interesting papers on the Paṭhagata, one by E. Chalmers, J.E.A.S., 1894, pp. 311 foll.; another by Dr. Watson in the Journal of the Tokyo University, 1920.

7. He does Truth (truthfully).
8. He overcomes all.

These remarks are explained in detail as follows :

1. As previous Buddhas, e.g., Vipassī, Sikkī, Vesabhū, Kakāsaṅgī, Kassapa, etc., as the previous Buddhas obtained Buddhahood by fulfilling ten Pāramitās (perfections),¹ by sacrificing body, eyes, wealth, kingdom, son and wife, by practising the following kinds of ariyas : Lokatthacarīyas, i.e., exertion for knowledge ; Buddhakāmasarīyas, exertion for Buddhahood, and by practicing four samāpattisāras (four kinds of right exertion), four iddhipādāna (four miracles), five Indriyas (five senses), five Indriyas (five potentia- lities), seven Saṅghāgāmas (seven supreme knowledges), and the Noble Eightfold Path (ariya atthasāgga magga).

2. The Buddha Gautama walked seven steps towards the north just after his birth as Vipassī, Kassapa, and other Buddhas did. He looked all round by sitting under a white umbrella and made the following declaration :

“ I am the first in this world, I am the chief in the world, I am the most prominent in the world. This is my last birth, there is no future birth to me.”

The Buddha Gautama destroyed desire for animal pleasures by renunciation, destroyed hatred by non-hatred, torpor by straightforwardness, doubt by the analysis of Dhammas, ignorance by knowledge, etc., like the former Buddhas, e.g., Vipassī, Kassapa, and others.

3. The Buddha fully realised the true characteristics “*Tathādhakkhaṇā*” of four elements, sky,

¹ The ten perfections see the following :

dāna (charity), *sīla* (precept), *sakkāraṇa* (concentration), *saṅghāraṇa* (determination), *saṅga* (wealth), *maṭṭā* (compassion), *upekkhā* (indifference), *khanti* (patience), *virya* (energy), and *paññā* (wisdom).

convictionless, formless, cessation, perception, non-
 fatigue, discursive thought, desirive thought, joy,
 happiness, and emancipation.

4. The Buddha realised four sublime truths
 known as *tathācāryaniya*, suffering, origin of suffering,
 cessation of suffering, and the path leading to the
 cessation of suffering. He also realised dependent
 origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*).

5. This Buddha saw all the forms which in-
 clude four elements which are produced by the
 combination of four elements in the human world
 as well as in the world of gods. He heard, knew,
 touched, tasted, and thought of all that were in
 existence in the human world as well as in the
 world of gods.

6. From the time of his enlightenment by
 conquering *Māra* till the time of his parinibbāna,
 what he preached, was complete and perfect in
 meaning and exposition and to the point, and
 leading to the destruction of passion, hatred and
 delusion, and was true.

7. His bodily action was in agreement with his
 solemn said speech and *śīla* *śīla*. He did what he
 said and vice versa.

8. He overcame everything concerning from
 the highest *Brahmāloka* to the *Avīci* hell and endless
loka (*loka* worldly elements) all around by *sīla*
 (precepts), *saṃkhāri* (non-attachment), *pañña* (wisdom),
 and *viratthi* (renunciation). There was no equal
 to him and he was the unsurpassed king of kings,
 god of gods, chief of all *devās*, and chief of all
Brahmā (S.V., pt. 1, pp. 59-68).

The Buddha had to perform fivefold duties:

(1) Duties before meal, (2) Duties after meal, (3)
 Duties in the first watch, (4) middle watch, and the
 (5) last watch of night.

1. Duties before meal included the following:

Abstention early in the morning, and sitting alone till
 the time of begging; at the time of begging alone
 he used to robe himself; tying his waist with belt
 and taking his alms-bowl he used to go for alms-

sometimes alone sometimes surrounded by the bhikkhusogha in villages or towns; sometimes in natural posture and sometimes by showing miracles, e.g., wind cleaning the street which he was to traverse.

After collecting alms and purfaking of them he used to present to the dāyaka (alms-givers) according to their intelligence.

After hearing religious instruction, some of the dayakas used to take refuge in the three gems, some used to establish themselves in the five precepts, some used to attain fruition of the first, second, and third stages of sanctification and some after renouncing the world used to attain Arhatship. After preaching the dharma he used to return waiting for the arrival of the bhikkhus from begging tour. After they had all returned he used to enter Gandhakūṭi (perfumed chamber).

2. *Dāra* after used:—He attendant used to prepare seat for him in the Gandhabhātī and he after sitting on it, used to wash his feet. Standing on this step of the staircase of a Gandhakūṭi, he used to instruct the bhikkhus to perform their duties diligently. He spoke thus: "The appearance of the Buddha is rare; it is difficult to be born as human being, good opportunity is also difficult to be obtained, ordination as bhikkhus is also difficult to be had, and the hearing of the Suddharma (true law) is also difficult to be obtained." Some of the bhikkhus used to seek his instructions in kammatthānas (objects of meditation). The Blessed One used to give instructions in the Kammatthānas suitable to their nature. The bhikkhus used to return to their dwelling-places or to the forest after saluting the Buddha. Some used to return to the Cātummahārājika Heaven or to the Paranimittavaggaṭṭi Heaven.¹ After giving instructions, the Blessed One used to enter the Gandhakūṭi and lie

¹ See my book, "Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Eschatology", pp. 7, 13, etc.

down on the right side. He used to see the world with his eye of wisdom after refreshing himself. He then used to give instructions to the people who assembled in the preaching hall with scented flowers, etc., and then the people after listening to the religious instructions, used to return after saluting the Buddha.

3. In the first watch of the night if he desired to bathe himself, he used to get up from his seat and enter the bath-room and bathed himself with water supplied by the attendant who made ready the seat for him in the Gaṇḍhākūṭi. The Blessed One used to put on red coloured under-garment tying his waist with belt. Then he used to put on the upper garment keeping one shoulder open, and then he used to sit on his seat alone in a mood of meditation. The bhikkhus used to come from all sides to worship him. Some bhikkhus used to ask him questions, some used to ask his instructions in kammakāṅkṣā, and some used to request him to give religious instructions. The Buddha used to satisfy the bhikkhus by fulfilling their desires. Thus he used to spend the first watch of the night.

4. Duties in the middle watch: After the bhikkhus had left him, the devas used to come from 10,000 lokarājātās (world cycles), and the Blessed One used to spend the middle watch in answering the questions of the devas.

5. Duties in the last watch of the night: - The last watch of the night was divided into three parts. He used to spend the first part by walking up and down, the second part by lying down on the right hand side in the Gaṇḍhākūṭi, and the last part by seeing with his eyes the person who acquired competency in knowing dharmas on account of the acquisition of merit by serving the previous Buddha (S.V., pt. I, pp. 45-48).

The Buddha performed double rituals¹ at the gate of the city of Śāvatthi in the seventh

¹ The so-called Yamaka, ācikkhāya.

year after his enlightenment at the foot of Gaṇḍakāśaka tree, e.g., fire was burning on the upper part of the body and water flowing down from the lower part, fire coming out of one of the pores of the skin of the body and water of six colours issuing out of another pore of the skin of the body, six kind of eyes issuing out of the body of the Buddha and illuminating all the ten thousand Cakka-vāsa (world systems).

Buddhaghosa describes the Buddha's fulfillment of ten perfections (pāramitā) during four asaṅkha kalpas and 100,000 kalpas. He renounced the world at the age of twenty-nine, took ordination on the bank of the Anurādhā river. For six years he exerted simultaneously. On the Vāśākha full-moon day he took honeyed rice-pudding offered by Sujātā at Uruvelā and in the evening he entered the Bhaddi terrace by the south gate and three went round the Āśvattha tree. Going to the north-east side of the tree he spread a seat of grass and seated on it cross-legged facing the east and keeping the fig-tree at the back, he first of all meditated upon mettā (friendliness, love).

At dusk he defeated Māra and in the first watch of the night he acquired the knowledge of previous birth, in the middle watch he acquired celestial insight and in early morning he acquired the knowledge of dependent origination and attained the fourth stage of meditation on inhalation and exhalation. Depending on the fourth stage of meditation, he increased insight and successively acquired all the qualities of the Buddha (S.V., pt. I, pp. 57-58).

The Buddha used to take two kinds of journey tarita (quick) and atarita (slow). In order to convert a fit person who was at a distance, he used to travel long distance within a short time as we find in the case of the Buddha going to receive Mahāśaśaka who was at a distance of three gāyāsa in a moment. The Buddha also took tarita journey for Āluka, Siggulakāṣi, Pikkhandi,

Mahākappina, Mahāyasa, and Tissasāmaṇera, a pupil of Sāśiputta.

The Buddha daily used to take a short journey in order to do good to the people by preaching to them and accepting their offerings, etc. This was known as *śalākā* journey. The *śalākā* journey was divided into three *maṇḍala*s, e.g., *mahāmaṇḍala*, *maḥājāmaṇḍala*, and *antamaṇḍala*. The *mahāmaṇḍala* was extended over an area of 500 *yojana*s, *maḥājāmaṇḍala* 300 *yojana*s, and *antamaṇḍala* 200 *yojana*s. He had to start on the day following the *Mahāvāsāntarā* (i.e., last day of the lent): If he had to undertake the *mahāmaṇḍala* journey he had to start at the beginning of *Agreśākrāntya* and in case of *antamaṇḍala* journey, he could start at any time suitable to him (S.V., pt. 1, pp. 250-252).

Among the Buddha's contemporaries were *Jivaka Kāṁbāśādhara*, *Tissasāmaṇera*, *Pakkhinaṇṇi*, and *Amhiṭṭha*. It will not perhaps be out of place to record here a few interesting facts about them.

Jivaka Kāṁbāśādhara was nursed up by *Abhayakumāra*, one of the sons of *Kingśāka*; so he was called *Kāṁbāśādhara*. Once *Kingśāka* and *Abhayakumāra* was from the roof of the palace *Jivaka* lying down on the floor at the gate of the palace surrounded by vultures, crows, etc. The king asked, "What is that?" He was told that it was a baby. The king asked if it were alive. The reply was in the affirmative. Hence he was called *Jivaka* (S.V., pt. 1, p. 133).

Once *Jivaka* advised the Buddha to take some purgative. When the Buddha became all right in health, *Jivaka* offered the Buddha a pair of valuable clothes. The Buddha accepted his offering and gave him suitable instructions with the result that he was established in the position of the first stage of sanctification. He altered his mango garden to the Buddha for his residence with his pupils, as *Jivaka* thought that it would be difficult for him to go to the *Veṇusaṇa* where the Buddha used to live for attending on him and which was far from

his house. In the mango-garden, Jivaka prepared rooms for spending day and night for the Buddha and his bhikkhus. Wells, etc., were sunk for them. The garden was surrounded by a wall and a Gandhakūṭi (perfumed house) was built for the Buddha in the Mango-garden (S.V., pt. I, p. 143).

Tissasāmaṇera: Once Śariputra wanted to go to his pupil. The Buddha expressed his willingness to go with him and ordered Āsanda to inform 20,000 bhikkhus who were possessed of supernatural powers that the Blessed One would go to see Tissa. The Buddha with Śariputra, Āsanda, and 20,000 śāmsava-bhikkhus (the monks who were free from sins) traversed the path of 2,800 yojanas through sky and got down at the gate of the village where Tissa was and they robed themselves. The village received them all and offered them rice gruel. After the Buddha had finished his meal, Tissa returned four āśva-bagging and offered food to the Buddha, which he (Tissa) had received on his bagging tour. The Buddha visited Tissa's dwelling place.

Pokkharasāli:—His body was like the white lotus or like the silver gate of Devadagata. His head was very beautiful and popular. At the time of Kāśyapa Buddha, he was well-versed in the three Vedas and in consequence of his offering charity to the Buddha, he was reborn in the Devaloka. As he did not like to enter the womb of a human being, he was reborn in a lotus in a big lake near the Himavanta. An aquatic who lived near the lake reared him up. He made the child learn the three Vedas and the child became very much learned, and was regarded as the foremost brahmin in the Jambudīpa. He showed his skill in arts to the king of Kēśala. The king being pleased with him gave him the city of Ukkattha as Brahmanera's property (i.e., the property offered to the brahmins) (S.V., pt. I, pp. 244-245).

Ārāḍḍhaka:—He was the chief disciple of Pokkharasāli or Pokkharasāni. He was sent to the

Buddha to see whether the Buddha deserved the praises offered to him. He attempted in various ways to defeat the Buddha but in vain. He also expressed his opinion that an samanadharmika could be practised by living in such a *vihāra*. He came back to his teacher after being defeated (S.V., pt. I, p. 253).

The *Sarabhiyāvihāra* supplies us with some new interesting geographical informations, some of them being more or less fanciful in their origin.

Anga :—On account of the beauty of their body, some princes were known as *Angas*. The place was named *Anga* because those princes used to dwell there (S.V., pt. I, p. 279).

Not far from the city of *Anga*, there was the tank of *Gaggatā*, so called because it was dug by a queen named *Gaggatā*. On its bank all round, there was a great forest of *Carpaka* trees decorated with flowers of five colours, blue, etc. This account of *Carpaka* has, however, hardly any geographical value. *Buddhaghosa* also gives us his own interpretation of the term *Anga*. According to him, it is so called because of the beauty of the princes of the country. The explanation resists to the rather fanciful (S.V., pt. I, p. 279).

Dakkhiṇapatha or the *Dosum* : *Buddhaghosa* defines *Dakkhiṇapatha* or the *Dosum* as the tract of land lying to the south of the *Ganges* (S.V., pt. I, p. 205). Many ascetics used to live there and one of the forefathers of *Amhattha* went there and learnt *ambhattavijjā*, a science through the influence of which the *maṅga* trees raised could be brought down. He came to *Okkaka* and showed his skill and secured a post under him (S.V., pt. I, p. 205).

Ahagārika :—In the past there was a kingdom named *Ahāra*. In this kingdom a poor man named *Koṭṭhalaka* while going to another place at the time of famine, being unable to carry his son, threw him on the way. The mother out of affection went back and brought the child and returned to the

village of gojākas (cowherds) who gave them milk-rice to eat. Kattūshaka could not digest the milk and died at night of cholera and was reborn in the womb of a bitch. The young dog was the favourite of the head of the cowherds, who used to worship a parśvabuddha. The cowherd used to give a handful of cooked rice to the young dog which followed the gojākas to the hermitage of the parśvabuddha. The young dog used to inform the parśvabuddha by barking that rice was ready and used to drive away wild beasts on the way by barking. As the young dog served the parśvabuddha, he was reborn after death in heaven and was named śīrasādevaputta who, fallen from heaven, was reborn in a family at Kosambī. The banker of Kosambī being childless brought him up and when a legitimate child was born to the banker, he attempted to kill śhisan seven times but on account of the accumulation of merit śhisan could not be killed. He was saved by the inextinguishability of a banker's daughter whom he eventually married. After the death of the banker who attempted to kill him, he succeeded him and was known as Cīrasakapēthi. At Kosambī there were two other bankers named Kukkuta and Pāvāriya. At this time five hundred ascetics came to Kosambī and the three bankers, śhisan, Kukkuta, and Pāvāriya built their cages in their respective gardens for the ascetics and supported them. Once the ascetics while coming from the Himalaya region through a forest became very much hungry and thirsty, and sat under a big banana tree thinking that there must have been a powerful devata residing in the tree who would surely help them. The presiding deity of the tree helped the ascetics with water to quench their thirst. The deity when asked as to how he (deity) acquired such splendour, replied that he was a servant in the house of a banker Anūthapindika who supported the śhucīna at Jetavana. On a saḍḍeth day the servant went out to walk in the morning and returned in the

evening. He enquired of the other servants of the house and learning that they had accepted uposatha, he went to Anāpāpīradika and took precepts. But he could not observe the precepts fully and in consequence of this merit accumulated due to the observance of half the uposatha at night, he became the deity of this town endowed with great splendour. They went to Kosambi and informed the settlers of this matter. The ascetics went to the Buddha and acquired ordination and Ajivakship. The settlers afterwards went to the Buddha and invited the Buddha to Kosambi. After returning to Kosambi, they built three hermitages and one of them was known as Chosāṭṭhāna (S. V., pt. I, pp. 317-319).

Kosaḷa :—The Purāṇas say that prince Mahāpanda did not laugh even after seeing or hearing objects that are likely to rouse laughter. The father of the prince promised that he would decorate with various kinds of ornaments the person who would be able to make his son laugh. Many, including even the cultivators, gave up their ploughs and came to make the son laugh. They tried in various ways but in vain. At last Sakka the chief of the gods sent a theatrical party to show him a celestial drama to make the prince laugh. The prince laughed and men returned to their respective abodes. While they were returning home they were asked on the way, "Kaccā kha kusalāni, kaccā kha kusalāni" (are you all right?). From this word kusalāni, the country came to be known as Kosala (S. V., pt. I, p. 239).

Majjagaha :—A name of the town in which Maṅḍhātā and Mahāgovinda took their abode. At the time of the Buddha it was a town, at other times it was empty (S. V., pt. I, p. 132).

The Summaṅgalavāḷāḥī serves as a glossary of important terms, a few of which may be enumerated here.

Adhucāḍḍhā : It strictly means accepting that which is not given. It also means stealing the property of others, the thing which can be used by

others according to their wish and by using which they are not liable to be punished. If that thing be taken with the intention of stealing it, then he is guilty of theft; if the thing stolen be of greater value, then the offence will be greater and if it is of less value the offence will be less. If the thing stolen belongs to a person of greater quality, the offence will be greater and if it belongs to a person of less quality, the offence will be less.

One is guilty of theft if the following conditions are there :

- (1) the thing stolen must belong to others ;
- (2) the thief must be conscious at the time of stealing, that the thing which he is stealing belongs to others ;
- (3) he must have the intention to steal ;
- (4) he must make effort to steal and that effort must bring about the theft of the thing belonging to others (S.V., Vol. I, p. 71)

Musivādy : It means application of word or bodily deed to bring about discussion. Consciousness due to the application of word or bodily deed with the intention of bringing about discussion is called speaking falsehood.

Must in another sense means :

- (1) the thing not happened before,
- (2) untrue thing.

Vāda means making known thing which is untrue to be true and a thing, unhappened before to have happened.

Manavāda is nothing but consciousness of the person who is willing to make known a thing which is untrue to be true and an unhappened thing to have happened.

Buddhaghosa cites some examples to this connection :

If a witness gives false evidence, he becomes liable to greater fault ; if a bhikkhu makes exaggeration intentionally he will be liable to less fault ;

and if a bhikkhu says that he has seen a thing not seen by him, that he has heard of a thing unheard by him, he will surely be liable to greater fault.

One is guilty of falschoth if the following conditions are there :—

1. His subject or object must be false.
2. He must have the intention of creating disunion or dissension.
3. He must make the effort created by that intention.
4. His act of creating disunion must be known to the parties concerned. He must commit the offence himself. Buddhaghosa is of opinion that if a person instigates others to commit falschoth, and instigates others to do the offence by letters or by writing on walls, etc., and if he himself commits the offence in all these cases, the nature of offence must be the same (*ibid.*, p. 72).

Pharusāvaca :—According to Buddhaghosa, Pharusāvaca really means intention to wound the feelings of others. It means harsh words (*S.V.*, pt. I, p. 75). According to him a thoughtless speech should be pleasing to the ear, producing love, appealing to the heart and agreeable to many (*S.V.*, pt. I, pp. 75-76).

Pāsumāyaca :—The person to whom the word is spoken takes a favourable view of the speaker but unfavourable view of the person about whom it is spoken. It is nothing but consciousness of the person who speaks to make himself closely acquainted with the person to whom the word is spoken and the person about whom it is spoken.

One is guilty of pāsumāyaca if the following conditions be fulfilled :

1. He must have the intention of creating dissension and making himself friendly.
2. He must have the effort to carry out his intention.

3. The act of creating distinction must be known to the parties concerned.
4. The persons before whom the distinction is created must be in existence (S.V., pt. I, p. 54).

There are references to the following sports and pastimes in the *Sutta-sāgkavāhīnī* :

Atthapādānā : Dice.

Atthānā : A kind of pastime which is played after imagining a kind of dice-board in the sky.

Caṇḍālānā : Sporting with an iron ball.

Chāṭṭikānā : A sport in which large sticks are beaten by short ones.

Vānanā : Sporting with a bamboo which is turned in various ways.

Paṭṭhārapāthānā : A kind of sport which is played on the ground on which many paths having fences are prepared to puzzle the player (S.V., pt. I, pp. 84-85).

References to various kinds of seats are found in this work :—

Amūḍḍiṇī : A big seat.

Chinnānā : A carpet with long hairs.

Kāṣṭhānā : A silk seat bedecked with gatus.

Kūṭṭhānā : A kind of woollen seat in which sixteen dancing girls can dance together.

Pallaṅkānā : A seat having feet with figure of deer, etc.

Paṭṭhikā : Thick woollen seat with various designs of flowers.

Paṭṭhā : Woollen seat.

Vikāḍḍhā : A seat having the figure of lion or tiger.

Thūpānānā : It is a ceremony among the southern Indian people who wash the bones of their dead relatives after digging them out and after having besmeared them with scents and collecting all the bones in one

place. On a certain auspicious day they set up various kinds of food and drink collected for the occasion while crying for their departed relatives (S.V., pt. 1, pp. 84-87).

A person is called *Paṭṭhujjāna* because various kinds of sins are committed by him. His view is that this body which is soul is not gone. He is so called because he is merged in various kinds of *ogha* (Ghosts) and because he is burnt by various kinds of heat. As he is attached to five kinds of sensual pleasures and as he is covered by five hindrances and as he does innumerable low deeds, so he is called *paṭṭhujjāna*. As he is separated by *Ariyas* from the *sīla* (precepts), *anta* (learning), etc., he is called *paṭṭhujjāna* (*Ibid.*, p. 50).

Rāja : He is so called because he pleases (*rajjoti*) his subjects.

Sīla : Foreigners say that *sīla* (precept) is the ornament of a *Yogi* and *sīla* is the object of decoration of a *Yogi*. The *Yogis* being adorned with *sīla* have acquired perfection in matters of decoration. One should observe *sīla* just as a *kiki* bird protects her egg. One should observe *sīla* properly just as one eyed man protects his only eye (S.V., pt. 1, pp. 55-56). *Buddhaghosa* says that all good deeds are based on *sīla* just as all the trees and vegetables grow on the earth (S.V., pt. 1, p. 56).

Caḍḍasita : *Paṇātipāta* means slaughter of life. *Paṇa* ordinarily means living beings but in reality it is vitality. The thought of killing vitality is what is called *paṇātipāta*. To kill a lower animal which is devoid of good qualities and a small being, brings small amount of sin and to kill a big creature full of virtue brings large amount of sin because a great amount of effort is needed to kill a big animal whereas to kill a small animal, little effort is required. To kill with great effort a creature having good qualities brings about much sin, whereas to kill with the same effort a creature having no quality or having quality not of great amount brings about

less sin. If the body and the quality possessed by it be of equal standard, there will be a difference in the acquisition of sin according to greatness or smallness of *āpāra* (sin).

One will be guilty of life-slaughter if the following conditions be fulfilled :—

- (1) there must be a living being ;
- (2) the killer must be conscious at the time of killing that he is going to kill a living being ;
- (3) he must have the intention to kill ;
- (4) then he must make the effort to kill ;
- (5) the effect of that effort must be in the death of the being living.

The six kinds of efforts are :—

Sahattika (killing by own hand), *śantika* (order to kill), *nimaggika* (throwing with the intention that living being should die), *vijjānaya* (killing by magic), *iddhānaya* (killing by miracle), *lāṅkāṭa* (killing by instruction written on removable tablets), etc. (*Ibid.*, pt. 1, p. 70).

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* contains some more interesting historical materials. It speaks of the origin of the Śākya which is traced back to King Okhaka (i.e., Okhaka). King Okhaka had five queens. By the chief queen, he had four sons and five daughters. After the death of the chief queen, the king married another young lady who extorted from him the promise to place her son upon the throne. The king thereupon repudiated his sons to leave the kingdom. The princes accordingly left the kingdom accompanied by their sisters and going to a forest near the Himadrya, began to search for a site for building up a city. In course of their search, they met the sage Kapila who said that they should build a town in the place where he (the sage) lived. The princes built the town and named it Kapilavastu (Kapilavastu). In course of time the four brothers married the four sisters, excepting the eldest one and they unan-

to be known as the Sākya (pt. I, pp. 253-254). The only grain of fact hidden in this fanciful story of the origin of the Sākya seems to be that there was a tradition which traced their descent from King Okkaka or Ikkaka. Buddhaghosa in his great commentaries, though a very reliable guide as regards exposition and exegesis and the unravelling of metaphysical tangles, becomes quite the reverse when any point of history or tradition comes up. Here he accepts the wildest theories and takes as gospel, truth even the most improbable stories. Sister-marrriage was not in vogue in ancient India even in the earliest times of which we have any record, as the story of Yama and Yamī in the *Rigveda* amply demonstrates. It was a revolting idea to the Indians from the time of the *Rigveda* downwards. Yet we see that Buddhaghosa in the case of the Idochakka and again here in that of the Sākya, tries to explain the origin by sister-marriage. Perhaps Buddhaghosa was intiated by the idea of purity of birth by a union between brothers and sisters as in the case of the Pharaohs of Egypt. The great Ceylonese chronicler, the Mahāvamsa, also traces the origin of the Sākya to the same King Okkaka and goes further back to Mahāsammata of the same dynasty.

When the Buddha was at Kramastī, he delivered the Jāliya Sutta at the Ghositāśrama before a large gathering of people including a number of saṅghis among whom there were Kakkata, Pavāriya, and Ghosaka who built three monasteries for the Buddha. Ghosaka built the Ghositāśrama, Kakkata built the Kakkataśrama, and Pavāriya built Pavāriya-anibayama (S.F., pt. I, pp. 317-319).

On one occasion the whole of Rājagṛaha was illumined and decorated and was full of festivities and enjoyments. Ajātasattu with his ministers went to the terrace and saw the festivities going on in the city. The moon-lit night was really very pleasing; and the thought arose within him of approaching a Samana or Brāhmana who could

bring solace to his tortured mind (*Ibid.*, pt. I, pp. 140-141). Hearing of the great distress of the Buddha from Jivaka, the greatest physician of the day, Ajātasattu came to the ambovana where the Enlightened One was staying much afraid though he was of the Master for his (Ajātasattu's) many mischievous deeds against the latter (*Ibid.*, pt. I, 151-152). Ajātasattu asked the Blessed One whether he could show him the effect of healing the life of a Samasa. The Buddha did so by delivering to the repentant king a discourse on various virtues of the life of a samasa or wretch as narrated in the Sāmasābhāsa Suttanta of the Mṛg'us Nikāya (*Ibid.*, I, pp. 158 foll.). Buddhaghosa says that according to Gāndhī things happen exactly as they are to happen (*Ibid.*, pp. 184-186).

In the Samasābhāsa Suttanta Buddhaghosa has conjured up a myth in order to explain the conduct of the parricidal prince Ajātasattu. He avers that Ajātasattu was even before his birth an enemy of King Bimbisāra. The circumstances that preceded Ajātasattu's birth and augured the impending evil, as recorded in the Samasābhāsa Suttanta, are appealing. When the would-be parricide was in his mother's womb, the queen, it is said, felt a craving for sipping blood from the right arm of the king. She, however, dared not speak out her inhuman desire. Worried by this, she looked pale and emaciated. The king asked her the cause of her getting weak. At last she spoke out and the king then sent for his surgeon who drew blood out of his right arm for the queen. The blood was diluted with water and the queen was asked to drink up the lethal potion. The soothsayers, however, warned that the child would be an enemy to the king and would kill him in consequence of the queen's drinking the king's blood. The queen, horrified at the prospect, tried to effect intermarriage but she was prevented by the king who urged that a sinful act would be abhorred by the people of Jambudīpa, and that voluntary abstention was against all national traditions of India.

The queen, it is said, thought of destroying the child at the time of delivery. But the attendants took away the child as soon as it came out of the mother's womb. When the child had grown up, he was presented before the queen whose maternal affection towards the lad put the upper hand and she could no longer think of killing him. In due course the king made him his viceregent (pt. 7, p. 184). Ajātasattu took advantage of this and kept his father confined in a room which was very hot and full of smoke. None else was allowed to enter into that room except Ajātasattu's mother who used to take some food for the unfortunate king, but she was afterwards prevented from doing what even. In spite of the prohibitive injunction, she used to bring food for Dimbhātra concealing it in several parts of her body: but she was one day found out and was ordered not to enter the room with any kind of food. Therefore she used to enter the king's apartment with her body besmeared with a mixture of honey, butter, ghee, and oil. Dimbhātra got some sustenance by licking her body. This too was detected by the ever-vigilant Ajātasattu and she was forbidden to enter into the room and asked to see the king from outside. The queen now reminded Dimbhātra that it was she who had requested him to kill Ajātasattu while in the womb. She further told him that it was the last occasion on which she had been permitted to meet him and she begged his pardon and took leave (S.V., pt. 1, pp. 135-136). Dimbhātra was now prevented from taking any food but he was still alive and the womenfolk inform us that the inhuman practices of Ajātasattu increased in their barbarity. Dimbhātra, it is said, was meditating on the fruitless of the path and was walking up and down and his appearance became very bright. Ajātasattu was informed of this and he ordered that his walking up and down must be stopped and ordered his barber to go and cut the feet of his father and to put salt and oil thereupon and then

to heat them on the fire of Khadira charcoal. The barber went to Bimbisāra who thought that his son had come to realise his folly and become kind to him. The barber when asked by the king about his mission, intimated to him the order of King Ajātasattu. The barber carried out the ghastly operations required by the royal order. Bimbisāra inhaled his last with the words, "Mardha and Ehasana". After death Bimbisāra was taken to the Cātummahārājika heaven as an attendant of Yama-deva named Jāyamañjari (ibid., I, p. 197).

On the day Bimbisāra died, a son was born to Ajātasattu. Both the reports, one conveying the news of the death of his father, and the other, that of the birth of his child were received by his ministers at the same time. The ministers first of all handed over the letter conveying the news of the birth of his child to King Ajātasattu. On receipt of the letter the king's mind was filled with filial affection and at that moment all the virtues of his father rose up before his mind's eye and he realised that similar filial affection arose in his father's mind when the latter received the news of his (Ajātasattu's) birth. Ajātasattu at once ordered the release of his father but it was too late. On hearing of his father's death, his mind went to his mother and asked her if his father had any affection for him. The mother replied, "When a boil appeared on your finger, you were crying and none could pacify you and you were taken to your father when he was administering justice at the royal court. Your father out of affection put your finger with the boil into his mouth and the boil was burst open. Out of filial affection he swallowed up the blood and pus instead of throwing them away." Ajātasattu heard this and shed hot tears. The dead body of his father was burnt. Shortly afterwards Devadatta went to Ajātasattu and urged him to order his men to go and kill the Mardhava. Devadatta sent Ajātasattu's men to kill the Mardha and himself took several steps to bring

about his death. He himself went to the top of the Gijjhakūta mountain and hurled at the Buddha a big stone, then he set the mad elephant Nalagiri against the Enlightened One but all his attempts were foiled. All his gain and fame were lost, and he became very miserable (*ibid.*, pt. I, pp. 139-139).

A conversation once took place between Brahmadatta and Suppiya, a paribbājaka. Suppiya said that the Buddha was a proponent of non-action, annihilation, and self-mortification. He further said that the Buddha was of low birth and he did not possess any super-human knowledge. Brahmadatta, on the other hand, was of opinion that he should not follow his teacher in performing evil deed. He said that if his teacher worked with fire, he did not believe him to do so; if his teacher played with a black snake, it was not intended that he should also do like that. He further said, "All beings enjoy the fruits of their karma. Karma is their own, father is not responsible for his son's deeds and son is not responsible for his father's deeds. So also mother, brother, sister, pupil, and others are not responsible for one another's action. These jewels (Tiratapa) namely, the Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha are abused by me. To rebuke sat sriya (saint) is a great sin." Brahmadatta spoke highly of the Master thus: "The Buddha is the Blessed One, an arhat (saint), supremely wise, etc." He also spoke highly of the Dhamma and the Saṅgha. Thus Suppiya and his pupil Brahmadatta were holding contrary views. In the evening all of them arrived in the garden of the king named Anubāṭṭhika. In that garden the king had a beautiful garden-house. The Buddha took his residence at that house for one night. Suppiya also took shelter in the garden. At night bhikkhus were seated surrounding the Buddha calmly and without the least noise. In the first watch of the night the bhikkhus sat in the maṅgalamūla (mitting-hall) of the house. The Buddha went to the spot and asked them about the topic of their discussion.

The bhikkhus told him that they were discussing the contrary views of Sappiya and Brahmadatta and the endless virtues of the Buddha. The monks then solved their topics of discussion by the long discourse known as the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (S.V., pt. I, pp. 20-41).

The *Brahmajāla* sutta furnishes us with an account which embodies the tradition regarding the recall of the *Dīgha Nikāya* in the First Council.

One week after the parinibbāna of the Buddha at the galavāna of the Mallas near Kāśyāpā, on the full-moon day in the month of Vaisākha, a monk named Subhadda who took ordination in old age spoke thus, "Friend, you need not lament, you need not grieve. We are free from the Mahāsasana who need to trouble us by asking us to perform this or that act." Hearing this Mahāsasana thought that in order to save the monks from such people and to save the saḍḍhamma from destruction, it was necessary to hold a council. He addressed the assembly of monks to rehearse the Dhamma and Vinaya. On the 21st day after the Buddha's parinibbāna, five hundred monks who were all Brahmins and possessed of anniyāna knowledge were selected.

The people worshipped the dead body of the Buddha with incense, garland, etc., for a week. It was placed on a funeral pyre but there was no fire for a week and in the third week since his death, his bones, etc., were worshipped in the Maba-hall and the relics were divided on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Jajjha. At the time of the distribution of relics many bhikkhus were assembled among whom five hundred were selected. The five hundred bhikkhus were given time for 40 days to remove all their hindrances in order to enable them to take part in the proposed rehearsal. Mahāsasana with the five hundred bhikkhus went to Kūjagaha. Other Mahāthetas with their own retinue went to different places. At this time a Mahāthera named Purāṇa with 700 bhikkhus con-

solved the people of Kusinara. Ananda with five hundred bhikkhus returned to Jetavana at Sāvathī. The people at Sāvathī seeing Ananda coming there thought that the Buddha would be in their midst; but being disappointed in this and learning the news of the Master's parinibbāna they began to cry. Ananda worshipped the Gandhakūṭi where the Buddha used to dwell, opened its door and cleaned it. While cleaning the Gandhakūṭi, he cried saying, "The Blessed One, this is the time of your taking bath, preaching, instructing the bhikkhus, this is the time of your lying down, sleeping, washing your mouth, and so on." He went to Subhā's house: the stūpa where he preached Subhāntarā of the Ugha Nikāya. After leaving the bhikkhus at Jetavana, he went to Rājagaha to take part in the proposed rehearsal. Other bhikkhus who were selected to take part in the rehearsal also came to Rājagaha. All the selected bhikkhus observed uposatha on the full-moon day of the month of Āṣāḍha and spent the rainy season. The bhikkhus approached Ajātasattu and requested him to repair eighteen mahāvihāras of Rājagaha. The King had them repaired. He also built a beautiful and well-decorated parada near the Veḅhāra mountain at the foot of the Sattapanni cave, for them. This parada was like that built by Visakamma in heaven. Five hundred seats were prepared in this parada for five hundred bhikkhus. The seat of the President was on the south facing the north. In the middle there was a dharmasāla in which Ananda and Upāli took their seats and preached Dhamma and Vinaya. Then Dhamma and Vinaya were repeated simultaneously by the five hundred bhikkhus. The question arose as to the advisability of Ananda to take part. He was not an Arhat. Hearing this Ananda became ashamed and after meditation he acquired sainthood at night. All the theros were present while Ananda's soul was vacant. Some said that Ananda came to the spot after coming through the sky and some were of opinion that he came through the earth. Mahā-

kaṣapa declared the attainment of Arhatship by Ananda by reciting "Sattva, Sattva". Mahākāśapa asked whether Dhamma was to be rehearsed first or the Vinaya. The opinion of the assembly was that Vinaya should be rehearsed first as the existence of the Buddhaśāstra depended on Vinaya. The question arose as to who would answer the questions of Vinaya. It was decided that Upālī would be the first person to answer such questions. Mahākāśapa taking the consent of the assembly asked him where the first parājikā rule was enacted. The reply was that at Vaiśālī it was enacted concerning Sāhilyā Kāśhapūtrā on the subject of maithuna-dhamma (sexual intercourse). All the questions were put to Upālī who answered them and all the bhikkhus repeated and remembered them. The question arose whether Ananda was competent to answer the questions of Vinaya. In the opinion of the assembly Ananda was competent, but Upālī was selected because the Buddha gave him the first place among the Vinayadhara bhikkhus. Ananda was selected by the assembly to answer the questions on Dhamma. The Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka was taken up first for rehearsal. The Bahurājāsutta was first rehearsed by Ananda and the assembly recited it in chorus. All the suttas of the five Nikāyas were thus rehearsed one after another (S.V., pt. 1, pp. 2-25).

The Samasāgalyaṅgīna further records some interesting information. Ujūṇā is the name of a town. Kannakachala is the name of a beautiful spot. Mṛgadāya is so called because it was given for the freedom of deer (S.V., pt. II, p. 349). The Blessed One who was dwelling in a great monastery at Gijjhakūṭa, listening to the conversation held between the paribbājaka Nigrodha and the disciple Saṅghāra, went through the sky and came to them and answered the questions put to by Nigrodha (Ibid., p. 352). The kingdom of Gandhāra built by the sage Dhruvāra is a trading centre (p. 353). Sāhvalīka is the name of a village. It is called

Sālavatīka because it is surrounded on all sides by the sala trees appearing like a fence (p. 395). Mānandūtā is the name of a village (p. 399). Ambavana is a thicket of mango-trees. It is a beautiful spot having sands scattered on the ground like silver leaves and on the top having thick branches and leaves of the mango-trees. Here the Gātharī One lived finding delight in solitude (p. 399). In the interior of Jetavana there are four big houses, e.g., Kārikkiṭṭi, Kamaṇḍakūḍi, Candakūḍi, and Sālavāghara. Sālavāghara was built by King Pasenadi and the rest by Anāthapindika (p. 407). There is a reference to trees, e.g., sala, pīṭha, udūḍhara or fig tree, kaṇḍu, and saṅgāṭhā (p. 416). Anandapa is great and it is 10,000 yojanas in extent. There is also Mājjhimadesa and in the east there is Kāṣṭhāgala country (p. 426). There is a reference to seven gems, e.g., cakka (wheel), haṭṭhi (elephant), aṇḍa (horse), māṇi (jewel), itṭhi (coral), gahapati or householder, paṇḍyaka or leader (p. 444). Cātummahārājika heaven contains 90,000,000 gods who obtain celestial happiness (p. 472). The Abbassara gods are those whose bodies shed lustre (p. 510) and whose lease of life is 8 kalpas (p. 511). Gijjhakūḍa is so called because it has a pinnacle like a vulture and vultures dwell in it (p. 516). Sāruḍḍa cetiya has been described here as a viḥāra (p. 524). Sāḍḍha and Vāṇḍakūṭa were endowed with great riches (p. 540). Nāḍika has been described as a village of relatives. Near the lake Nāḍika, there are two villages belonging to the sons of Ullāpiti-Mahāpīḍi (p. 543). Māra engages creatures to do mischief to others and kill them (p. 556). There are lakes, e.g., Khurasarā, Khaggasārā, Kāḍassara, Khaggasārā, etc. (p. 560). There is a reference to weavers in Baṇḍee who produce soft and beautiful garments (p. 563). Buddhaghosa understands āṅkara-mahāyasa by the flesh of a grown-up hog neither too young nor too old. It is soft and glossy (p. 568). Buddhaghosa refers to four kinds of bed, e.g., the bed of one who is merged in sensual

pleasures, the bed of the departed spirit, the bed of a lion, and the bed of the Tuṭhāgata (p. 674). There is a mention of the three piṭakas, five nikāyas, nine nīpāya, and 84,000 dharmacakkhandhas (p. 691). Buddhaghosa interprets "aṭṭha Maṅḍa-pāramakkhiṇā" in the sense that the eight Maṅḍarāja were middle-aged and were endowed with strength (p. 696). Maṅḍabandhana is a oedya of the Maṅḍa and is a sālā (cave-dell hut) which gives satisfaction and blessings to the Maṅḍa chief (p. 698). Kājakāla is 21 yojanas in extent from Kāśāpāra (p. 699). Jambudīpa is 10,000 yojanas in extent, Ayuragovāra is 7,000 yojanas in extent, and Uttaramūra is 3,000 yojanas in extent (p. 623). Jotipāka is so called on account of his metre and earing others up (p. 660). The Śāliyas and the Kāliyas cultivated lands well because they confined the river Mahini by a bund. This river flows between the territories of the Śāliyas and the Kāliyas (p. 672).

The *Papañcāsūdanī* is an extensive commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya written by Buddhaghosa at the request of a

12. *Papañcāsūdanī*—the commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya.

thera named Buddhacitta in the style and in less of the Sumānigāhivāsiṇi. In the commentary on

the first ten suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya, Buddhaghosa discusses the following topics: the four saṅgahikāras, *śābhojjhāna*, *Dharmacakkha*, the origin of all the dhammas, Nibbāna, earth, Takkapāya, Abhisambuddhi, destruction of sin, false belief, andha, faith, four paṅgalas, obstacles in the path leading to Nibbāna, contact, old age, death, suffering, right recollection, mindfulness, pleasing sensation, and lastly renunciation.¹

The *Papañcāsūdanī* furnishes us with some

¹ This commentary by Buddhaghosa has been edited for the P.T.S. London, by J. E. Woods and D. Kosambi.

² There is a printed Burmes edition of this work published by the F. C. Myingō Pilāha Press, Rangoon (J.E.L.A.S., 1894), and also an excellent Sanskrit edition of this commentary printed and published in three volumes.

interesting historical and geographical details. There was a janapada named Kuru and the kings of that province need to be called Kurus (p. 225), of whose origin a fanciful story is told in the commentary. King Mahāsaṁbhūta was a cakravartī-rājā, a title which he had acquired for his having had a cakravartus with the help of which he could go to any place he liked. He conquered Pūthavidyā, Aṅgagryha, Uttarakuru besides the devāloka. While returning from Uttarakuru, a large number of the inhabitants of that country followed Mahā-māndhātā to Jambhūdīpa and the place in Jambhūdīpa where they settled became known as Kūruvaṣṭham including provinces, villages, towns, etc. It is in this sense that the word Kurusu (i.e., among the Kurus) occurs in the Pāli-Buddhist literature (pp. 226-228).

There is also another fanciful explanation of the origin of the name of Sāvasthī. Sāvasthī was a place where one could get, it is asserted, whatever he wanted; hence it is called Sāvasthī (Sahasasthī). In answer to a question by some merchants as to what the place contained, it was told "sabham aṭṭhī" (there is everything). Hence it is called Sāvasthī (vol. I, p. 59). The commentary refers incidentally to Gaṅgā and Yamunā (p. 12), to Sāvasthī, Jetavana, and Giribhaja which is so called because it stands like a row-pear surrounded by a mountain (p. 151). It also refers to four main rivers of India besides Gaṅgā and Yamunā, e.g., Hāhikā, Sindhavikā, Barusati, and Kāhuvati (p. 178), and to a mountain named Uṭṭala. It relates the activities of Gautama Buddha among the Kurus (p. 225), at the Bodhi tree, and at Lambinivana (p. 11). It is pointed out that the abode of Tāvasthīya jeta is beautiful; that the four great kings were the employers of Sakka, king of gods; that Vajrapāṇa palace is one thousand yojanas in extent and that the Sudhārama or the mote-hall of the gods is 500 yojanas in length and the chariot of the Vajrapāṇa heaven is 150 yojanas in extent (p. 226). In this book we find

that there are two kinds of Buddha's instructions; *Sammāśāsana* and *Paramaṭṭhadāna*. The *Paramaṭṭhadāna* includes *āriśa* (impersonality), *dukkha* (suffering), *anatta* (impersonality), *khanda* (constituents), *dhātu* (elements), *āyatana* (spheres), and *saṭṭapaṭṭhana* (right recollection) (p. 137). A most important information is found in this book of *Dhammabūdhā* and *Anāthubhāṣā*, i.e., the language of the Tamils and the Andhras who may now roughly be said to be represented by the *Diḷog* (p. 138). Trees a crop is in practice; there were trees, it is said, which were worthy of worship in villages and countries (p. 114). Cultivation and cow-keeping are the main occupations of a household and they are for his good (p. 111). Five kinds of medicines are mentioned, e.g., *sappi* (clarified butter, ghee), *suvarūḷa* (fruit), *vela* (oil), *madhu* (honey), and *phāṣita* (molasses) (p. 104). In this text, *Māra* is called *Pajjapā* because he lurks over a large assembly (p. 33). There are four kinds of paddy (earth):—earth with signs, earth with seed, earth with some object, and earth with selection (p. 25).

The *Paṭṭhacūḍā* (Vol. II) further narrates that the *Himavanta* (*Himalayas*) is 3,000 *yojana*s in width (p. 4). *Vesālī* is so called because it expanded itself (p. 119). *Uḷḷāyuta* is 80,000 *yojana*s in distance from *Kāpiḷavasthā* (p. 152). *Sālikā* has been referred to as a lake (p. 236). *Chositarāma* is so called because the stupa or monastery was built by the bander, named *Chosita* (p. 310). *Jambullīpā* is mentioned here as a forest and *Pubba-Vāḷā*, an island (p. 423).

The *Sūvatthupakkāsi* is a commentary on the *Saṅgīta* *Nikāya* written by *Buddhaghosa* at the request of a then named *Jatipā*.

[3] *Sūvatthupakkāsi* is a commentary on the *Saṅgīta* *Nikāya*.

It has been published in two volumes by the P.T.S. under the able editorship of P. I. Woodward. The following are the manuscripts and printed editions available:

- (1) Palm-leaf manuscript in Sinhalese character at the Adyar Oriental Library, Madras.
- (2) Incomplete Sinhalese printed edition by Vajirasara and Naninda Thero, Colombo, 1900-1911.
- (3) Simon Hewavitarne Bequest edition of 1924, Vol. 1, revised and edited by W. P. Mahābhara.
- (4) A beautifully written palm-leaf manuscript in Sinhalese character.

In this commentary the word 'guru' is always used in this world (loka) as referring to the Buddha. The Blessed One is described as the possessor of ten potentialities (*dasā bahubbhāva*) (Vol. I, p. 13). The commentator speaks of a land where the cows graze near the Ganges and the Yamuna (*Ibid.*, p. 13). Śākyā and Māgadhā are described as having plenty of food (p. 16). There is a reference to the four Buddhas (*cattāro Buddhā*): *sabbasāra* Buddha (all knowing), *pacceka* Buddha (solitary), *cattasāra* Buddhas (master of four truths), and *suta* Buddhas (Buddhas who have heard) (*Ibid.*, p. 25).

Baddhamma is explained in this commentary as the term which includes the five senses, ten senses, and four objects of recollection or mindfulness (p. 55). The *Mahāvihāra* is described here as a big natural forest extending up to the Himalayas (p. 87). *Pāñcavedhā* is meant here as the five Vedas including the *Bhāṣā* (p. 81). By *vijñānācchitta* the commentator means a mind which is free from the *Kāma-sāhāsa* (p. 104). *Nāthaputta* is explained here as *Nāthasapputta* or the son of *Nāthā* (p. 120). *Māḍikā* is mentioned as the daughter of a poor goddam-maker (p. 120). According to the commentator, *Kissapunnā* was *kissā* or *kāsa* because she had not got much flesh (p. 130). *Loka* refers to the *khāṇḍhaloka* (the world of constituents), *dhātā* *loka* (the world of elements), *dyānna* *loka* (the world of abode), *sampattibhavedhā* (the world

of prosperity), and vipatāḍḍhuvālokā (the world of adversity) (p. 201).

There is a reference to the Maṇḍākinipokkharant which is 60,000 in extent (p. 281) and to the Kāḍḍā mountain inhabited by a celestial being named Nāgādanta (p. 282). Guyā is mentioned here as a village (p. 302). Sthānaka is explained as great spirit (Vol. II, 48). Gāṅgā and Yamunā are mentioned as two great rivers (p. 54). Dakkhinagiri is a janapada on the southern side of the hill encircling Rājagaha (p. 176). There is a reference to cow-killer who kills cows and severs his flesh from the bone (p. 218).

The *Maṇḍābhupūraṇī*¹ is a commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* written by

14) *Maṇḍābhupūraṇī* - the commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.

Buddhaghosa at the request of a throne named Bhaddanta.²

The *Maṇḍābhupūraṇī* deals with the following topics: sloth and sleep, haughtiness, desire for sensual pleasures, friendliness, mental emancipation, suffering, right resolution, functions of the mind, bojjhaṅga (supreme knowledge), thirty-two signs of a great man, paṅṅala (human types), Tathāgata, realisation of the four paṅṅasambhedaṅga or analytical knowledge, accounts of *Āṅṅskandaṅga*, *Sāriputta* and *Moggallāna*, *Mahākaccapa*, *Anurādha*, *Bhaddiya*, *Piṅḍalabhāra*, *Jvāḍa*, *Puṅḅa-Mantāniputta*, *Mahākaccapa*, *Uḍḍa-Maha-Pantāka*, *Sabbhūti*, *Bovata*, *Kuṅḅāseṇanta*, *Soma Kōḍivisa*, *Soma Kutānṅga*, *Kvāḍi*, *Vakkāḍi*, *Rādula-Ḍaṭṭhapāla*, *Kaṅḅadhāra*, *Vāḍḍha*, *Uḍḍanta*, *Paḅha*, *Piḅḅavaccha*, *Rāḍiya-Nāraṅḅiya*, *Kuṅḅā*, *Kaccapa*, *Mahākōḍhita*, *Ananda*, *Uḍḍanta*, *Kaccapa*, *Rāḍāyī*, *Bakkula*, *Sobhita*, *Uḍḍā*, *Nanda*, *Nandaka*, *Maḅḅappina*, *Sōḅḅa*, *Rāḍha*, *Mogharaḅa*, *Maha-*

¹ There is a list of the *Maṇḍābhupūraṇī* written by a pupil of Sumedha. There was attached to the reign of Buddhamaḅha. This work is also known as the *Maṇḍābhupūraṇī*.

² Dr. Max Müller has edited the first volume of this work for the P.P.S., London. The complete work has been printed and published in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam.

paṇḍitaśāstrinā, Kāśyapā, Uppalavāsukā, Paṭācārā, Dharmadinnā, Nandā, Soma, Sakula, Bhaddā-Kundalakeśā, Bhaddā-Kāpīśvī, Bhaddā-Kāśā, Kasiyāpā, Sīgāhakaṃṭhī. Tapassā-Bhaddikā, Suddhā-Cāhāpatī, Citta-Hāhāpatī, Hattakā, Mahā-nāma Sakkā, Uggā-Cāhāpatī, Sāra, Jivkā-Kāmarā-bhūvā, Nakulapātī, Gāhāpatī, Sujjā Sāmaṃdhī, Viāhā Vīgāramā, Khujjāpānā-Nāma, Uggā-Nāmaṃṭhī, Sujjāpā Kāpīyāpātī, Sujjāpā, Kāpīyāpā. Nakulapātī Cāhāpatī, Kāpīyāpātī.

This commentary contains an interesting account of the *thetas* and *thetas*. As to the account of the *thetas* contained in this commentary, the readers are referred to my work, "Women in Buddhist Literature", Chap. VIII. An account of some of the prominent *thetas* is given below.

Anurādha was the foremost among those who had the divine eye. At the time of the Buddha's visit to Kāpīlavastu, the Sakyan princes, Anurādha, brother of Mahānāma, Bhaddiya, Ananda, Bhoga, Kimbila, and Devadatta followed by the barber Upālī renounced the worldly life with the intention of becoming monks. They asked admission into the congregation and the Master ordained them (*Alankāraśāstrinā*, P.T.S., Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 181-192).

Pindola-Bharadvāja was also one of the eminent of the bhikkhus. He was born in a brahmin family at Rājagaha. He was versed in the three Vedas. He was called Pindola, for wherever he went he asked for food. He once heard the Master preaching the Dharma at Rājagaha. Full of faith he asked for admission into the Order. The Blessed One ordained him, as he soon attained arhatship (*ibid.*, pp. 193-195).

Pucchā-Māraṇipūtā was the wife of a brahmin named Māraṇā. He was born in a brahmin family

1. See "Women Leaders of the Buddhist Movement", published in the J.B.L.S., 1961; it is an English translation of some portions of the *Māraṇāpūtā*.

at Potalavallhanagara which was not far off the city of Kapilavasthu. He was the nephew of the then Aśhākrandastha, one of the two bhikkhus who were converted by the Master at Inpatana where he first set rolling the wheel of law. It was through Aśhākrandastha that Purna was inspired with faith in the Buddha. He received ordination and in due course attained arahatship. He had five hundred disciples who also obtained arahatship under his guidance. He was also declared by the Lord as one of the foremost of the bhikkhus (*Ibid.*, pp. 194-204).

Mahākaccāna was the foremost among those who could fully explain the brief utterances of the Taṭhāgata. He was born as the son of a chieftain at Ujjeni. At the request of the King Candapajjota, Mahākaccāna went to the place where the Buddha was in order to bring the Blessed One to Ujjeni. Mahākaccāna heard the Master preaching the Dhamma. At the end of the discourse he was arahatship. He informed the Buddha of king's desire. The Blessed One did not grant his request, but bade him go back to Ujjeni and assured him that the king would be glad to see him alone. The king was highly pleased with Mahākaccāna for his attainments (*Ibid.*, pp. 204-209).

Kuśāla was the foremost among those who were dwellers in a forest. He was the younger brother of Sāriputta. He received ordination from the bhikkhus and performed the duties of a monk in the forest. He attained arahatship in time (*Ibid.*, pp. 223-230).

Asura-Kaṇḍiḍāna was the foremost among those who put forth great efforts (saddhaseviriyaṃ). He was born in a Nettikula. He was brought up in great luxury. Once he heard the Master preaching the doctrine. He took permission from his parents and received ordination. He perceived that the highest end could not be attained in luxury. So he put forth great efforts and suffered every sort of mortifications. But he could not attain arahatship.

He desired to return to the worldly life and perform meritorious acts. The Lord came to know the others' thought, and exhorted him. The three in due course won arahantship (*ibid.*, pp. 231-237).

Rāhula-Ratthapāla. Rāhula was the younger of the Sīmaserees, and Ratthapāla of the youths who left the world in search of 'anatta'. Rāhula was the son of the Buddha and Ratthapāla was born in a brahmi family of the kingdom of Kuru. At the time of the Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu Rāhula received ordination from the Buddha. In course of time he attained arahantship.

Once the Lord visited the Thullakapūthila-nigama (in the Kurupāṇḍya)—the place of Ratthapāla's birth. Ratthapāla took permission from his parents and received ordination from the Master and went with the Buddha to Sāvasthi. He attained arahantship. In order to see his parents he once went to Thullakapūthila-nigama and administered them. Then he came back to the place where the Buddha was (*ibid.*, pp. 261-266).

Vāṅgīsa was born in a brāhminya family at Sāvasthi. He was versed in the three Vedas. He learnt the 'śikṣavāga mantana' by which he could tell the place of birth of deceased persons. He travelled into different places and gained his living by this sippa. He once met Kāśyapa and had conversation with him. The result was that Vāṅgīsa received ordination. He soon attained arahantship. Whenever he visited the Buddha he visited him with a hymn of praise. Accordingly he was reckoned as the foremost of the Paṇḍita-vantīnari of those possessed of intelligence or ready wit (*ibid.*, pp. 266-270).

Kinnara Kāṅkasa was born at Rājagaha. His mother, when she was pregnant, received ordination and became a sāmaṇerī. As the rearing up a child was not consistent with the life of a sāmaṇerī, the child was reared up by Paṇnadi, King of Kāśi. When he grew up he received ordination, eventually won arahantship, and shined among the

preachers. Accordingly he was reckoned as the foremost of the 'cittakāṭhikānaṃ' or a wise speaker, an orator or a preacher (*Ibid.*, pp. 283-285).

Mahākāṣṭhī was the foremost among those who possessed analytical knowledge. He was born in a brahmin family at Sāvattihī. He learned the three Vedas. He once heard the Master preaching the Dharma. Full of faith he received ordination and attained arahantship through analytical knowledge (*Ibid.*, pp. 285-286).

Ānanda was the foremost among those who were truly learned in the doctrine. He with Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, Bhagu, Kimbila, and Dharmadatta followed by Upāli received ordination from the Master. He was the personal attendant of the Buddha, and attained arahantship just before the work of the First Buddhist Council began (*Ibid.*, pp. 286-288).

Uvvela Kassapa was the foremost of those who had great followings. He with his two brothers became owners of the Jāṭila sect. All the three had a good number of followers. The Lord first converted the oldest brother, Uvvela Kassapa, by showing him his supernatural powers. The next two brothers naturally followed suit (*Ibid.*, pp. 287-290).

Upāli was the foremost of those who knew the Vinaya rules. He was a barber. The Sakyan prince Anuruddha, Ānanda, and others with their attendant Upāli, the barber, visited the Blessed One with the intention of becoming monks. They asked for admission into the Order, and in order to curb their pride, they requested that the barber should be first ordained. Their request was granted (*Ibid.*, pp. 311-313).

Commentaries on the Khuddaka Nikāya — the Khuddakapāṭha 1. m. 100-107

Buddhaghosa wrote commentaries on three books of the Khuddaka Nikāya, e.g., (1) Khuddakapāṭha, (2) Dharmacūpa, and (3) Sutta Nipāta.

Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā is known as the *Paramatthajātikā*.¹

Like other commentaries of Buddhaghosa, the *Paramatthajātikā*, too, contains a good deal of interesting information. To start with, there is a very interesting but mythical origin of the Lincharia which is summarised as follows:—

"There was an embryo in the womb of the chief queen of Benares. Being aware of it, she informed the king who performed the rites and ceremonies for the protection of it. With the embryo thus perfectly protected, the queen entered the delivery chamber when it was fully mature. With ladies of great religious merit, the delivery took place at the dawn of day. A lump of flesh of the colour of lac and of burnished and jewelled flowers came out of her womb. Then the other queens thought that to tell the king that the chief queen was delivered of a mere lump of flesh while a son, resplendent like gold, was expected, would bring the displeasure of the king upon them all: therefore, they, out of fear of exciting displeasure of the king, put that lump of flesh into a casket, and after shutting it up, put the royal seal upon it, and put it on the flowing waters of the Ganges. As soon as it was abandoned, a god wishing to provide for its safety, wrote with a piece of good cinnamon on a slip of gold the words, 'the child of the chief queen of the King of Benares' and tied it to the casket. Then he placed it on the flowing current of the Ganges at a place where there was no danger from aquatic monsters. At that time an ascetic was travelling along the shore of the Ganges close by a settlement of cowherds. When he came down to the Ganges in the morning and saw a vessel coming on, he caught hold of it, thinking that it

¹ There is a valuable edition of the Commentary on the *Khuddakapāṭha* by Welipitiya Dhammabala Thero and revised by Mahāyāgoda Siri Nānāsum Thero, Colombo, 1932.

It includes the commentaries on *Pāṭha*, *Sutta*, *Niyāta*, *Uthamāyāgoda*, and *Khuddakapāṭha*.

contained eggs (pāṇābhūta), but seeing the tablet with the word written thereon and also the seal and mark of the King of Benares, he opened it and saw that piece of flesh. Seeing it, he thus thought within himself: 'It may be an embryo and there is nothing stinking or putrid in it', and taking it to his hermitage, he placed it on a pure place. Then after half a month had passed, the lump broke up into two pieces of flesh; the ascetic nursed them with still greater care. After the lapse of another half month, each of the pieces of flesh developed two nipples for the hand and the two arms and legs. After half a month from that time, one of the pieces of flesh became a son resplendent like gold, and the other became a girl. The ascetic was filled with paternal affection for the babies, and milk came out of his thumb. From that time forward, he obtained milk from rice; the rice he ate himself and gave the babies the milk to drink. Whatever got into the stomachs of these two infants looked as if put into a vessel of precious transparent stone (rasa), so that they seem to have had no skin (nicchāvī); others said, 'The two (the skin and the thing in the stomach) are attached to each other (Itā-phavī) as if they were sewn up together, so that these infants owing to their being nicchāvī, i.e., having no skin, or on account of their being Itā-phavī, i.e., attached skin or same skin, came to be designated as Nicchāvīa. The ascetic having to nurse these two children had to enter the village in the early morning for alms and to return when the day was far advanced. The cowherds coming to know this conduct of his, told him, 'Reverend Sir, it is a great trouble for an ascetic to nurse and bring up children; kindly make over the children to us, we shall nurse them, do you please attend to your own business.' The ascetic consented gladly to their proposal. On the next day, the cowherds levelled the road, scattered flowers, incensed burnoose, and came to the hermitage with music. The ascetic banded

over the two children with these words: 'The children are possessed of great virtue and goodness, bring them up with great care and when they are grown up, marry them to each other: please the king and getting a piece of land, renounce and a city, and install the prince there'. 'All right, sir', promised they, and taking away the children, they brought them up. The children, when grown up, used to beat with fists and kicks the children of the cowherds whenever there was a quarrel in the midst of their sports. They cried and when asked by their parents, 'Why do you cry?' They said, 'These nurslings of the hermit, without father and mother, beat us very hard'. Then the parents of these other children would say, 'These children harass the others and trouble them, they are not to be kept, they must be abandoned' (tījjicabbā). Wherefore that country measuring three hundred yojanas is called Vajji. Then the cowherds, securing the good will and permission of the king, obtained that country, and measuring out a town there, they anointed the boy king. After giving marriage of the boy, who was then sixteen years of age, with the girl the king made it a rule: 'No bride is to be brought in from the outside, nor is any girl from here to be given away to any one'. The first time they had two children—a boy and a girl, and thus a couple of children was born to them for sixteen times. Then as these children were growing up, one couple after another, and there was no room in the city for their gardens, pleasure groves, residential houses and attendants, those walls were thrown up round the city at a distance of a quarter of a yojana from each other; as the city was thus again and again made larger and still larger (vāḍḍikāṇā), it came to be called Vesālī. This is the history of Vesālī" (Parasuttāntajātaka on the Khuddakapāṭha, P.T.S., pp. 158-160).

In the Khuddakapāṭha Commentary we read that at Sāvathī, there was a householder who was

rich and wealthy. He lived with in the Buddha. One day he felt the Buddha along with the bhikkhus-asāgha. Once King Pannadi being in need of money sent for the householder who replied that he was concealing the treasures and he would see the king with them afterwards (pp. 216-217).

While the Buddha was at Sāvathī, many bhikkhus of different places went to him to learn kammatthāna (objects of meditation). Buddha taught them kammatthāna suitable to their nature. Five hundred bhikkhus learnt kammatthāna from him and went to a forest by the side of the Hincliyasa to practise it. The devas deities of the place became frightened at seeing them there and tried to drive them out in various ways. The bhikkhus being troubled by them went to the Buddha to whom they related the story of their trouble. The Buddha said that they cherished no friendly feelings (metta) towards the deities and that was the cause of trouble. Accordingly the Buddha taught them mettāsāntana and asked them to practise it. Afterwards the deities became their friends (pp. 211 foll.).

The *Khuddakapāṭha Commentary*¹ furnishes us with many new and important materials concerning religious and political history of ancient India. It has references to the territories of Anāpāyindika at Jetavana (p. 23), Kapilavasthā (p. 23), 18 great monasteries in Rajagaha (p. 94), Sātepannī nava (p. 95), Vesālī (p. 161), Magadha, Gayāsina (p. 204), Gangā (p. 107), Kāmbhāsara (p. 153), Licchavi (p. 163), Upālī (p. 17), Māhābhārata (p. 93), Ānanda (p. 92), Mahāgāyātrā (p. 128), Viśākha, Dharmadhammā (p. 204), Mallikā (p. 129), etc.

In this commentary, the explanations are disproportionate to the short readings of the text. The style is heavy and laboured, and its digressions are in many places redundant. It seems, therefore,

¹ The *Khuddakapāṭha Commentary* has been edited for the P.T.S. by Palmer Smith from a collection by Mahā Hant.

highly doubtful if this work can really claim to have been written by Buddhaghosa.

The *Dhammapada-atthakathā*¹ is a voluminous work which explains the stanzas of the *Dhammapada* and contains a mass of illustrative tales of the nature of the *Jātakas*. It derives a considerable number of its stories from the four *Nikāyas*, the *Vinaya*, the *Udāna*, the works of Buddhaghosa, and the *Jātakas* Book. But it is more intimately related to the *Jātakas* Book, for over fifty stories of the *Dhammapada* Commentary are either derivatives of *Jātakas* stories or close parallels. In addition many other *Jātakas* stories are referred to and many *Jātakas* stanzas are quoted. So it is certain that the *Jātakas* Book is earlier than the *Dhammapada* Commentary.

The *Dhammapada-atthakathā* is a commentary on the stanzas of the *Dhammapada* which is an anthology of 427 sayings of the Buddha in verse. An analysis of each story in the *Dhammapada* Commentary shows that each story consists of eight subdivisions: (1) Citation of the stanza (*gāthā*) to which the story relates, (2) mention of the person or persons with reference to whom the story was told, (3) story proper, or, more strictly, story of the present (*Paccuppanna-vatthū*), closing with the utterance of the (4) stanza or stanzas, (5) word-for-word commentary or gloss on the stanza, (6) brief statement of the spiritual benefits which accrued to the hearer or hearers, (7) story of the past, or, more accurately, story of previous existence (*attha-vatthū*), and (8) identification of the personages of the story of the past with those of the story of the present. Sometimes the story of the past

¹ Prof. H. O. Narayan has edited the complete volume for the P.T.S.; Mr. E. W. Hartigame has translated it into English under the title of 'Buddhist Legends' in three parts (Harvard Oriental Series edited by Lamotte, Vols. 38, 39, and 39(1) 4; Desobelle has translated it into English in the *perological* *Journal*, Vol. II, Bangkok, 1913-1916.

provides the story of the present, and not infrequently more than one story of the past is given (Buddhist Legends, pt. I, pp. 28-29).

Dr. Harlingame in his Introduction to stories of Dhammapada Commentary (Buddhist Legends, pt. I, p. 28), has rightly said that the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā (as a matter of fact all other Pāli aṭṭhakathās) is in name and form a commentary. Not in point of fact it has become nothing more or less than a huge collection of legends and folk-tales. The exegesis of the text has become a matter of secondary importance altogether and is relegated to the background.

The Jātaka Book consists of 550 stories relating to previous births of the Buddha. Our present edition (Fausbøll's edition) is not an edition of the text but of the commentary.

Each Jātaka consists of the following subdivisions: a verse together with a commentary without which the verse will be unintelligible, a framework of story stating when and where and on what occasion the story is supposed to have been spoken by the Buddha: and finally the conclusion in which the characters of the story are identified with the Buddha and his contemporaries in a previous birth.

We have pointed out the characteristics of a Jātaka story and also of a Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā story and it is not unreasonable to say that in general character and structure of parts, the Jātaka Book and the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā do not differ.

Doubts have been raised whether the work can really be attributed to Buddhaghosa. The compiler, however, definitely ascribes the authorship to the celebrated commentator, and there is hardly any reason to doubt its authority. The scheme of the commentary is systematic and can easily be followed. Each story has been amplified by a good story, and at the end of each story interpretations of words have been given. The language is easily intelligible. The work as a whole is full of materials

which, however, should be properly and carefully read and utilised for the study of social, religious, political, and economic conditions of India in the 5th century A.D. Besides, there are in this work numerous tales, animal stories, e.g., the story of Pāṭṭeyyaka, legends of saints, e.g., Viākha, Pālūcīra, etc. Some stories of the Dharmapada are derived from the Vinaya Pitaka, e.g., Devadatta, Kocchirājīkumāra, Uṇṇāsa, etc.; some from Udāna, e.g., Mahākassapa, Sāṇḍavallī, Viākha, Soma Kōṭṭikappa, Suddarā, Nanda, Sappurusa, etc. Some of the Jātaka stories correspond to some of the stories of the Dharmapada Commentary, e.g., Devadattamaṇḍa, Kulavaka, Tejavatta, Sāḷḷaka, Balaḥa, Gaddha, Cullasāḷḷhana, āṇṇasoolya, Kemaṇḍa, Sāḷiya, Kasa, Ghata, etc. The Dharmapada Commentary, Therīgāthā Commentary, and the Ariyaratana Nikāya Commentary have some of the stories in common, e.g., Kaṇḍalakeṭṭi, Paṭṭakā, Nanda, Khauri, Dharmadāna, etc. Mr. Burlingame is able to point out that from the Sāmyukta are derived seventeen stories, fifteen of them almost word for word (Buddhist Legends, pt. I, pp. 45-46). Milinda Paṭha contains some of the stories mentioned in this work, e.g., Mallikuppajali, Sumana, Ekaśūkata brāhmana, Paṇḍurādā, Sīlaka, etc. (vide Buddhist Legends, pt. I, pp. 61-62). Parallels to the stories of this work are found in the Divyāvadāna and Tibetan Kāṇḍjuc (ibid., pp. 63-64). Buddhaghosa says in the prologue of the Dharmapada-aṭṭhakathā that he translated the Sinhalese commentaries into Pāli (ibid.) adding notes of his own at the request of the then named Kumāralācāra (Dharmapada Commentary, Vol. I, pp. 1 and 2). Buddhaghosa often mixes up fact and fable without exercising any discrimination whatever as we find in the story of King Paṇḍupa of Kōṇṭhī (Dharmapada-aṭṭhakathā, Vol. I, pt. III). The commentator also records the account of the descent of Vāṇavādā with Udayana as we find it in Bhāṇa's Pāṇḍavavādāta. Udayana had another wife

named Māgandhīyā, the daughter of a brahmin, in the Kuru kingdom (Udāyavastu, pp. 151 ff.) Anāthapiṇḍika built a vihāra known as the Satavarna Vihāra for the Buddha at the expense of 54 Kotis of Kubhāra (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. I, pp. 4-5). A girl of Anāthapiṇḍika's family went to the kingdom of Satavahna and there she offered alms to a bhikkhu. A great Uruv informed King Sālavahna of it and eventually the girl was made the chief queen of the monarch (*Ibid.*, Pāṇini edition, p. 313). Buddhaghosa refers to flying through the air on the back of a special bird made of wood and sufficient for the accommodation of three or four persons (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 131 ff.). In the Dhammapada Commentary, Buddhaghosa makes mention of a bird called Hatthilinga which is described as an animal possessing the strength of five elephants. It was in this habit of looking back on the track already trodden (Vol. I, pt. II). Buddhaghosa refers to the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon (Dhammapada Commentary, Vol. IV, p. 74) where, presumably his commentaries were written. Prof. Hardy points out (J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 741-794) that the story of the merchant Chosakka as related by Buddhaghosa in his Maṅgalavastu, this commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya, differs from the same story told in the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā. It should be borne in mind that Buddhaghosa was not the writer of an independent commentary on the canonical texts, but he was for the most part translating or compiling from various Sinhalese commentaries, sometimes from the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā, sometimes from the Mahāpaṇṇāsi, and sometimes from the Kuruvi-aṭṭhakathā. Buddhaghosa cannot, therefore, be held responsible for variations in the narratives which might have been due to the differences in the authorship of the great old commentaries which were the work of hundreds of joint scholars of a large number of Buddhist ages and scholars who had been working at the interpretation of the Master's sayings ever since they were uttered.

The *Dhammapada-atthakathā* abounds in references to kings, e.g., Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu, Pāsuadi; to Acclines, Nigānthas, Ajivakas, Jātilas, Mucchadittikas; to lakes, e.g., Anotattulala; to principal cities, e.g., Tūkkasā, Kapilavasthā, Kusināra, Kāśā, Pāṇasā, Mūryya, Māgadhā, Rājagaha, Śāvatthi, Vesālī; to mountains, e.g., the Himalaya, Sinerā, Gandhamādana, Sijjhakūṭa; to principal Buddhist women, e.g., Mahāpajāpati Gotamā, Khemā, Yasodharā, Sumāṇḍevī, Bhāradvājī, Mallikā, Pāṇasā, Sijjā, Bālulāmatī, Vāṇasā, Vāṇasā, Suppāsā, Sīrasā, Kāśāgotamī, Pāṇasā; to the heavens, e.g., Tāvātthī, Pūvā; to forests and trees, e.g., Vesāva, Mūhāva, Jetavana, Māṅgalapākhāṇḍī; to rivers, e.g., Gāghā, Rohiṇī (Vol. II, p. 104); to the famous physician Jigasa; to ancient Indian tribes, e.g., Licchavī, Mallī; to distinguished persons, e.g., Siddhattha, Sāmpaṇṇa, Mahinda, Rāhula, Ānanda, Vasuvāsa, Sāya Kūṭikāya, Moggallāna and Bhaddika.

In the *Dhammapada-atthakathā* we read that there lived at Kosambī a householder's son, Kosambīraḍḍa Tissa Thera, who took ordination from the Buddha. His supporter offered his son who was seven years old to Tissa. The boy was made a *sāmaṇera* by Tissa and as the hair of the *sāmaṇera* was being cut, he attained arahantship (Vol. II, pp. 162-163).

Buddhaghosa records legend which has some points of agreement with a story in the *Skanda-purāṇa* (Ch. 5, Bāhukāṇḍa). It is recorded that there lived at Kosambī a king named Māraṇḍa. One day he sat under the sun with his pregnant wife who was covered with a red blanket when a bird named *Maṅgala* having the strength of two elephants, took her to be a lump of flesh, came to her, and took her away with its claws. The queen thought that before it could eat her, she would cry out and it would leave her. It was in the habit of looking back on the track. The queen

also cried wailingly and the bird left her. At that time rain poured heavily and continued throughout the night. Early in the morning when the sun arose, a son was born to her. A hermit came to the spot where the son was born and saw the queen on the Nigrodha tree which was not far from his hermitage. When the queen introduced herself as a Kṣatriyāni, the hermit brought down the lady from the tree. This queen came to the hermitage of the sage who accompanied her with her infant son. The queen succeeded in tempting him to take her as his spouse and they lived as husband and wife. One day this hermit looked at the stars and saw the star of Parvatsya disfigured. He inferred her of the death of Parvatsya of Kāśmir. The queen cried and told him, "He is my husband and I am his queen. If my son had lived there, he would have become the king now." The hermit reassured her that he would help her son to win the Kingdom. Her son eventually became king and was known as Udeyana. The new king married Saravali, a daughter of the Treasurer of Kāśmir. Bodhidharma records moreover the account of the elopement of Vānvasattā with Udeyana as we find in the Svapnavasāndattā by Śhāke (Vol. I, p. 11).

The Dharmapada Commentary gives us details regarding the life of the Thera Mahākaccāyana. We are told that when he was dwelling at Avanti, the Buddha was residing at the palace of the renowned upāsaka of Sāvatthī, Vinūkkā Migasamāra; nevertheless, though separated by such a long distance from the Master, yet whenever any sermon was delivered by the latter on Dhamma, Mahākaccāyana used to be present. Therefore a seat was reserved for him by the bhikkhus (Vol. II, pp. 176-177). We also read in the same commentary that when Mahākaccāyana was living at the city of Varanahasi in Avanti, an upāsaka named Sāru Kāṭikamma was pleased with him after listening to his religious sermon. The upāsaka requested him

to give him education which was given (Vol. IV, p. 111). A rājya king named Ekaśapatti was taught by the Śūdras at the foot of the Śūdrasī-saka tree at Benares that it was very difficult to be born as a human being (Vol. III, p. 230). A trader of Benares used to trade by putting his goods on the back of an ox. Once he went to Tuxila for trade and gave his ox rest there by taking down the goods from its back (Vol. I, p. 131). A trader of Benares was going to Śāvatthi with five hundred carts full of red shells, but he could not cross the river as it was full of water, so he had to stay there to sell his goods (Vol. III, p. 120). At Benares there was a rich banker named Mahābhūtasattli. His parents taught him dancing and music. Another rich banker had a daughter who was trained in dancing and music and both of them were married. Mahābhūtasattli began to drink wine and was addicted to gambling, with the result that he lost his own wealth as well as his wife's. Afterwards he began to beg for alms (Vol. III, pp. 129 foll.). A king of Benares learnt a mantra from a young Brahmin by paying him 1,000 kaśāpanas as teacher's fee. The king saved his life from the hands of the barber who was incited by the eśvapati to kill him by that mantra (Vol. I, pp. 251 foll.). A brahmin of Tuxila sent his son Nandina to learn Vedic mantras from a teacher who was his father's friend. The teacher taught him well (Vol. III, p. 115). A young man of Benares went to Tuxila to learn archery from a distinguished teacher and he was well served in the art, and the teacher being satisfied gave his daughter in marriage to him (Vol. IV, p. 116). We read that a king of Benares went out in disguise to enquire whether any of his subjects spoke ill of him. For 1,000 kaśāpanas he heard from a young Brahmin of Benares a mantra which enabled him to read the evil thoughts of people (Vol. I, pp. 251 foll.). In spite of the good government, the country was not free from crime. Cakṣhapāsa was a physician at Benares. He gave medicine to

a woman who deceived him by taking a lie. He being angry with her gave her a medicine which made her blind (Vol. I, p. 20). Pāsuadi, son of Mahākosa, was educated at Taxila and Mahāli, a Licchavi prince, and a Malla prince of Kusinara were his class-mates (Vol. I, pp. 337-338). Kossala was not indubited by the settler previous to Pāsuadi of Kosala who asked Mangūkassapthi and Dhanañjaysapthi to settle in the country and they did settle there (Vol. I, pp. 384 foll.). Pāsuadi of Kosala was enamoured of a beautiful woman and tried to win her by killing her husband, but he gave up this idea when warned by the Buddha (Vol. II, pp. 4 foll.). Some thieves were caught and brought before the king of Kosala. He ordered them to be bound in ropes and chains. They were thrown in prison. This information was given by the bhikkhus to the Buddha who was asked whether there was any stronger tie than this. Buddha replied, "attachment to wives, sons, and wealth is stronger than other ties" (Vol. IV, pp. 54-55). In Kosala a cowherd named Nanda was rich and wealthy. He used to go to Anāthapiṇḍika's house from time to time taking with him five kinds of preparations from cow's milk. He invited the Buddha who accepted the invitation. Nanda continued charities for a week. On the seventh day Buddha delivered a sermon on dham, sila, etc., upon which Nanda obtained the first stage of sanctification (Vol. I, pp. 322-323). Mahāevanna, a banker of Sāvasthi, had two sons, the first son became a bhikkhu under the Buddha and was known as Cakirupakkā (Vol. I, pp. 3 foll.). Mahāakundali was the son of a rich and stingy brahmin of Sāvasthi. Only by saluting the Buddha he went to heaven (*Ibid.*, pp. 25 foll.). Phullāyasa was the Buddha's father's sister's son and lived at Sāvasthi as a bhikkhu. He was purified by the Buddha (*Ibid.*, pp. 27 foll.). Kaliyakkhita was a Yakkhina worshipped by the people of Sāvasthi. She could forestall drought and excessive rainfall (*Ibid.*, pp. 45 foll.). Sāvasthi

contributed a fair number of the bhikkhus and bhikkhunis who acquired fame and renown in the Buddhist congregation for the purity of their lives. Palāsurā was the daughter of a rich banker of Sāvattihī. She afterwards became a bhikkhunī after great bereavements and came to be known as Paṭṭācarā (Vol. II, pp. 260 foll.). Kāṣṭhānandā was the daughter of a gentile of Sāvattihī. After the death of her only child she went to the Buddha with the dead body and requested him to bring the dead to life. The Buddha delivered a sermon which led her to become a bhikkhunī (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 270 foll.). Aññāsiyapāsthalakumārī fallen from the Himmavānaka was reborn in a rich family of Sāvattihī. He used to cry when touched by women. He was afterwards converted by the Buddha (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 281 foll.). Vakkhali born in a brahmin family of Sāvattihī became a bhikkhu seeing the beauty of the Buddha's body (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 118). A servant of a brahmin of Sāvattihī became a bhikkhu and subsequently attained arahantship (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 157). Nanda was the son of Mahāpajjāpāti Gotamā. He was made a bhikkhu by the Buddha at Sāvattihī (*Ibid.*, pp. 16 foll.).

The Dharmapada Commentary refers to the long continued jealousy of the deviles towards Buddhism. Moggallāna, one of the chief disciples of the Buddha, was struck by certain deviles with the help of some hired men (Vol. III, pp. 80 foll.). He used to dwell in Kullavāḍḍagāma in Magadha. At first he was very lax, but being encouraged by the Buddha he exerted strenuously and fulfilled *svakappamāṇa*. It is to be noted that Sācigutta who was a Mahābhayāritthivira *pāruvāṇa* here (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 90). The same commentary also gives us legends about Bimbisāra, King of Magadha, who went to see the most beautiful palace at Jolīya in the mystic land of Uttarakūma. Ajutasastra was his son. Both of them took their meals at Jolīya's palace. Jolīya presented Bimbisāra with a valuable gem, the light of which was enough to

illuminate the whole house (Dh. Com., Vol. IV, pp. 209 foll.). A large number of heretics of the Saccinimittaka caste, who were opponents of Buddhism, employed some hired men to assault Moggallāna, one of the chief followers of the Buddha (Dh. Com., Vol. III, pp. 45 foll.). Two chief disciples of the Buddha went to Rājagaha and the inhabitants of Rājagaha showered alms-treasures upon them. A silk robe which was given in charity was given to Devadatta (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 77 foll.). A daughter of a banker of Rājagaha obtained Sotapatti (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 30). Sūmā was a beautiful prostitute of Rājagaha. She asked pardon of Uddhāra, daughter of Punnakassapa for her fault, in the presence of the Buddha. She afterwards became one of his lay devotees and spent a large sum for hire and his disciples (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 104 foll.). The mother of Kumārāsanga was the daughter of a banker of Rājagaha. When she grew up, she asked permission from her parents to receive ordination which was refused. She then went to her husband's place. She pleased her husband very much and got permission from him to receive ordination (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 144-145). A brahmin of Sāvathī became an arhant of Rājagaha. He was very proud of seeing the beauty of the Buddha's body. The Buddha told, "No one seeing my body, see my Dhamma and you will see me" (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 117-118).

This work further relates that Kundakodā, a beautiful daughter of a banker of Rājagaha, remained unmarried till the age of sixteen. It is there accidentally pointed out that at this age women long for men (Vol. II, p. 217). Magha, a householder of Rājagaha, married his maternal uncle's daughter named Sujatā (Vol. I, p. 265). Asanda was enamoured of the beauty of his father's sister's daughter named Uppalavanna and wanted to marry her (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 41). Vepacitti, King of the Asuras, refused to give his daughter in marriage to any of the Asura princes. So he said, "My

daughter shall choose for herself such a husband as she sees fit". He then assembled the hosts of Anuras, made over a garland of flowers to his daughter and said to her, "Choose for yourself a husband who suits you". The girl selected one as her husband and threw the wreath over his head (Dh. Com., Vol. I, pp. 278-279). We are informed by this commentary that a rich man's daughter, when she attained marriageable age, was lodged by her parents in an apartment of royal splendour on the topmost floor of a seven storied palace, with a female slave to guard her. No male servant was kept in that house (Vol. II, p. 247). Daughters of noble families did not ordinarily come out of their houses, but they travelled in chariots and the like while others entered an ordinary carriage or raised a parasol of a palmyra-leaf over their heads; but if this was not available, they took the skirt of their undergarment and threw it over their shoulder (Vol. I, p. 351). From the instances cited above it is reasonable to hold that elopement and the preservation of chastity *inter alia* contributed largely to the observance of 'purdah' by the tender sex before or after marriage. But there are exceptions, *Viśākṣā*, for example, while going to her father-in-law's house just after her marriage entered the city of Śavasthī not under the 'purdah' but standing up in a chariot uncovered showing herself to all the city (Vol. I, pp. 381 foll.). Daughters of respectable families, who did not ordinarily stir out, used to go on foot during a festival, with their own retinas, and bath in the river (Vol. I, pp. 140-141 and 388). Instances of dowry being given by the bride's father are referred to in the *Viśākṣāyavalāka* of the *Itihāsamuktā* commentary (Vol. I). The Śavasthīan treasurer, *Śhigṛā*, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter, *Viśākṣā*, well-known in the Buddhist literature, gave her as dowry five hundred carts filled with vessels of gold, five hundred filled with vessels of silver, five hundred filled with copper

vessels, five hundred filled with garments, wools of various kinds of silk, five hundred filled with ghee, five hundred filled with plows, plowshares, and other farm implements. Sixty thousand powerful bulls and sixty thousand milk cows, and some powerful bull-calves were also given to her.

Princess Vajrā was the daughter of Pasenadi of Kosala. She was given in marriage to Ajātasattu of Magadha. Kāśyapa was given to her by her father for bath and perfume money (Jh. Cam., Vol. II, p. 266). The Sāvaththian treasurer, Migāra, gave his daughter, on her marriage, fifty crores of treasure to buy aromatic powders for the bath (*Ibid.*, I, p. 295). The custom of collecting presents (puggābhāra) on the occasion of a marriage ceremony is met with in the Dharmapāṇiā Commentary where we read that on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of Visākhā, daughter of Dharmāñjaya with the son of Migāra, presents including a hundred carts of all kinds of gilla ware collected from hundred villages (Vol. I, pp. 284 foll.). After marriage the girl was sent to her father-in-law's house with the following directions¹ :—

1. Do not carry inside the indoor fire.
2. Do not carry inside the outdoor fire.
3. Give only to him that gives.
4. Do not give him that does not give.
5. Give both to him that gives and him that does not give.
6. Sit happily.
7. Eat happily.
8. Sleep happily.
9. Tend the fire.
10. Honour the household divinity.

¹ *Ācariyaṃ bhōjānaṃ nīhāsiṭṭha, khaḷi egaṃ vācā na pāyasetāpā, daddānaṃ eva dātabbhaṃ, vācānaṃ na dātabbhaṃ, daddānaṃvāpā adābhāraṃvā dārabhāraṃ vācānaṃ vācārabhāraṃ, sukkaṃ khaḷijī-
vācāraṃ, vācāraṃ nīpuggābhāraṃ, egaṃ pāyasetāpā, antodevata
ya manasātibba' ā dānaṃ dāraṃvillānaṃ vācānaṃ* (Jh. Cam., I, 297-
298).

These ten admonitions were interpreted as follows :—

1. If the mother-in-law or other female members of the household engage in a private conversation within the house, their conversation is not to be communicated to slaves, whether male or female, for such conversation is talked about and causes quarrels.

2. The conversation of slaves and servants is not to be communicated to persons within the household; as such conversation is talked about and causes quarrels.

3. This means that one should give only to those who return borrowed articles.

4. This means that one should not give to those who do not return borrowed articles.

5. This means that one should help poor kinsfolk and friends who look for excess, without considering their capability of repaying.

6. This means that a wife seeing her mother-in-law or her father-in-law should stand and not remain sitting.

7. This means that a wife should not eat before her mother-in-law, father-in-law, and husband have taken their meals. She should serve them first, and when she is sure that they have had all they care for, then and not till then may she herself eat.

8. This means that a wife should not go to bed before her mother-in-law, father-in-law, and husband. She should first perform all the duties which she owes them and then she may herself lie down to sleep.

9. This means that a wife should regard her mother-in-law, her father-in-law, or her husband as a flame of fire or as a serpent-king.

10. When a monk after leaving mailboxes in a remote lodging comes to the door of a house, and the housewife sees him, she must give to such a monk whatever food there is in the house: both

hard and soft; and then she may eat (Dh. Com., Vol. I, pp. 403-404). A Magadhin householder, named Maghin, had four wives at a time, viz., Mandā, Vāta, Śudhannudā, and Sujāṭā (*Ibid.*, I, p. 260). The first wife of a householder of Nuvatchi being barren brought another wife for her husband. When her co-wife became pregnant, she was jealous and effected abortion by administering medicine. Thence did this woman commit this heinous crime with the words that her co-wife succumbed at last to the effect of the abortive medicine. But the cruel woman did not escape the penalty for doing this sinful deed. She was beaten to death by her husband who declared her to be the cause of the death of his pregnant wife and destroyer of his line (Dh. Com., Vol. I, pp. 46 foll.).

Besides her household duties a slave woman had to husk paddy (Dh. Com., Vol. II, p. 321) and to go to market (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 208).

Khujjutarā, a maid-servant of Surasvati, queen of Udena, King of Kosambhī, had to buy flowers daily for eight kaṭṭapasāṇa for the queen. But she used to steal four kaṭṭapasāṇa daily. One day while she went in the garland-maker's house to buy flowers, she heard the sermon delivered by the Buddha. She obtained *śāṭṭapattiphalāra*. Since then she discontinued stealing and bought flowers for eight kaṭṭapasāṇa. The queen questioned her how she had bought so many flowers for eight kaṭṭapasāṇa. The maid-servant could no longer conceal anything, as by this time her faith in the Buddha had become very strong. She confessed her guilt and said that after hearing the Buddha's sermon she had come to realise that stealing is blameworthy. The queen asked her to repeat the *Dhamma* she had heard. Khujjutarā did so in the presence of the queen and her five hundred female attendants. The queen did not reproach her for her stealing four kaṭṭapasāṇa daily, on the contrary, she praised her much for telling her true the Buddha's *Dhamma*. Since then the maid-

servant was regarded as a mother and teacher by the queen and her five hundred female attendants, who asked her to go to the Master daily to hear the Dharma and repeat it to them. In course of time she mastered the Tripiṭaka (Dh. Con., Vol. I, pp. 208 foll.).

Sirindā was the youngest sister of Jivaka, the well-known physician. She was a courtesan of unique beauty. She lived at Rājagṛaha. Once she was appointed for a fortnight by the female lay disciple, Uttarā, wife of the treasurer's son, Sumana, and daughter of the treasurer, Purnaka, for one thousand pieces of money per night (Dh. Con., Vol. III, pp. 208-210) in order to minister to Utsarā's husband. One day she offended Uttarā, but desiring to be on good terms with her again, she begged pardon of her. Uttarā assured her that she would pardon her if the Exalted One would do the same. One day the Master and the congregation of monks came to Uttarā's house. When the Master had finished his meal, Sirindā begged his pardon. The Teacher pronounced thanksgiving and delivered discourse to which Sirindā listened attentively. Then she attained the first stage of sanctification. Since then she regularly gave alms to eight monks (Dh. Con., Vol. III, pp. 104 foll.). On her death, Sirindā's dead body was not burnt. It was kept in a charnel-house (Sankhamsāraṭh) and watched by a guard against its being devoured by crows and dogs. King Bimbisāra informed the Buddha of her death, and the Buddha requested the king not to burn her dead body but to preserve it so that it could be seen by the bhikkhus daily for asbha-bhavaṇā. The bhikkhus saw it daily and realised that the most beautiful lady becomes rotten, worm-eaten, and finally the bones remain without flesh. The citizens, too, were compelled to behold Sirindā's dead body, for there stood the royal proclamation, "All who refuse to do so shall be fined eight pieces of money". This was done with a view to impress on the citizens the idea of transitoriness of human

beauty which is but skin-deep (Dh. Com., Vol. III, pp. 111-112).

Dinnā was an *apāsika* of the Buddha. She was the queen of King Uggaseṇa. A king promised to the deity of a *sigraḥa* tree that he would worship the deity with blood of one hundred kings of Jambudīpa, if he got the throne after his father's death. He then defeated all the kings one by one and went to worship the deity, but the deity, seeing that many kings would be killed, took compassion for them and refused his worship on the ground that the queen of King Uggaseṇa whom he defeated was not brought. The king had her brought and she preached a sermon on the avoidance of life-slaughter in their presence. The deity approved and the king refrained from life-slaughter and released the defeated and captured kings who praised Dinnā for her act. It was due to her that so many kings were saved (Dh. Com., Vol. II, pp. 15 foll.).

Kisāgotamī came of a respectable family at Sāvasthī. She was married to a rich banker's son who had 40 *koṭis* of wealth (Dh. Com., Vol. II, pp. 270-275). Bodhisatta was her maternal uncle's son. One day while the Bodhisatta was returning home after receiving the news of Rāhula's birth, he was seen by Kisāgotamī from her palace. Buddha's physical grace and abhaya gladdened the heart of Kisāgotamī and she uttered that the mother who had such a child and the father who had such a son and the wife who had such a husband were surely happy (*nibbata*); but the Bodhisatta took the word *nibbata* in the sense of *nibbana*. The Bodhisatta presented her with a pearl necklace for making him hear such an auspicious and sacred word (Dh. Com., Vol. I, p. 85). After the Buddha had become the Buddha, Kisāgotamī came through the sky to worship the Buddha; but she saw that Sakka with his retinue was then seated before the Master. She, therefore, chose it not to descend and come near to the Buddha;

but did her worship from the sky and went away. Being questioned by Sakka who had seen Kinggotami performing her worship, the Buddha answered that she was his daughter. Kinggotami was the foremost among the bhikkhunis who need very rough and simple robes (Dh. Com., Vol. IV, pp. 156-167).

Once Pasenadi invited the Buddha to teach Dharmas to queens Mallikā and Vāsabhakullāyā who were desirous of learning it. But as it was not possible for him to go everyday, the Buddha asked the king to engage Ananda for the purpose. Mallikāyā in due course learnt it thoroughly well; but Vāsabhakullāyā was inattentive and could hardly, therefore, learn it (Dh. Com., Vol. I, 382). Mallikā once induced her husband, King Pasenadi, to go to the Buddha and receive instructions from him, and thus saved the life of many living beings who were brought before the king for sacrifice to save the king himself from the evil effect of hearing four horrible sounds at midnight, and she made the following arrangements on the occasion of Pasenadi's offering unique gift to the Buddha and the Buddhists:—

1. She made a canopy with 624 wooden posts under which five hundred bhikkhus could sit within the posts and five hundred outside them.

2. Five hundred white umbrellas were raised by 500 elephants standing at the back of five hundred bhikkhus.

3. Golden boats were placed in the middle of the pondal and each khattiya daughter threw necks standing in the midst of two bhikkhus.

4. Each khattiya princess was found standing in the midst of two bhikkhus.

5. Golden boats were filled with necks and perfumes (Dh. Com., Vol. III, pp. 183 foll.).

Mallikadevi had, however, to suffer after death, in the Avīci hell, because she had once deceived her husband by telling a lie about her misdeeds (Dh. Com., Vol. III, pp. 119 foll.).

The daughter of Queen Mallikā was also named Mallikā. She was the wife of General Bandhuka, but was childless for a long time. Bandhuka, therefore, was for all, sent her to her father's house, when on the way she went to the Jetavana to salute the Buddha and told the Master that her husband was sending her home as she was childless. The Buddha asked her to go back to her husband's house. Bandhuka came eventually to know of this fact, and thought that the Buddha must have got the idea that she would be pregnant. The sign of pregnancy was soon visible in her and she desired to drink water and bathe in the well-guarded tank. Her husband made her bathe and drink water of the tank (*Dh. Cam.*, Vol. 1, pp. 349-351).

Uttarā and her husband were serving a *setthi* at Rājagaha. Once the *setthi* went to attend a farming ceremony and Uttarā with her husband stayed at home. One morning, the husband of Uttarā had gone to the fields to till the soil, and Uttarā was going with cooked food to feed her husband there. On the way she met Nāriputtā who had just got up from *vinodhassanūḅḅattī* and offered the food to him with the result that she became the richest lady at Rājagaha and her husband became a *setthi* named *Mahāḍḍhamettthi* (*Dh. Cam.*, Vol. 14, pp. 302 foll.).

Punnā was the maid-servant of a banker of Sāvasthī. Once while engaged in hoeing paddy at night, she went outside the house to take rest. At this time Pabbā, a Mallaian, was in charge of making arrangements for the sleeping accommodation of the bhikkhus who were guests. Punnā with some cakes went out to enquire of the cause of their movements with lights at night, and met the Buddha who had come out on that way for alms. She offered all the cakes to the Buddha without keeping anything for her, and the Buddha accepted all of them. Punnā was thinking whether Buddha would partake of her food; but the Buddha most unhesitatingly did partake of it in her house. The

effect of this offer was that Pāpāsi obtained sot&patipphala at the place where this offer was made (Dh. Com., Vol. III, pp. 321 foll.).

Rohini was Anuruddha's sister. She was suffering from white leprosy, and did not go to her brother as she feared she might contaminate him. Anuruddha sent for her and asked her to build a rest-house for bhikkhus to get rid of her sin. She did so, and kept the rest-house clean even when it was under construction. After she had done it with great devotion for a long time, she eventually became free from her disease. Shortly afterwards the Jādhis went to Kapilavastu and sent for Rohini. When she came, he told her that she had been the queen of Benares in her former birth. The king of Benares, who at that time encountered of the mercy of a dancing girl. The queen, knowing this was jealous of the girl and to punish her she put something in her cloth and poured in bathing water which produced terrible itching all over the body. On account of this, she had got this disease. She however obtained sot&patipphala and the colour of her body was golden (Dh. Com., Vol. III, pp. 296 foll.).

A cultivator's daughter was in charge of a paddy-field. She was once lying, paddy in the field, when at that time Mahākassapa was engaged in meditation for a week in the Pippali river. Rising up from meditation he went to the girl for alms; and she with a delightful mind offered dried grains to him which he accepted. While this girl was returning from the presence of Mahākassapa to the spot where she was tilling she was stung by a poisonous snake and died instantly. After death she was reborn in the golden mansion of the Tāvātisā heaven in account of her unselfish deed, and was named there as Sujatavallā who had come from heaven to get news of all by seeing Mahākassapa. She used to converse by means of a well and keep water ready for his use. But after two days, she was forbidden to serve him any more.

as she was found out to be a devil. She lamented much for not being able to serve the great arahat. The Buddha came to know of this and preached a sermon to her with the result that she obtained *sāpattiphalāni* (Dh. Com., Vol. III, pp. 6-8).

The mother of Kumārakassapa had become pregnant before she renounced the worldly life; but she was herself unaware of it. After she had become a bhikkhuni it was known that she was pregnant. The matter was referred to the Buddha who asked Uḍḍi to enquire into the matter. Uḍḍi referred to Pāsāṇḍī, Anāthapiṇḍika, and Viśākha. Viśākha was afterwards solely entrusted to decide the matter. Viśākha found out that she had become pregnant before her renouncing the world (Dh. Com., Vol. III, pp. 144 foll.).

Uppanandā was the Buddha's step-mother. She thought that her eldest brother had renounced the world and had become a bhaddha. Her younger brother Nanda was a bhikkhu; Kchhalakumārī had also obtained ordination; her husband too had become a bhikkhu; and her mother Mahāpajjapātī Gotarā, a bhikkhuni. She, therefore, thought that as so many of her relatives had renounced the world, so she too must follow their path. She did not go before the Buddha as she was proud of her beauty, while the Buddha used to preach impermanence and worthlessness of rūpa. The other bhikkhunis and bhikkhus always used to praise Buddha in her presence and told her that all, in spite of their having different tastes, had become pleased on seeing the Buddha (Dh. Com., Vol. III, p. 115). Nanda, wife of Nandivessā, a herdsman of Sāvathī, had no faith in the Buddha. One day she thought of going to the Buddha with other bhikkhunis, but she would not show herself to the Buddha. The Buddha came to know that with other bhikkhunis Nanda too had come; and he desired to lower down the pride of her beauty. By his incenseless power, the Buddha created a more beautiful girl by his side who at once engaged

herself in fanning the Buddha. Nandī saw the beauty of the girl, and readily discovered that her own beauty was much inferior. The abundant girl was seen gradually but simultaneously attaining youth, the state of mother of one child, and the old age and disease and death. Nandī saw this happening before her eyes and gave up the pride of her beauty and came to realise the impermanence of physical beauty. The Buddha knowing the state of her mind delivered the sermon (Dh. Com., Vol. III, pp. 113 foll.).

Vissākhā was the daughter of Dhanañjayaśeṭṭhi, son of Mundaśāsetthi, who lived in the city of Bhakkhiya in the kingdom of Aśga. The family of Mundaśā was greatly devoted to the Buddha. Dhanañjayaśeṭṭhi at the request of Pasenadi, King of Kosala, went to his kingdom and settled at Sāketa. Vissākhā was married to Pappasaddhama, son of Migraśeṭṭhi, who was, however, a follower of the Niganthas. After marriage, she lived with her father-in-law at Sāvatthi. One day Migraśeṭṭhi invited five hundred naked ascetics (jalagathas) and when they came he asked his daughter-in-law to come and salute the ascetics. She came hearing about the ascetics and seeing them, she said, "Such abandoned creatures can't be saluted. Why has my father-in-law called me?" Saying this she blamed her father-in-law and went to her residence. The naked ascetics seeing this, blamed the setthi and asked him to turn her out of the house as she was a follower of Sammasāmbhava. But the setthi knowing that it was not possible to do so, apologised to them and sent them away. After this incident the setthi sitting on a valuable seat was drinking milk-porridge with honey from a golden pot and Vissākhā stood there fanning him. At that time a Buddhist monk entered the house for alms and stood before him, but the setthi took no notice of him. Seeing that, Vissākhā said to the bhikkhu "Go to another house, Sir, my father-in-law is eating a stale food". At this the bhikkhu

grew angry. He then stopped eating and ordered his men to drive her out. Thereupon, Visākha said that he should examine her shortcomings. The *śeṭṭhi* welcomed the idea and summoned her relations and told them that his daughter-in-law had said to a Buddhist monk that he was eating stale food while he was drinking milk porridge with honey. Visākha's relations enquired about the truth of this statement. Visākha said that she did not say so. She only said that her father-in-law was enjoying the fruition of his merit in the previous birth. In this way Visākha explained away everything that was considered by her father-in-law to bring blame upon her. While she was found not guilty by her relations, she prepared to leave the house of her father-in-law. Thereupon the teacher apostatized and entreated his daughter-in-law to remain in the house. She, however, consented to remain on one condition only, namely, that she could be allowed to entertain the bhikkhus in the house at her will. Next day she invited the bhikkhus to her house. The naked ascetics knowing that the Buddha had entered the house of Migārasaṭṭhi surrounded the house. Visākha requested her father-in-law to come and serve the Buddha himself. The naked ascetics prevented him from going there. Thereupon Visākha herself served the Buddha and his disciples and when their meal was finished, she again requested her father-in-law to come and listen to the sermon of the Buddha. The naked ascetic again said that it was extremely improper to go at that time, but when he went to listen to the Buddha's sermon, he saw that the naked ascetics had camp there earlier and placed the curtain and requested the *śeṭṭhi* to sit outside it. The *śeṭṭhi* and outside the curtain, listened to the Buddha's sermon, obtained the fruition of the first stage of sanctification, went up to his daughter-in-law and said to her, "Henceforward you are my mother". From that time Visākha came to be known as Migārasamāā or Migāra's mother. Migāra was converted to

Buddhism. Virakha afterwards made a vibhāṅga at Sāvutthi at the cost of twenty-seven cows of mine (Dh. Dhā., Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 384 foll.).

Sutta Nipata Commentary.—The Sutta Nipata commentary written by Buddhaghosa is a mine of various sorts of valuable information,—geographical, historical, religious, and otherwise. Identifying definitions of *raṇa*, *raṭṭa*, *maṇa*, *doṣa*, *moḥa*, *amāṇya*, and *alagaṇṇā*; and interpretations of the words, e.g., *āsi*, *balaholaka*, *upavāsa*, *saṅkappa*, *paṇṇa*, *jhāna*, *āraṇa*, *gaṇḍhāpanṇa*, *maṇḍala*, *phāṇḍika*, *upakkā*, etc., occur freely in it sometimes systematically, sometimes at random. To give one example, the very interesting word 'Nikāṭa' is explained in connection with the account of Iṭṭhaya, the cowherd. In connection with another account, namely, that of the Kāṭṭhaviṇṇa Sutta, we are referred to these kinds of dramas. Besides mentioning mountains and mountain crevices, e.g., *Gaṇḍhānūdana* and *Āṇḍagabbha*, the commentator reveals his knowledge of geography when he makes mention of *Bārāṇasī*, *Mūgadhā*, *Sāvutthī*, *Kapilavastu*, *Kāśā*, *Nāgājāṭṭhā*, etc., but alas he seems to be deficient in his knowledge of history, for he mentions *Dandisāra*, *Sandhapanābhujasa*, and *Kāśālarāja Paṇḍita*. *Tāmbisāra*, we are informed, was called *Mūgadhā*, because he was the lord of the *Mūgadhā*. He was the possessor of a big army, hence he was called *Sāgiya*. It adds, besides, that *Dandisāra* was so called because his colour was like that of excellent gold (p. 143). *Kāśāpata* was ruled by kings like *Murudhara* and *Mahāgovinda*. In the time of the Buddha, it became a city, and in other times, it came to be vacant and soon inhabited by the yakṣas.

Interesting side-eghṭas are thrown by other accounts, a few of which may profitably be recounted here. A carpenter of *Benares* prepared mechanical wooden birds by which he conquered a tract of land in the *Himavanta* and became the ruler of that land. His capital was known as

Kaṭṭhavāṇṇagura. He sent valuable presents to the king of Benares and made friendship with him. The king in return sent him the news of the advent of the Buddha Kassapa in Benares, but when they reached Benares the Buddha had obtained mahā-parinibhāna. Afterwards, the yuvārāja with a bhikkhu and the robes of the Buddha went back to the Kaṭṭhānagara, and the bhikkhu was later on successful in converting the king and his subjects into Buddhism (Vol. II, pp. 575 foll.). A trader of Benares went to buy goods with 500 coins to a frontier country, and bought sandal wood (Vol. II, pp. 583 ff.).

There lived at Sāvasthī a paribbājaka, named Paura, who was a great disputant. He planted a tripod of a Jambū tree, declaring that he who would be able to hold discussion with him, would uproot it. Sāriputta did against it. Paura had a discussion with Sāriputta about several pleasures and eye-consciousnesses with the result that the paribbājaka was defeated. The paribbājaka went to the Jetavana in order to be ordained by Sāriputta and to learn Vedāntana (art of disputation). He met Laluddāyi at the Jetavana vihāra. Thinking that this Laluddāyi must be greatly wise, he took ordination from him. He defeated Laluddāyi in disputation and made him a paribbājaka even while he was wearing the dress of a bhikkhu. Paura again went to Sāvasthī to hold discussion with Gautama. He held discussion with Gautama but was defeated. The Buddha then gave him instruction and he was converted into Buddhism (Vol. II, pp. 588 foll.).

The *Jāṭaka Commentary*.—As to the authorship of the *Jāṭaka Commentary* there is a great dispute which has not yet been settled. Some ascribe the authorship to Buddhaghosa.

Buddhaghosa wrote a commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgāsi* known as the *Atthasākhī*.¹ It

¹ There is a scholion on the Arjunasthūla called the *Paṭha-majjhamaṅgāsi*. Read *Atthasākhī*, a Pāli prose

the *Dhammacakkavaggaṇi*. But though the *Atthasālini* aims to be an exposition of the *Dhammacakkavaggaṇi*, yet there is some anomaly in the contents and arrangements of the two books. There are some chapters of the text which the commentary omits and some chapters which it adds independently of the text itself. Unlike the *Dhammacakkavaggaṇi* the chapters in the *Atthasālini* are clearly marked so that the treatment is more scientific than that of the former. Buddhaghosa at the outset gives an introductory chapter. In this he deals with various questions, both literary and philosophical. His dissertation on literary subjects helps us to a great extent in fixing the chronology of the texts of the Sutta, Vinaya, and Abhidhamma. He says that the commentary on the Abhidhamma was sung in the Third Council and was rehearsed in the succeeding Councils. Mahinda brought it to Ceylon and it was translated into Sinhalese. Buddhaghosa defines Abhidhamma as one which exceeds all other discourses in qualities. The chief difference between Suttanta and Abhidhamma is that in the Suttanta the five aggregates are classified partially while in the Abhidhamma this classification has been done according to three methods, namely, the Suttanta classification, the Abhidhamma classification, and Catechism. He shows that Suttanta classification is incomplete and defective. He next deals with the Abhidhamma books themselves which are seven in number and records that the very nature of the *Kaṭṭhāvattū* makes its position untenable in the very classification itself, for it dates from the incidence of the Third Council. But Buddhaghosa relying on the traditional number seven in the Abhidhamma class and showing the internal defects of *Mahābhikkhavaṃsa* or *Mahāśālikavuttā* as the possible substitutes for the *Kaṭṭhāvattū*, holds that the *Kaṭṭhāvattū* falls within Abhidhamma class particularly because Tissa followed the contents and number of the Teacher who himself foresew this book.

The author then gives a table of contents of each of the seven Abhidhamma books after which he gives a history of the first Abhidhamma thought and compilation as emanating from the Buddha himself. To Śāraputta he attributes the origin of the number and order of the books. Buddhaghosa quotes many poetical passages as an introductory explanation of the Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidhamma Piṭakas.

He says that the Abhidhamma is intended for those only who think that there is "I", "This is mine", and who fail to understand that the ultimate self is merely a collection of things. The main purpose of the Abhidhamma is, according to him, to lay a distinction between mind and matter and to win one a higher and metaphysical understanding.

The author then justifies the fact that the three piṭakas are the words of Buddha himself, for those bhikkhus who are well practiced in Vinaya arrived at the three kinds of knowledge while those who are well versed in the Sūtra arrive at the six kinds of super-knowledge and bhikkhus well instructed in Abhidhamma arrive at the four analyses. He then explains why each of the nikāyas or groups is so called. The first one is Dīgha, because it contains the long suttas. The second one containing 132 suttas is called Majjhima, because they are of medium length. The Saṃyutta Nikāya contains seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-two suttas. The Aṅguttara contains nine thousand five hundred and fifty-seven suttas.

The Khuddaka is one which excludes the four nikāyas, the Vinaya, the Abhidhamma, and includes such books as Khuddakapāṭha, Dharmapade, etc. Then follows an enumeration of the nine Aṅgas, the eighty-four thousand units of texts. Buddhaghosa then says that the Abhidhamma is a piṭaka by piṭaka designation and holds it as a word of the Buddha. The Abhidhammas are said to be the best expositors of the Dhamma. But the Abhidhamma is a field for the Buddha and not for

others. The author quotes the Elder Tissakhatti who while seeking to trace the origin of the Abhidhamma at the place of the great enlightenment quoted Paṭisaṁvithā Sutta where the Buddha intimated all his qualities and possessions. He then recommends the introduction of the Abhidhamma to all its readers. The author then compares the introductory portions both of the Sutta and the Abhidhamma. He says that unlike the Sutta which has one, the Abhidhamma has two introductions, the one dealing with the life and equipment of the Buddha and the other with the events just before the Dharmacakkapavattana. The author then traces the history of Abhidhamma teaching in Ceylon. According to him, Abhidhamma, originated with faith and nurtured in the 460 Jātaka, was taught by the Buddha. It contained exactly Buddha's words and was handed down by the unbroken line of teachers till the Third Council beginning with Saṅgihā and followed by the long line of disciples. An examination of the Athanāḍīya shows that it was composed after the Samantapāsādikā to which it refers in pages 87 and 88 of the P.T.S. edition.

The Samantopadesantī or the commentary on the Vibhāṅga (Vibhāṅga-atthakathā) written by Buddhaghosa has been edited for the P.T.S. by A. P. Buddhadatta Thera in 1923. This commentary was published in Burma several times, but in Ceylon about half of the book has been printed. In many places we find that this commentary and the Viśuddhimagga comment on the same subjects. This book consists of 18 sections dealing with the oppositions of five khandhas (e.g., rūpa, vedana, saññā, saṅkhārā, and viññāna), āyatana (spheres), dhātava (elements), suṁma (truth), indriya (senses), paccayadāra (causes interdependent), kalpanāna (right considerations), sammāpāthana (right concentration), iddhipāda (bases of knowledge), given byjñāna (superior knowledge), māgga (the Noble Eightfold Path), jhāna (stages of meditation),

appamañña (further appamāññas consisting in an unobscured or perfect exercise of the qualities of friendliness, compassion, good will, and equanimity), nikkāṣapadesa (precepts), paṭisaṃbhāda (analytical knowledge), āsāsa (true knowledge), khuddakavagga (minor points), and dharmacakapāya (religious feast). It should be noted that in the section on the dhātava, 32 parts of the body have been discussed. In the section dealing with truth, the noble truths (ariyasaccaṃ) are dealt with. In the section on the Paucayākkāras we find a discussion of the topic of dependent origination. The Mahānipphāsa Vibhaṅga should be read, along with the Mahānipphāsa Suttaṃ of the Dīgha Nikāya and Saṅgahāra Suttaṃ of the Majjhima Nikāya. The Saṃmaḍḍavimāda contains short notes on avijjā (ignorance), kāya (body), jīva (birth), jīvā (old age), maraṇa (decay), domanassa (despair), nibbāna, nāma-rūpa (name and form), bhava (existence), bodhi (enlightenment), maraṇaṭṭhāna (death), māyā (illusion), etc.

There is a jhāna on the Saṃmaḍḍavimāda known as the Saṃmaḍḍavimādaśāstra.

The Dhātukāṇḍikāpākaṣaṇa-āpākaṣaṇa is a commentary on the Dhātukāṇḍikā written by Buddhaghosa. It has 12 sections containing interpretations of the five dhātava, twelve ayatanas (spheres), sixteen dhātava (elements), etc.

The Puggalapaṇḍita-āpākaṣaṇa is a commentary on the Puggalapaṇḍita. This work has been edited for the P.T.S. by A. Lunenburg and Mrs. Klym Davids (J.P.T.S., 1913-1914). The available manuscripts are (1) palm leaf Sinhalese manuscript procured for the P.T.S. by Gnanaratne, (2) paper Sinhalese manuscript, and (3) Pyi Gyi Mawlye Press edition, Rangoon, in Burmese character.

The Kathāvatthapākaṣaṇa is a commentary on the Kathāvatthapākaṣaṇa written by Buddhaghosa. According to this commentary (Kāthāvatthā Commentary), two truths, dukkhama and dukkha-

samudayañi, are mundane (belonging to the world of re-birth) and the other two truths (niraddhi and siddhahgaminiputtak) are supramundane (belonging to the path). Of the indriyas, ten belong to the region of sense desire, nine to the next two worlds, and three to the supramundane. Samuyasimutta, according to the commentator, applies to siddhantana, siddhigamañi, and anāgāmiñi, and aasuvayimuttā applies to siddhahvipassaka-khuddakavā. Kappadhamañña is applied to an ordinary person who has attained eight samāpattis. It is also applied to a stream-attainer and to an once-returner. It means a person who is unsteady or not firmly established in the path. It is so called because in his case the mental conditions which are antagonistic to samadhi and vipassanā have not been completely escaped nor well washed off, and it is for this reason that their attainment perishes and falls away. Akappu-dhammañña is applied to an anāgāmi who has attained eight samāpattis and to a khuddavā. It means a person who does not go astray. He is steady or firmly established in the path. (Instances of samadhi and vipassanā in such a person are completely destroyed. His attainment is not broken or destroyed by useless talks or by any other unwholesome act committed through negligence. The commentary further narrates that the term 'Gotrabhu' is applied to a person who has reached the family, circle, or designation of Ariyas by surpassing the family, circle, or designation of ordinary persons through the knowledge acquired by meditation on Nivāna. According to the commentary, by meditation on 'formlessness' a person is freed from rūpakāya (form) and by going through the sublime highland Path he is freed from rūparakāya, therefore, he is called ubhato-khāyavimuttā.

A person at first goes through different stages of meditation, then he realises nibbāna. There are six classes of kyaakkhāyā commencing from suttapattiphalāyā to arabhattaraggāyā.

Uṣṭhapadye.—He who thoroughly knows that this is suffering, this is the cause of suffering, this is the cessation of suffering, this is the path leading to the cessation of suffering, is one who has won victory.

Ubhayaśānti-sāri.—It applies to one who has reached the first stage of asceticism because he moves by *śuddhi* or faith.

Uttarakṣatrasamparsin applies to one who obtains *śraddhā* ship on the seventh birth.

After the realisation of the fruition of *śatpāthā* one is not reborn in a low family. He is reborn amongst devas and men six times only.

The term *Ekabījī* is applicable to a stream-attainer who is reborn once only.

Antarā-parinirvāyī applies to a person who obtains *Nirvāṇa* before reaching the middle of the term of life. *Uparājan-parinirvāyī* applies to a person who obtains *parinirvāṇa* after passing the middle of the term of life but does not reach the end. *Asādhāraṇaparinirvāyī* applies to a person who obtains complete passing away of mental impurities. *Sāśākhāra-parinirvāyī* applies to a person who obtains the foregoing with investigation, with trouble, and with exertion.

Ākāśyāgāmi.—According to this commentary, a person goes to the highest *Brahmaloka* passing through four intermediate *Brahma* worlds, namely, *Arūpa*, *Arāpya*, *Sūtrasa*, and *Sūdasat*.

Kalyāṇamītra means a good or spiritual friend. *Kīrtanmūlā* means low inclination. *Pratīkṣā-mūlā* means "looking good inclination".

The commentary says that the seven hirsutes and average man are restrained from sin through fear, but the *Kīrtasava* have completely overcome their fear, therefore they are called *Abhayaūperata*.

A person who has first obtained knowledge of previous births and deva-sight and then *śraddhā* ship is called a *leṣyā*, i.e., possessor of three *vijñāna*, namely, *pūrvanivāsanā* (knowledge of previous births), *dīptavākṣarānā* (knowledge of deva-

right), and *anulomaphalassānaṃ* (knowledge of spiritualship). A person attaining spiritualship first and then the other two is also called *levijjā*.

Chalabhīṭṭhā.—A person possessing six supernatural faculties or super-knowledges, namely, *iddhi-vidhā* (various sorts of magical power), *allobhata* (deva-mat), *paratattvānāna* (power of knowing another's thought), *pubbenivāsānāna* (power of remembering previous births), *dibhaṃakkha* (deva-śakti), and *anavakkiyañāna* (knowledge of destruction of mental tendencies) is called *chalabhīṭṭhā*.

Peḷḷakārī.—A person who does good to others before getting benefit from them.

Kāḍḍhāśālyavādī.—It means that a person who after having known that he has got some benefit from others does benefit to them afterwards. *Kāḍḍhā* means dirt; and also bad smelling water.

The word *śaṅkittina* means *śaṅkittivā* *kaṭṭhabhāṇa*. In time of famine an ascetic (naked ascetic) collects uncooked rice by begging from house to house and declaring the object of his begging; he then cooks rice to be distributed among the ascetics. A good ascetic does not accept any kind of food.

Anusattagāhī puggalo means *paññavijjāna* or ordinary person. According to this commentary, by a fifth person is to be understood the person who has exhausted the sinful tendencies.

The *Yamakaṅkaraṇa-āṭṭhakathā* is a commentary on the *Yamaka* written by Buddhaghosa. Strictly speaking it is a commentary on the *Mūla Yamaka*, *Khaṇḍika Yamaka*, *Āyasma Yamaka*, *Mhāsa Yamaka*, *Sacca Yamaka*, *Sattikāra Yamaka*, *Anussaya Yamaka*, *Ceta Yamaka*, *Uttama Yamaka*, and *Indriya Yamaka*.

The *Mūla Yamaka* deals with the meaning of the teaching of Gotama. In it is included the *kaṣāyavāda*. *Mūla* here means the cause.

The *Khaṇḍika Yamaka* deals with an account of the *khandaḥ* (aggregates), e.g., *lūpa*, *Viññāna*, *Vedana*, *Nāma*, and *Śarīrāra*.

The *Ayatana Yamaka* deals with *ayātana* or sense, e.g., *caḅbho*, *soḅa*, *kāya*, *soḅa*, *manā*, *phoṭṭhabbā*, etc.

The *Dhātū Yamaka* contains an account of various dhātus or elements.

The *Sacca Yamaka* treats of the four Aryan truths.

The section on *Saṅkhara Yamaka* deals with *kāyasaṅkhāra*, *vacasaṅkhāra*, etc.

The *duḅḅasaḅa* *Leṅkā* is a section on attachment, e.g., *kāma*, *raga*, etc.

The *Uḅā Yamaka* deals with mind and mental states.

The *Manasā* and *Indriya Yamakas* deal with *kaṅḅā*, *akusala*, and *avyākāṅa* dharmas, and senses respectively, e.g., *manasindriya*, *ḅvīḅindriya*, *duḅḅasaḅindriya*.

The *Paṅḅānapakasaḅa-attakatha*, edited by Mrs. Eliza Davids for the P.T.S., London, is a commentary on the *Paṅḅāna* written by Haddhaghosa at the request of a monk named Gallaḅuddhaghosa (P.T.S., 1860).

C. WORKS OF BHAWANAPĀLA

The *Vimānāvuttu Commentary* is practically a collection of stories illustrating the Buddhist perspective of Heaven and Hell, or more correctly, the Buddhist idea of Heaven and Hell 'prevalent amongst the people of Northern India at the time of the Buddha and incorporated subsequently in the Buddhist Scriptures'. 'These stories help us to form an idea of the various grades of heaven, the pleasures of the Tavatīsa heaven, the joys and comforts of the dwellers in the Buddhist *vimāna*, location of the various *vimāna*; and the form of the *vimāna* and its comforts which are but proportionate to meritorious deeds.

¹ Commentary in six volumes to the 'Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective' by H. P. S. Law.

Synopses of Stories¹

1. *Pāhānīmāra* (pp. 5-6). A girl, a great believer in the Buddha, once made the gift of a wooden stool to a thera whom she had offered food. In consequence of this meritorious deed, the girl was reborn in the Tāvātīna heaven where she enjoyed joys and comforts of the heaven.

As a reward of her offering a stool to a bhikkhu a woman of Suvāthā obtained in heaven a vimāna made of Vajraya (Jaspie metal).

For presenting a pillow or a seat to an arhat whom she had offered food, a mistress of a house was reborn in the golden mansion of the Tāvātīna heaven.

2. *Kāṅkajānīmāra* (pp. 31 foll.). A daughter of a family of Kāṅkaha once entertained Śāliputta with a seat and various kinds of food and drink, and presented him with new clothes and a couch. In consequence of this meritorious deed, she was reborn in the golden mansion of the Tāvātīna heaven.

3. *Māyānīmāra* (pp. 40 foll.).—A woman for offering drinking water to some thirsty bhikkhus was reborn by virtue of her meritorious deed in the Tāvātīna heaven. Another woman, too, for offering cold drink and oil to rub his feet with to a thera, was reborn after death in the same heaven.

A slave girl of a brahmin of the village of Thūra in Kusala ran the risk of being beaten by her master and offered a pot of water to the Buddha to drink water from. The Buddha quenched his thirst as well as that of his entire Order and yet retained the pot full of water to give slave girl. The girl after death was reborn in the Tāvātīna heaven where she was given other objects of her ready enjoyment.

4. *Dīpaśānīmāra* (pp. 51-52).—For offering a light in the dusk before a preacher's seat, a

¹ For detailed summaries of these stories see my "Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective", *Bv* 13, pp. 26-26.

upheld after death was reborn in the Tāvātīsa heaven in the *Ārāmaśreṇī*.

5. *Paṭṭakāḍḍhacārinī* (p. 54). For presenting to the Buddha a certain quantity of sweetmeats made in jelled milk, a pregnant woman was reborn after death in the Tāvātīsa heaven.

6. *Paṭṭhāpānānā* (pp. 55-57).—A beautiful and faithful wife, as a reward of her sweetness and sincerity, clarity, and faithfulness, was reborn after death in the Tāvātīsa heaven.

7. *Śyāmasānā* (p. 58). For offering some portion of the cakes which she had got for her own use to an ascetic; the daughter-in-law of a Brahmin family was reborn after death in the Tāvātīsa heaven.

8. *Uttarānā* (pp. 62-71).—By offering to Śāriputta the whole of the food prepared and meant for her husband, Uttara, the loving wife of Pūṇa, the servant of a banker of Rājagṛha, performed a meritorious deed as a result of which her husband became the richest man in the whole city and was made the *Nagarasetthi*; and both the husband and wife attained the first stage of sanctification by their deeds of charity in the shape of gifts to the Buddha and the congregation.

Pūṇa's daughter was also named Uttara. At one time she invited the Buddha and his disciples, listened to the Buddha's religious discourse, and thus attained the second stage of sanctification, while her husband and other relatives, . . . and thus an opportunity of listening to the discourses of the Master, attained the first stage. Uttara on her death was reborn in the Tāvātīsa heaven.

9. *Sirindānā* (pp. 75 foll.). For offering alms to eight bhikkhus daily, and spending sixteen *kaṭṭhaka* on charity, Sirinā the courtesan was reborn after death as a celestial nymph.

10. *Kesakāśānā* (pp. 86 foll.). A daughter of Kesakāsi, a brahmin of Varāna, listened to the precepts of the Buddhist faith from a lay disciple, and, while meditating on those of impurities, attained

the first stage and was, after death, reborn as an attendant of Śākyā.

11. *Māyāsimāna* (pp. 91-92).—For serving four bhikkhus daily with hearty devotion and observing the ten dhammas, a maid-servant was reborn after death as one of the beloved attendants of Nāgā.

12. *Lakṣmānānāyaka* (pp. 97-98).—For preparing roads and supplying water to the bhikkhus in the Anurādhā daily, a woman called Lakṣmānā was established in the Sōbhavā and was, after death, reborn in the Tāvātīsa heaven.

13. *Aṅgathīyikānāyaka* (pp. 100-101).—For offering her food and the robes which had been given her by the inmates of a house behind which she had taken shelter, to Mahākāśyapa, a woman of Kāṣyapa was reborn among the Nimmammarāzāsas.

14. *Cāyābhāṣānāyaka* (pp. 105-107).—A cordless eunuch at the exhortation of Mahāmoggallāna fell down at the feet of the Buddha and worshipped him. On account of this meritorious deed, she was, on her death, reborn in the Tāvātīsa heaven.

15. *Bhaddhābhāṣānāyaka* (pp. 109-110).—Bhaddhā, usually known as Bhaddhā, once offered good food and drink to four disciples of the Master with their followers, served them in every way, listened to their discourses, embraced the feet, and received the five alms. She, after death, was reborn in the Tāvātīsa heaven and worshipped the Buddha when the Master went there.

16. *Sorādānābhāṣānāyaka* (p. 116).—For serving bhikkhus, observing the precepts and ten upasālas with perfect regularity, Sorādānā, a devoted spanika of Nanda, assumed Setaṇṇā and was reborn after death in the Tāvātīsa heaven.

17. *Uppasālaṅkānāyaka* (p. 116).—For similar meritorious deeds, Uppasāla, another devoted upāsāka of Nanda, was reborn after death in the Tāvātīsa heaven.

18. *Khāṅkānāyaka* (pp. 118-119).—On account of her inviting the Buddha to have his

daily mend at her house; and serving him in other ways, a woman of Uppamulakura in Sāvathī was, after death, reborn in the Tāvatinīa heaven.

18. *Uppamulakura* (pp. 120-121).—For offering the cake of her mother-in-law's share to Mulu-maggallāna, a girl was reborn, after death, in the Tāvatinīa heaven.

20. *Uppamulakura* (p. 124). For similar reasons another girl also obtained the same good fortune.

21. *Uppamulakura* (p. 124).—A daughter of an upseka at Sāvathī was reborn in the Tāvatinīa heaven for her having been virtuous free from anger, devoted, and an observer of the Sākhath.

22. *Uppamulakura* (pp. 131-132).—As a result of her gentle behaviour and practising clarity and observing the Sākhath, Latip, a daughter of an upseka of Sāvathī, was reborn as a daughter of Vesavara Kuvēra, and was appointed along with her four other sisters as a dancing girl by Nalika.

23. *Uppamulakura* (pp. 131-132). On account of various kinds of charity, 22 nymphs had become liberated from earthly life and came to be born as heavenly nymphs possessing splendour greater than that of other gods. When Śāhila, the musician, saw them in Indra's court, he, as remuneration for his songs, prayed that all the bright goddesses would recount to him the good deeds that had brought them to the heavenly region.

24. *Uppamulakura* (pp. 144 foll.). The *Uppamulakura* illustrates that offering food and drink to the Saṅgha brings forth more merit than that to individual bhikkhus.

25. *Uppamulakura* (pp. 156 foll.). In consequence of the meritorious deed of offering her gold ornaments to be utilised for the erection of a stūpa, a girl was reborn in the deva-loka, and from that deva-loka she was reborn in the family of a householder in Magadhā. In this birth of her, she showed her respect to the dead body of Śākyamuni by wadding it with scents, flowers, etc. And

when she died with her mind full of respect for the Buddha, she was reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

26. *Mallikāsimāna* (p. 165).—For offering worship to the relic of the Buddha. Mallika, daughter of the king of Kusinara, was reborn, after death, in the Tāvātīma heaven.

27. *Paṇḍitaśśīrimāna* (pp. 166-170). For daily sending garlands, perfumes, fruits, flowers, etc., to the stūpa over the relic of the Buddha, Sumandā, a daughter of the garland-maker of Rājagaha, was born after death as an attendant of Sakka, who, on one occasion, addressed her as *Viśalāhī*.

28. *Parivāṇḍitaśśīrimāna* (p. 173).—For worshipping the Buddha with Anoka flowers and showing respect to him in various ways, a certain woman was reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

29. *Māṇḍipphalaśīrimāna* (pp. 174-177).—As a result of her worshipping the Buddha with sala flowers, a certain maid-servant was, after death, reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

30. *Paṭhaśārasīrimāna* (pp. 178-179).—For welcoming Mahāvijjāyāna to her house, offering him a seat, and worshipping him, a daughter of a certain upāsaka of Rājagaha was reborn, after death, in the Tāvātīma heaven.

31. *Māyāsīmāna* (pp. 181-182). For offering a pair of robes to the Buddha and listening to a religious discourse of the Master, an upāsikā of Benares was, after death, reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

32. *Alomāsimāna* (p. 181).—The good deed of offering some rotten cooked rice, not finding anything better without salt, to the Buddha, brought a poor woman named Alomā to the Tāvātīma heaven after death.

33. *Kaṇṭhikudāyīśīrimāna* (pp. 185-188).—For offering to the Buddha a medicated drink of rice-gruel that relieved the Master of his pain in the stomach, the wife of the Buddha's physician was reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven after death.

34. *Vihāraśāhāna* (pp. 187-189).—Vissākhā the great upāsikā of Sāvaththi once listened to a religious discourse of the Buddha and offered her unshakable unshakable to the Master for the construction of a vihāra, the merit whereof was given to her maid-servant. Vissākhā was, on that account, reborn in the Nimmamurati heaven where he became chief queen to the King Sāmarātha, and the maid-servant was reborn in the Tāvatinīya heaven.

35. *Chattāpāhāna* (pp. 195-197).—For making gifts to bhikkhus, four girls of the time of the Kassapa Buddha became celestial nymphs after death. At the time of Gautama Buddha they were in heaven.

36. *Ambarādhāna* (p. 198).—For building a hermitage for bhikkhus and the Master, an upāsikā of Sāvaththi was, after death, reborn in the Tāvatinīya heaven.

37. *Piṇḍamāna* (p. 200).—While on his way to worship a stūpa, an upāsika was killed by a milk-cow. She was reborn in the Tāvatinīya heaven.

38. *Vasānāśāhāna* (p. 205).—For making oblations to a number of bhikkhus to whom she was filled with veneration and respect, a village woman was reborn in the Tāvatinīya heaven.

39. *Atijāvanāśāhāna* (pp. 204-205).—For being instrumental to inviting the Buddha to her mistress's house, a servant girl was reborn in the Tāvatinīya heaven after death.

40. *Māyāśāhāna* (pp. 217-218).—A frog was trod upon by a cowherd while listening to a religious discourse of the Buddha. It was reborn, after death, in the Tāvatinīya heaven.

41. *Devatāśāhāna* (pp. 220 *fol.*).—Uvāsi, wife of a householder of Sāvaththi, practised charity only when her husband was at home, and stopped all works of charity after the death of her husband. In consequence of this she had to experience suffering in different hells while enjoying blessings of the Tāvatinīya heaven.

42. *Chattamānavaḥivāṇā* (pp. 229-233).—Knowing the impending death of Chatta, a son of a learned brahmana, the Buddha set out for him, and meeting him on the way converted him to the faith. For his devotion to the faith, Chatta, after death, was reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

43. *Kakkupakuruvaḍḍhāraṇīyā* (pp. 243-244). For offering to a bhikkhu rice and urab grass which relieved him of an acute pain in the ear, a farmer of Māgadhā was reborn after death in the Tāvātīma heaven.

44. *Uttarapālakavāṇā* (pp. 245-247). For daily receiving bhikkhus with care and devotion and listening to their exhortations, a gatekeeper was converted to the faith, and was, after death, reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

45. *Kāraṇīyavāṇā* (p. 248). For inviting the Buddha to his house and offering him food and drink, an upāsaka was reborn, after death, in the Tāvātīma heaven.

46. *Sācīyāṇā* (p. 250).—For offering ten cowles to Saṃpitta, a blacksmith was, after death, reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

47. *Paṭṭiyāḥivāṇā* (p. 251). For abster-
giving of charity, a tailor acquired the same good fortune.

48. *Āpāvaṇā* (pp. 252-254).—For obtaining with difficulty eight flowers with which he worshipped the stupa, an upāsaka was reborn as a devaputta in various heavens, and came to the Tāvātīma heaven at the time of the Buddha Gaṇama.

49. *Duḍḍiyāvaṇā* (pp. 254-255).—An upāsaka of Kāśyapa was reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven on account of his charity and faithfulness, and on account of his offering alms and drinks to the bhikkhu.

50. *Paṭṭiyāvaṇā* (pp. 256-257). For offering rice with sugarcane juice and sugarcane pieces to three bhikkhus and then entertaining respectively an ulleas for which he was beaten to death by his master, the keeper of a sugarcane

held at Rājagṛha was reborn in the 'Tavatīśa' called Buddhavāse of the gods.

51. *Cāpurañcīnāna* (pp. 269-276). For receiving instruction in the Saśā from Mahākaccāpyana holding a vihāra, and inviting a them to come there, and for performing other meritorious deeds: Sujata, the banished son of the king of Aśoka, was reborn after death in the 'Tavatīśa' heaven.

52. *Mahāśrutācīmāna* (pp. 270-271). For having worshipped the Buddha Vipassā with a garland of gold, a devaputta named Gopala was reborn at the time of Kaṇṇasa Buddha as the son of King Kiki of Benares. In this birth he made many good gifts and received the Dhamma from that Buddha, and was accordingly reborn, after death, in the 'Tavatīśa' heaven. Later, at the time of Gotama Buddha he learnt the principles of the faith from Mahāmaṅgallāna and became established in the Saṃgati.

53. *Agāraṅgamaṇā* (p. 284). In consequence of their offering charity to bhikkhus, a rich couple of Rājagṛha were reborn in the 'Tavatīśa' heaven, having a very large golden viṣṇu a full of celestial comforts.

54. *Piṅkaḍḍiyābhavaṇāna* (pp. 286-290).—For offering to Mahāmaṅgallāna four mangoes which were distributed by the Buddha to his four prominent disciples and making over the name of the gift to King Kimbūra, a gardener, after death was reborn in the 'Tavatīśa' heaven.

55. *Uparāyāyādāyākarīnāna* (p. 291). For placing one room at the disposal of a bhikkhu for one night and for entertaining him with food and drink, an upasaka of Rājagṛha with his wife was, after death, reborn in the 'Tavatīśa' heaven.

56. *Ilakkhā'āyābhavaṇāna* (pp. 292-293).—As a reward of his offering food to a bhikkhu, a householder was reborn in the 'Tavatīśa' heaven.

57. *Jānāpūlakaṇṇamāna* (p. 294).—For offering food to a bhikkhu a boy, who was at that time himself very hungry, was born, after death, in the 'Tavatīśa' heaven.

58. *Kundakāsiyana* (p. 285).—For making arrangements for bhikkhus for their stay at night and offering plenty of food and drink an *upāsaka*, after death, was reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

59. *Māraṅgaṇṇa* (pp. 287-288).—For listening to the Paṇḍita Sūtra delivered by *Koṇḍakāsiyapa* Thera and embracing the Buddhist faith, as also for practising charity on a poor scale, King Paṇḍi was, after death, reborn in the Cātavāṇīkāśāḍḍika devahāra. But his slave who spent all his wealth in charity was reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

60. *Cāḍḍakāsiyana* (p. 289).—For serving other people, and for being faithful, obedient, and devoted to his three gurus, a poor man of *Paṇḍi* was reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

61. *Māṇḍikāsiyana* (p. 291).—For sweeping the path which the bhikkhus used when going out for alms, and for making all other arrangements for making their journey comfortable as well as for observing the precepts and offering charity, an *upāsaka* was reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

62. *Sambhāraṇṇa* (p. 292).—For offering to the Buddha an excellent *paṇḍikāsi* provided with all necessary comforts, an *upāsaka*, after death, was reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

63. *Ambarāṇṇa* (pp. 295-296).—For inviting *Sāraputta* to his garden and offering him water for bath and drinking, a gardener was reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

64. *Cāpāṇṇaṇṇa* (p. 297).—A hungry cowherd of *Kāṇḍakā* offered *Mahānāggaṇṇa* the sour gourd meal for alms. He was, as a result, reborn after death in the Tāvātīma heaven.

65. *Kaṇḍakāsiyana* (pp. 312-314).—The famous horse of *Gaṇḍama*, name 'Kaṇḍhaka', was, after death, reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven for its past services to *Gaṇḍama*, its master.

66. *Abhāraṇṇaṇṇa* (pp. 318-320).—A high-caste, who became a householder was in the habit of performing meritorious deeds, worshipping *Gaṇḍama* and listening to his discourses. He was, after

death, born in the devataka and was more powerful than Sakka. At the time of Santana Baddha, he was reborn in the Tavutitisa heaven.

87. *Sammabhisāsa* (pp. 351 foll.).—In consequence of his failing to offer charities with a whole heart, King Pāyāsi could not reach the Tāvātimsa heaven, but was reborn in the lower heaven of Cātummaharājikas, in a vastest vimāna called *Sarikkasvambha*.

88. *Savikkhito bhūvīre* (pp. 352 foll.). An *apinaka* who was very much devoted to the worship of the *Kaṇṇasa-Sammābhambhakkha* and his *ceitya*, was reborn, after death, in a golden mansion in the Tāvātimsa heaven.

It will be seen from the above account of the vimānas or celestial mansions that the form of the vimāna and the comforts and pleasures provided therein are proportional not only to the meritorious deeds done on earth, but also to the particular nature of the deeds themselves, as also to the desire of the dweller of the vimāna. It appears, furthermore, that most of the departed spirits go to the Tāvātimsa heaven. Only in rare cases do we read of a spirit passing to the region of the higher gods, the *Nirvāṇataka*. It is only in very exceptional cases indeed that spirits go to the *brahmaloka*. However, after we read only in one case of a king who went to the region of Cātummaharājikas for stinginess of making gifts.

Another thing that deserves notice is that the vimānas may not always be in the heavenly regions. This is especially the case with the spirits in the lower heavens who are not sufficiently purified or whose unattachment to things on earth is still rather keen. The spirits *andhita* will come down on earth in the vimānas, and in several cases they came to the Buddha in their vimānas to listen to his discourse.¹

¹ For fuller and more critical statements of these questions see my "Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Cosmology", Chap. III, pp. 86-87.

"The joys of heaven," Lord Ronaldson rightly observes, in his *Foreword to my book on 'Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective'*, "are represented as being obtainable by means of what is suspiciously like a mercenary bargain, entered into in a spirit which far from being selfless is, on the contrary, frankly selfish". This is quite obviously foreign to the lofty thought and teaching of Buddha himself.

Petavatthu Commentary. The '*Parumattavuddi-paṇḍi*' is a commentary on the *Petavatthu*, a work devoted entirely to the petas or spirits of the deceased. It was written by *Dhammapāla* of *Kācchīpurāna*¹ in Southern India and it contains details of stories compiled from Buddhist tradition handed down orally as well as recorded in the ancient *atthakathās* (or commentaries) preserved in Ceylon. *Dhammapāla's atthakathā* is a great storehouse of information about the individual petas or spirits, and these stories enable us to form an idea of the Buddhist conception of spirits and the spirit world.

A short synoptical account of the stories of the *Petavatthu Commentary* may be catalogued as follows:

1. *Kakūḍipamā Peta* (pp. 1-8).—A *sakkaputta* who deserved to be reborn in the *devavāka* for a deed of charity towards *Mahānāggaḷāna* was, however, born on a much lower plane as a tree spirit, owing to his affection towards *Sulasa*, a beautiful maiden of his town. As a tree spirit, he stole away *Sulasa* and kept her with him on the tree for some time.

2. *Sūkaramekkhaya* (pp. 9-10).—For having been unrestrained in speech, a *hīhikkhu* was reborn

¹ *Petavatthu Commentary* edited by *San Dhammasūtra*. *Three Gayika* Thera and *Mupalaṅgamaṅgajōk* Thera; *Saḍḍa* Edited by *K. S. G. S. Mahāyāna* Thera. *Tipiṭaka Vidyasaḍḍhaya* and *Pravīna* *Śrīrāma*, Colombo. The *Petavatthu* with *Entree* commentary by *Amaraśāstra* *Saḍḍhaya* at *Kaṅgala*, *Ceylon*, 1891-1895, 2 vols. in 1 vol.

² The name may have been used for the *P.T.* by *Prof. Hardy*.

as a *petā* with the face like that of a swine or *sūkara*.

3. *Pōṭimūḍḍapeta* (pp. 12 foll.).—A bhikkhu very much unrestrained in speech once entered discussions between two friends. As a punishment he was reborn as a *petā* under the name of *pōṭimūḍḍa*, because his mouth used to give out a very loud snarl on account of his having been wicked and unrestrained in speech.

4. *Pūḍḍakāyāpeta* (pp. 16 foll.).—In course of a discourse the Buddha approved of making offering to the departed spirits; but added that sorrow, lamentation, and weeping were of no use to the pious; they only brought suffering to the living relatives.

5. *Piṇḍakāyāpeta* (pp. 19 foll.).—Some people for their misdeeds were reborn as *petas*; but as they did not obtain any offering from their relatives, they were again born as *petas*. *Virabhisāra*, who was their former relative, however, gave a dinner to the whole Saṅgha and made over to the *petas* the merit thereof; and the Buddha approved of it.

6. *Paṇḍapāṇḍakāyāpeta* (pp. 31 foll.).—For causing miscarriage to a pregnant woman, another woman was reborn as a pet of evil look and suffered much misery. She was, however, freed from her miserable condition only when her former husband transferred the merit of a pious deed of charity to the pet.

7. *Soṭṭaputtakāyāpeta* (pp. 36-37).—The story of the misdeed and its retribution is just like the previous one.

8. *Chāyāpeta* (pp. 38-42).—A son conspired his father who had become overpowered with grief at the death of his father by saying that he was weeping for one whose body was not even before him and could not even be seen or heard.

9. *Mahapāṇḍapeta* (pp. 42-46).—The son of the headman of a village was very malicious towards the bhikkhus whom his husband used to provide with food. The husband was reborn as a

tree-god while his wife came to live close by as a petā who suffered boundless miseries, anguish, and pain. She was however released from her penitence when her former husband, the tree-god, transferred the merit of nine of his deeds of charity to her.

10. *Khuddātipiṣṭha* (pp. 40-53). As a result of both good and evil deeds, a woman in her next life found herself seated in a golden viṣṭāsa, but on account of her having stolen clothings of invited guests, she was naked. But when the merit of a pious set of a body of merchants was transferred to her, she became draped in finest garments. Subsequently she sent some presents to the Buddha and was as a result reborn in a golden palace in the Tāvātīma heaven.

11. *Nāyapeta* (pp. 53-55). As a direct result of their unbelief and past misdeeds, husband and wife were reborn as a petā and petā respectively, and used to beat each other with iron clubs.

12. *Uragapeta* (pp. 55-56).—Dharmapala, a brahmin of Benares, taught the members of his family not to lament at the death of anybody, and all of them acted accordingly. For this wise attitude they were rewarded by Sakka who was no other than their own son reborn in heaven as Sakka.

13. *Majjhakosyālikapeta* (p. 58).—The son of a miserly brahmin who was reborn as a god came down to punish his father in the guise of a petā and asked him not to lament for one whose dead body was not even visible (cf. Dharmapala Commentary, Vol. I, p. 28).

14. *Sattikūṭṭhārasāpeta* (pp. 252-258). In consequence of various serious misdeeds, four sons of a rich man of Rājagṛha suffered in hell for 60,000 years, and then became petās suffering in Lokūkkāṃbhī hell (cf. Dharmapala Commentary, Vol. II, pp. 68-73).

15. *Thagassānāpeta* (pp. 278-279).—For rebelling people, four women came to be reborn as petās and became overwhelmed with great pain.

16. *Alākaṇḍīyapeta* (pp. 277-278). An account of his act of help and charity done to an *upasaka*, a man came to be reborn as a god living on earth.

17. *Andhupeta* (pp. 273 foll.).—An avartuous trader, after death, came to live as a *peta*; and he was not relieved of his miserable plight until his daughter transferred the merit of her meritorious deed to him.

18. *Pācāpīyapeta* (pp. 271 foll.). An *upasaka*, on account of his attachment to a particular woman was reborn as a *Vimānupeta* where he with the help of his mindless power enjoyed for some time the company of his lover.

19. *Caṅḍapeta* (pp. 269 foll.). A number of people of *Sāvasthī*, who formed a *Caṅga* and who were unbelievers, obstinate, miserly, and doers of evil deeds, were reborn after their death as *petas* and on one occasion they related in detail the story of their suffering to *Moggallāna*.

20. *Uttahāṅḍapeta* (pp. 266-267). A family *bhikkhu* was in the habit of speaking against other *bhikkhus*, and also induced a householder who had built for him a house to abuse them. Both of them on account of these misdeeds were reborn as *petas*.

21. *Sīrasāpeta* (pp. 177-186).—The son of the king of *Besara* once insulted a *Pacceya* Buddha, for which sin, he, after death, was reborn in the *Avāhi* hell. He was, however, reborn in the time of *Gautama* and eventually became a famous monk. But his relatives who all misbelieved with him came to be born after death as *petas*.

22. *Kamāpeta* (pp. 281-282). Two princes of *Kosala* were, for committing adultery, reborn as *petas*. To relieve them of suffering, the *Worldha* asked the people to make offerings to the *Śākingha*, and transfer the merit of the offerings to the *petas*.

23. *Uttārasāpeta* (pp. 212-215). A wealthy householder, who was an unbeliever, and used to speak ill of the *relīca*, was reborn as a *peta*.

24. *Uccāyana* (pp. 267 foll.) A sugarcane farmer for his beating an upāsaka with sugarcane-sticks was reborn as a *petala*. He, however, got rid of his sufferings, when he made an offering of a large bundle of corns to the Buddha and Saṅgha; as a result of this offering, he was reborn in the Tāvātīsa heaven.

25. *Amulakapala* (pp. 241-257).—Nandika, the courtier-judicial of the king of Kurattā, for his malice, was reborn as a *petala* and resided on a nigrodha tree. But when his daughter transferred the merit of one of her meritorious deeds, he became a believer.

26. *Antamakkharapala* (pp. 216 foll.).—A merchant of Vaiśālī for joking concealed the garment of his associate and had to go naked in his next birth though he was reborn as a good living on earth. Thus impressed by his exhortations, King Antamakkhara offered his garments to bhikkhus so that the naked might get clothes to wear.

27. *Kūṭavācchāyikapala* (pp. 209 foll.).—For his past sins of speaking malicious words and cheating people, a judicial officer of King Bimbisāra had to eat the flesh taken out from his own body, though he was reborn as a devotee for having kept uposatha for one night.

28. *Uṭṭiyāhaldapala* (pp. 207 foll.).—As a result of his cruelty by day, a hunter used to be bitten by dogs in the daytime though he was reborn as a *Vandapala* enjoying happiness at night for his having ceased hunting by night.

29. *Migalāṭṭapala* (pp. 241 foll.).—Like the previous one.

30. *Sevāsīpala* (pp. 201 foll.).—Seriā, an unbeliever used to speak ill of the Samānas; she was, therefore, reborn as a *petala* in the *petaloka* suffering miserably. She was, however, at last freed from the *petaloka* by virtue of the merit transferred to her by the mother of an upāsaka.

31. *Kāmarāsa* (pp. 134 foll.).—An envious and stingy person used to speak ill of the ascetics;

but he was eventually prevailed upon to worship the Buddha and make an offering. After death, the son was reborn in the womb of a prostitute who threw him into a cesspool. He was eventually picked up by a wealthy householder to whose wealth he became later on the sole heir.

32. *Bhūsupeta* (pp. 131 foll.). A merchant of Sivatahi used to cheat people in trade, his son was a sinner, his wife and daughter-in-law were also very greedy. They were all reborn, after death, as petae and petās in the Vudhaya forest where they suffered terribly and miserably.

33. *Kakkāśūpeta* (pp. 135 foll.).—For the good act of building a vihāra for a Saṅgha, a pious woman was reborn as a *Vimāsupeta* on account of some of her past misdeeds.

34. *Abhijānāpeta* (pp. 137 foll.).—A hunter who delighted in the cruel sport of hunting was reborn as a *peta* naked and fierce in appearance and never saw any food or drink. He was, however, clothed and fed as a result of the charity of the minister of King Bimbisāra of food and clothes to all *apāsaka*.

35. *Ubbāsiṅga* (pp. 140 foll.). At the death of her husband Ubbāsi Nāgmadatta, king of Pāvāli, Ubbāsi was overpowered with grief and she wept bitterly. The Master who was then Bodhisattva uncle to her, and by a discourse on *karuṇā* and on the many births and deaths, as also by expounding the Dhamma, cured her lacerated soul.

36. *Sattapeta* (pp. 144 foll.). A boy who was an attendant of a *paṇḍakabhaddhā* came to be reborn as a *Vimāsupeta* on account of his attachment to a girl. By winning over her mother, the *peta* was, however, able to bring the girl to his abode where they lived together happily for some time.

37. *Uppamāṇapeta* (pp. 146 foll.). Uppamā, a woman, was stingy and a believer of false deities. She also used to curse those who were believed: she was accordingly, after death, reborn as a *peta* and suffered terribly for 55 years. When she was

at last saved by the merit of a charity transferred to her by a thief.

38. *Madhavāmarakapeta* (pp. 67 foll.). A girl of the Sāmbhramocaka caste who was a Isko believer was, however, made indirectly to salute a thief who wanted her to be saved from going to hell after death. She was reborn, therefore, as a petā, with some chance of salvation. The chance eventually came, and she was freed from the petaloka.

39. *Nāripūsthanasāra Mālapetā* (pp. 74 foll.). A mischievous woman, who did not give food, drink, and invitation to the bhikkhus who came to her place as guests, was reborn as a petā and had to suffer misery. She was, however, relieved of her sufferings and reborn in the devataloka by Śāriputta whose mother she had been in the fifth birth.

40. *Mālapetā* (pp. 82 foll.).—Māṭā, the barren wife of a householder of Sāvathī, was very jealous of her husband and his second wife who were very loving and friendly towards each other, and daily made offerings to deuras and bhikkhus. On account of her jealousy and other misdeeds, she was reborn as a petā and suffered terribly. She was, however, released from the petaloka by dint of the merit of the second wife being transferred to her.

41. *Nandāpetā* (pp. 89 foll.).—Nandā, the wife of a householder, was, as a result of her misdeeds, reborn as a petā. One day she appeared before her husband who according to her direction made gifts of charity to the bhikkhus and the petā was released from her misery.

42. *Mahāvijālapetā* (pp. 95 foll.).—Dhanapala, a miserly and sceptic merchant, was reborn as a petā in a desert where he could not get a drop of water to drink or grain to eat. After suffering for 56 years, he was, however, saved from suffering by a caravan of merchants who made offerings on his account to the Buddha and his disciples.

43. *Uḍḍāyāpeta* (pp. 100 foll.).—A stingy and sceptic householder of Benares was reborn after death as a petā with a body without flesh and

blind. The pata man approached King Ajātasattu, who, on his request and on his account, made offerings to the Buddha and his disciples, and the pata was relieved of his suffering.

44. *Revatīpeta* (pp. 267).-- An unbelieving and uncharitable wife of a believing and charitable householder was reborn, as a result of her misdeeds, as a petā. But when she was asked by her husband to approve, and did so, of the meritorious acts done by him, she became a devatā and resided with her husband in heaven.

45. *Aśhuraṇḍapeta* (pp. 111 fo².).--Aśhura, the youngest son of the king of Uṭṭarāmaḍḍurā, was a charitable man. He learnt a good lesson, first from a duty of a nigrodha tree, and later on from a petā, that one should make gifts with his own hands, because the man charged with work might not do it in the right spirit. After death, he was reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven.

These stories were evidently compiled with a purpose. Each one of them has a lesson, a moral which wants to drive home to the mind of the reader the effect of karma after death. A man after death is reborn in the Tāvātīma heaven, or in the devāloka, and enjoys the good and healthy effects of karma to the extent he during his lifetime did good to others, especially to the Buddha and the bhikkhus of the Order, he was religiously and favourably minded towards Buddhism, he was charitable and he followed the right path by which of course was meant the Eightfold Path of Buddhism. But whoever is guilty of misdeeds, of cruelty, of too much worldly attachment, of hatred or even lack of faith and devotion towards the Buddha's religion or towards anyone belonging to that religious Order, or was an unbeliever or believer in false doctrines by which was certainly meant any doctrine other than Buddhism, that individual comes to be reborn, after death, as a petā or peṭṭī; he then suffers as the spirit of his deceased existence. And not until he or she does

some good works or anybody else do it on their account--religious or charitable in the Hinduism sense that he or she is delivered of his or her life of a pain or pett.

The *Theragāthā Commentary* written by *Theragāthā Commentary* *Theragāthā Commentary* and known as *Parinibbāna Sutta* contains accounts of the Theras mentioned in the *Theragāthā*. The commentary refers to a number of important places of ancient India, e.g., Nāvattī, Rājagaha, Kapilavattū, Kosambī, Magadhā, Cāmpā, Vesālī, Āvanti, Sāketa, Takkaṣā, Bhāradvāja, etc. Kings and tribes are also frequently mentioned: Purnvudī, Bimbisāra, Candapajjati, Mallā, Vajjāna, Sākya, etc., are a few of them. It is evident from a study of the contents of the commentary that the Theras belonged to different castes, from the highest aristocracy to the lowest scavenger, but they looked to one another with fraternal affection and equanimity. Most of the Theras lived contemporaneously with the Buddha. A brief summary of the principal Theras is given below:—

Subbhūti was a nephew of *Anāthapindika*. On the day when the Jeta grove, purchased by his uncle, was presented to the Buddha, *Subbhūti* was present. When he heard the Norm preached by the Blessed One, he realised the worthlessness of the worldly life. He left the world and developed his insight in the basis of love-justice and wisdom. The Buddha declared him to be the chief of his disciples in universal unity and chief among such as were held worthy of gifts.

Kaṭṭhā the Great was born in a very wealthy clan of Brahmins. He perfected himself in the accomplishments of a Brahmin. He found faith

¹ It was edited by *Śākyasūtra Samādāya* (1900) and *Widya Saṅghatana* (1904) and finally revised by *Mahāyāna* (1910) and *Thera*, (1911) *Theravāda* (1912) *Thera*, published by the Trustees, B.E.E. 1911/1912. The Pali Text Society has entrusted the ownership of this text to Dr. Piyadasa and Dr. Durr.

in the Norm preached by the Raulted One and entered the Order. He gained insight, obtained arhatship, and was ranked chief among those who were proficient in insight.

Kaṅkha-Senāpa was born in a wealthy family of Sāvasthī. He found faith in the Norm and entered the Order. The Master pronounced him to be the chief of the bhikkhus who practiced Jhāna.

Paṇḍita of the Māgadhī was born in an eminent brahmin clan. He was sister's son of the Elder Kambhūjā. He accomplished the highest duties of a recluso, and in due course of time, the Master pronounced Paṇḍita chief among the bhikkhus in preaching the Norm.

Dhāvaka was born as the child of a slave of Anurādhapūjaka who appointed him as gate porter of the Jetavana vihāra. His master treated him as he was vicious. He left the world and was ordained accordingly. But he was skillful. He was soon inspired by the Buddha. Not long after he realized arhatship.

Abhaya was the fostered son of King Bimbisara. He was at first the follower of Nāgaputta, the Jain leader. He had a conversation with the Master. After the king's death he left the world. He soon realized arhatship.

Uṭṭiya was born as the son of a Brahmin. He left the world and became a paribhājaka, a wanderer. One day in course of his journey he came where the Raulted One was preaching, and entered the Order. He obtained arhatship in time.

Suppiya was born in a despised class, as one of a clan of watchman in a cemetery at Sāvasthī. He was converted by the Thera Sāpaka. He entered the Order and attained to the highest.

Chavānapati was born as one of the four lay-companions of the Thera Kassapa. He left the world heeding Yasa's renunciation, and eventually won arhatship. Once the Lord with a great company of bhikkhus went to the Anpura grove. The accommodation being insufficient, the bhikkhus

slight around the vilains on the sand banks of the river Sarabhū. At night the stream rose in flood. But the Thera Cāravapā, as he was asked by the Master, arrested the rising stream by his mystic power.¹

Kimula-kondolañña was the bastard son of King Kimbisaṇa. His mother was Ambupātī. He left the world for the Order and attained arahatship.

Channa was a slave of Suddhodana's household. He entered the Order when the Master returned after obtaining enlightenment to meet his kin-folk. Out of his affection for the Lord, egoistic pride in 'our Buddha, our Doctrine' arose in him. He could not conquer this fondness nor perform his duty as a novice. He suffered the Brahmāranda as prescribed by the Buddha after the Lord's Mahāparinibbāna. Later on he attained arahatship.

Tissa was a ruler of the town of Hogaya. He was an ancient ally of King Kimbisaṇa. It was

¹ Mrs. Hays Thore's rightly calls him, "a very clever impostor, power". She is perfectly right when she says that Cāravapā has been lost in the lost note by the popular tradition and we have to seek him in Chinese translations of, possibly Mahāsaṅghika originals. (Notes on Buddhist Texts by Mrs. Hays Thore, p. 124.) Mrs. Hays Thore's father points out that the Thera Cāravapā passed as the author of a story of mighty skills but elsewhere (writing him, she thinks has one kind of story (Bauddhism, V, 426), declined to come for less worthy notice; this is according to the Chinese version translated further by Prof. Bechler (La culture de Bouddhisme, pt. V, pp. 8, 30, 40, and 116). His brother adds, "There seemed to be nothing worth while in trying to help the world, now that the light of its last great age, was in fading and also which he proposed to do. It may well be that the fall of lay not in Cāravapā's will but in his physical inability to travel. But that he has been allowed to come in, as a minor reason for holding about from a Cāravapā to whom the mission spirit was still alive, as a distinct feature in the Compiler" (Buddhism, pp. 344-345).

If any reader is asked here that Cāravapā lives with a human's (Buddhist) wisdom there he has been mistaken as the "Palms and of the Horse" as well as the "palms and of Pagan". He has been mentioned more than once in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Pagan as one of those who settled upon Hogaya in the foundation of the city of Hō's or Brikātra, i.e., Old Pagan. He thus becomes indubitably associated with the story of 'Kṛtva, protection of Lower Kingdom as well.' (E. P. Darmasena.)

through Bimbisāra that he renounced the world and entered the Order. He was arhatsāhip.

Vacchagotta was the son of a wealthy brahmin. He became a wandering ascetic. He had a conversation with the Lord. He entered the Order and in due course acquired sixfold abhiñña.

Vāsa was the son of a very wealthy councillor at Kāśyapa. Seeing the worldliness of the worldly life he forsook it and went to the Buddha for ordination. He entered the Order and was arhatsāhip.

Vāṅgula-Kāśyapa was the son of the chaplain to King Udena of Kāśyapa. He was versed in the brahminical lore. He entered the Order and acquired sixfold abhiñña. The Master pronounced him to be the chief among his disciples who were lion roars.

Vāṅgula the Great was the son of a female brahmin named Kāśyapa, and younger brother of Vāṅgula. He followed the latter into the Order and was sabbasāhip.

Vāṅgula was born as a brahmin's son. Hearing from a certain bhikkhu about the Noble, he left the world and acquired sixfold abhiñña.

Vāṅgula was born in a potter's family and pursued the potter's craft. Seeing that the Buddha-Dhamma helps one to be free from the sorrows of rebirth, he entered the Order and in due course was arhatsāhip.

Vāṅgula was born in a barber's family. He left the world following Anuruddha and the other five arhats. In due time he was sabbasāhip. The Master himself taught him the whole Vinaya Pitaka. He was ranked first among those who know the Vinaya.

Vāṅgula was born as the son of Princess Vāṅgula. The circumstances of his entering the Order are recorded in the Khandaḥaka. He was sabbasāhip.

Vāṅgula was born in the country of Avanti in the family of a very wealthy councillor. He learned the Norm from the venerable Kassapa

the Great and entered the Order through him. He recited the sixteen āhnikas and won arahatsip.

Kassapa of Uruvela was born in a brahmin family. He learnt the Three Vedas. Finding no vital truth in the scriptures he became an ascetic. It is mentioned in the Vinaya texts how the Blessed One converted him and his two brothers leaving the family name Kassapa. This Kassapa was the chief of those bhikkhus who had great following.

Māluṅkyā's son was born as the son of the king of Kumbhī's vāṇa. His mother was named Māluṅkyā. He left the world as a wandering ascetic. On hearing the Master's teaching, he entered the Order and in due course won arahatsip.

Kaccāyana the Great was born as the son of the captain to the King Candapajjota of Ujjānā. At his father's death he succeeded to the post of captain. The king wishing to know the Buddha's advent, asked him to bring the Master there. He went to the Master who taught him the Norm. Afterwards he won arahatsip. He hidden by the Master he himself went to the king and established him in the faith and then returned to the Master.

Kappina the Great was born in a rājā's family in the border country at a town named Kukkuṭa. At his father's death he succeeded as rājā. At that time there was a brisk trade between Sāvattihī and Kukkuṭa. Once some leaders, who were followers of the Buddha, were brought to the king. The king heard the excellence of the Norm from the traders and forthwith renounced the world. The Master who was then at Sāvattihī thought it a proper time to see Kappina. The Lord then came to the banks of the Candabhāgā where he met Kappina and his men. The Master preached the Norm and they all won arahatsip.

It is interesting to note as what Mrs. Rhys Davids has rightly pointed out (*Buddha*, p. 39) that an unrest of enquiry (as in the *Digha*, Vol. II, 161) is noticeable in the commentarial tradition of

another nobleman of North India, the raja Kappina. Mrs. Rhys Davids remarks in this connection that, "For us of European traditions the riding forth of the noble on a quest is familiar, but we do not find the Indian noble so doing in a similar tradition. We have the Jataka quest of King Kusa after his lady, but it is as a very exceptional procedure. The Christian knight went on a worthy quest: the aid of those who needed him. Kappina's interest was said to be in the new in knowledge. The purpose of the Sakya prince was the combined purpose of the new in knowledge in order to bring help to men" (Rhys, pp. 39-40). This remark of Mrs. Rhys Davids seems to be just and fair.

Kesava. When the Thera Kesava had won arahatship he went from time to time with the great monks to visit the Master. Going thus one day to visit the Buddha he strayed not far from Savatthi in a forest. Now the police came round on the track of thieves. The thieves, however, dropped their booty near the thera and ran. The thera was arrested and taken to the king. The thera proved his incapability for stealing and taught the king the Norm.

Anuruddha was born in the house of Anuruddha, the Sakyan. His elder brother was Mahadhamma, the Sakyan, the son of the Master's paternal uncle. He was summoned with the Sakyan rajas to form a guard for the Master. Under the tuition of the Master himself he won arahatship. The Master ranked him foremost among those who had attained the celestial eye.

Sāriputta and Moggallāna the Great. The stories of Sāriputta and Moggallāna the Great are taken together. In the days of Gautama Buddha they were playmates named Upatissa (Sāriputta) and Kalita (Moggallāna). They were born as brahmins. Disgusted with the worldly life they left the world and became followers of the wandering Śākyas. In Śākyas's teaching they found nothing genuine. Through Asaji, the bhikkhu, they found

the Blessed One and were ordained by him. In course of time they were arahats. Sāriputta was ranked chief among the disciples in wisdom and insight and Moggallāna was foremost in supernatural power of will.

Ānanda was born in the family of Amitodana, the Sakiyā. Ānanda renounced the world with Bhaddiya and others and was ordained by the Exalted One. He became the permanent body-servant to the Blessed One—a favour which was denied to Sāriputta and Moggallāna and others. He won arahatship after the death of the Buddha and just before the holding of the First Council.

Kassapa the Great was born in a brahmin family at the brahmin village of Bhūta citra in Magadha and was named Pippali-udāyana. He had not the intention of marrying. But he was married to one Bhaddā Kapāṭhi. Both of them lived separately. When Pippali-udāyana's parents died, both of them decided to renounce the world. Kassapa was ordained by the Master himself. In no time he was arahatship. The Master pronounced him chief among those who undertook the extra austerities.

Āśvaka was born as the son of the ruler of a province. He renounced worldly things. He heard a certain great shra preach the Dharma and entered the Order. In due course he acquired sixfold abhūti (supernatural knowledge).

Āṅgiraśāṭṭha was born as the son of the brahmin Bhaggava, who was chaplain to the king of Kosala. As he was born in the conjunction of the chief's cancellation, he became a thief. He made a garland of the finger-rings and hung it round his shoulder as if decked for sacrifice. Both the king and the people were blind of him. The king sent a strong force to capture the bandit. The Exalted One, however, converted the robber-chief.

Āṅga-Koṇḍañña was born in the village of Paṇḍavakka, not far from Kapilavattū, in a very wealthy brahmin family. Āṅga-Koṇḍañña and four others left the world in quest of Anatta or Nirvāṇa.

Buddha after attaining enlightenment preached his wheel sermon at Thipatsau to these five ascetics.

Soma-Kolvisu was born at the city of Charpa in the family of a distinguished councillor. When the Blessed One had attained omniscience and begun rolling the wheel of the Dharma, and was staying at Bājagaha, Soma came to pay a visit to the Buddha. He heard the Master teach the Norm and obtained his parents' consent to enter the Order. In due course he attained arhatship.

Kappa was born in the kingdom of Magadha, as the son of a provincial hereditary rājā. He was addicted to self-indulgence and sensuality. The Master out of compassion for him preached the Norm to him. Kappa entered the Order and in due course won arhatship.

Pugga (Kandāyavanta) was born in the Suddhāparanta country, at the port of Suppāsaka, in the family of a bourgeois. Once he went to Suvāldhi with a great caravan of merchandise. There he heard the discourse of the Buddha. He entered the Order and in due course won arhatship.

Nandaka was born at Charpa in a bourgeois family. He was the younger brother of Bharata. When both of them heard that Soma-Kolvisu had left the world, they also renounced the worldly life. Bharata soon won siddhā arhatī. But Nandaka could not. Seeing no use pulling a cart out of the lugg after it had been fed with grass and water, Nandaka like the refracted ox drew himself out of the sweep of Saṁskāra. Within a short time he won arhatship.

Udayakāra-Bhaddiya was born in a wealthy family. Hearing the Master preach he entered the Order and won arhatship.

Kassapa of the River was born in a clan of Magadha brahmins, as the brother of Uruvela-Kassapa. His religious inclination made him dislike domestic life, and he became an ascetic. How the Exalted One converted him is recorded in the *Khandakāya*.

Samyasa of Gayā was born in a brahmin family. He left the world and with a company of disciples lived at Gayā. The story of his conversion by the Master is recorded in the *Itivuttaka*.

Theriyāko Chāyāvatāna.—The *Theriyāko Commentary* called the *Parasutthadīpaṇī* written by the *Thera Dharmasāla* appends explanatory stories to the verses of the *Theriyāko*. These stories give us accounts of women who gradually became Theris. A summary of accounts of some of the important ones is given below :

Ābhīyāyāyā.—Nāgikā, so called for her great beauty and availability, had to leave the world against her will owing to the sudden and untimely death of her beloved sister *Cārābhīṭṭā*. But as she was still very conscious of her beauty and always avoided the presence of the Buddha for fear of being rebuked on that account, she was one day urged upon to appear before the Buddha. And he, the Buddha, by his supernatural power transferred her into an old and fading figure. It had the desired effect and she became an arhat.

Jāṭī.—Born in a princely family at *Vāisālī*, she won arhatship after hearing the *Dhamma* preached by the Buddha; and later developed the seven *samāhāyāṅga*.

Māgā.—Born at *Kāṣyāpā*, she one day, when of age, heard the Buddha preaching, and came to believe in his doctrine. She was ordained by *Mahāpārāsādi*, the *Gotamī*, and later on won arhatship.

Sakkā. Born in a rich family at *Kāpāgabā*, *Sakkā*, when of age, came to believe in the Buddha's doctrine and became a lay disciple. But one day hearing *Dhammacārinā* preach she was much moved, became a follower of him, and later on attained arhatship with *pañcārabhita* (analytical) knowledge. One day she gave to the bhikkhuvā a sermon so

expressing that even the tree-spirit heard her with great attention.

Satā. Otherwise known as *Atavikā* for her having been born in the kingdom of *Alavi*, she one day heard the Master and became a lay disciple. Not long after she became an arhant, and came to see with the Buddha at *Sāvatthī*. When some tried in vain to persuade her to change the ascetic life.

Miṇḍ. Born at *Vaṭṭa* as the daughter of General *Sihā's* sister, she one day heard the Master teaching the *Nāma* and *Therapāṇi*: entered the Order. For seven years she tried in vain to attain *śrāvatśhip* and she intended to die. When she was about to fall heredi, she succeeded in impelling her mind to insight which grew within and she won *śrāvatśhip*.

Bandhā Vanda.—Born in the royal family of the *Sākya*, beautiful *Bandhā* renowned the world, but was still proud of her beauty. Buddha compelled her to come before his presence and taught her in the same way as in the case of *Ābhayaparivāra*, and preached to her about the frail beauty of the body. She afterwards became an arhant.

Khema. Beautiful *Khema* was the consort of King *Bimbisāra*. Hearing that the Buddha was in the habit of speaking ill of beauty, she liked not to appear before him. One day, hearing the beauty of the *Vahuvana vibhāra*, she came to see it. It happened that the Buddha was then lying there, and she was led before him. The Buddha then illustrated with the example of a beautiful colonial nymph passing from youth through middle and old age to death the vanity of physical beauty and the suffering therefrom. *Khema* at once became a believer and came to attain *śrāvatśhip*.

Angamā. Daughter of a family of *Sākya*, and beautiful as she was, she was wooed by many young men of influence. But thinking that there was no happiness in household life, she went to the Master, heard his teachings, and later on attained *śrāvatśhip*.

Rohiṇī. Born at Vesāl in a prosperous brahmin family, she, when grown up, went to the Master and heard him preach. With her parents' permission she entered the Order and soon attained arhantship.

Sūtibā. Beautiful Sūtibā, the daughter of a goldsmith of Rājagaha, saw the Master, who taught her the Dhamma. She then entered the Order under Mahāpajjāpati Gotama and in course of time won arhantship.

Pissā.—Born at Kapilavastu among the Sākyas, she renounced the world and afterwards attained arhantship.

Suvessā. Daughter of King Kāṇva of Māgadhā, she, on hearing the doctrine of the Buddha from the bhikkhus, renounced the world, and soon acquiring insight, attained arhantship.

Chanda.—Coming of a brahmin family, she had to beg from door to door for food. One day she took her food from Thera Patheva and other bhikkhus. She then listened to the discourses of Thera Patheva, renounced the world, and afterwards succeeded in attaining arhantship with paṭisaṁbhiddā (analytical knowledge).

Qeṭṭī.—Coming of a brahmin family of Savatthī, she, with her parents' consent, entered the Order under Mahāpajjāpati Gotama, and eventually attained arhantship together with paṭisaṁbhiddā.

Qata, Pissāṭṭā, and Sissapattā.—Born in Magadhā, these three were younger sisters of Sāvitrī. On their brother leaving the Order, they too followed suit and afterwards attained arhantship. In vain they tried to gratify sensual desires in them.

Uppalavāsā.—Coming of a barber's family at Savatthī, Uppalavāsā was sued by many bankers' sons and princes. But she renounced the world, received ordination, and gradually attained arhantship with paṭisaṁbhiddā or analytical knowledge.

Sambhāgāharā.—Coming of a poor family at Rājagaha, and wife of a basket-maker, she one day

collected on all she had suffered as a lay-woman. In this her sight quickened and she attained arhatship with analytical knowledge.

Punnā.—Born of a domestic slave at Sāvatchī in the household of Anābhapiṇḍika, and with great merits acquired in her previous births, she obtained *śōṭāpatti-phalaṇi*, and afterwards defeated in debate a brahmin *Udakaśiddhika*. Punnā renounced the worldly life, entered the Order, and attained arhatship.

Sundarī.—Born at Benares, Sundarī lost her brother, upon which her father renounced the world and became an arhat. Sundarī then followed her father, left the world, entered the Order, and after hard striving attained arhatship with *paṇi-sambhijā*.

Vimalā.—Born of a public-woman at Vesālī, Vimalā one day went to the house of Mahasūy-gallāma to criticise him. The venerable then rebuking her, she was attracted and became a believer and lay-sister. Some time after she entered the Order and gradually attained arhatship.

Mittakālikā.—Coming of a brahmin family in the Kuru Kingdom, she, when of age, entered the Order of nuns. For seven years she strove hard and afterwards won arhatship with the analytical knowledge.

Sukalā (Pakṣā).—Born of a brahmin family at Sāvatchī, she early became a believer, and one day hearing the preaching of an arhat became so much convinced that she entered the Order. Afterwards she attained arhatship and became foremost among the bhikkhūṇā.

Mudā.—Coming of a brahmin family of Sāvatchī, she, when twenty years old, went to Mahāyājupati (Gotama) and got ordination from him. She eventually became an arhat.

Puggā.—Daughter of a leading bourgeois of Sāvatchī, she, when twenty years of age, heard the Great Paṇḍita and renounced the world. In due course she attained arhatship.

Devatīkā.—Coming of a parohita family, she, when of age, went into the Order under Mahāpajjāpati Gotama at Rajagaha and eventually attained arhatship with analytical knowledge.

Paṅḍarā.—Niece of Mahāpajjāpati Gotama, she renounced the world following her suitors. For twenty-five years she was harassed by the lusts of the senses. But one day hearing Phassara-thera preach the Norm, she began to practise meditation and soon acquired the six supernatural powers.

Uṭṭarā.—Coming of a householder's family at Handhuvanti, she in her old age heard Pūṣkara preach the Norm, became a believer, entered the Order, and very soon became an arhat.

Afterwards she converted thirty sisters who entered the Order, and they in their turn became arhats.

Uṭṭarā.—Coming of a charman's family at Sāvathī, she, when grown up, heard Pūṣkara preach the Norm, became a believer, entered the Order, and became an arhat.

Bhaddā Kaccināka.—Coming of the family of a banker at Rajagaha, she, when grown up, fell in love with one Sattaka, a parohita's son. But Sattaka was ascetic, and wanted to have all the jewels with which Bhaddā had decked herself. In vain she pleaded that she herself and all her ornaments belonged to him. So when, Sattaka one day took Bhaddā to the precipice of a cliff to give an offering, the latter pushed him over the precipice and he died. Bhaddā then left the world, entered the Order of the Nigāṇṭhas, and became an unequalled debater. One day she challenged Śrīputta to a debate but she was defeated, and went to the Buddha for refuge. Buddha discerned her maturity of knowledge, and she attained arhatship with analytical knowledge.

Āmā (1).—Coming of a rich household at Kosambh and moved by the death of one of her dear friends, she went to listen to the Elder Āmābh and acquired insight. On the seventh day after this she became an arhat.

Sāvaṇṇī (17) - Another Śramaṇa coming of a clannatic family found in her old age a sermon through which she insight expanded and she won arhantship with paṭisaṃbhūti (analytical knowledge).

Māhā - Coming of the family of a rich landholder at Sāvasthī, beautiful Chāndī was made a queen of the king of Kosala. But a few years after when her only daughter Jivā died, she wept bitterly, whereupon she was questioned and admonished by the Buddha. She was then established in insight and in due course won arhantship.

Kesīgūfānī - Coming of a poor family at Sāvasthī, she, on the death of her only child, went to the Buddha with the dead body, and requested him to bring the dead to life. The Buddha then delivered a sermon upon which she became a bhikkhuni, and later on an arhant.

Pitācārā - Coming of banker's family at Sāvasthī, she, when of age, eloped with her lover who afterwards became her husband, but unfortunately enough the husband died of snake-bite and her son was drowned while crossing a river. She lost her brother and parents. She then became mad and went naked. But upon Buddha's directing her to recover her shamelessness, she acquired consciousness; and instructed by the Master she was established in Sotupattiphalaṇa. Afterwards she became an arhant.

Pāṇḍitī - Coming of a clannatic family at Vesālī, she became mad with grief at the death of her only son. But when she came to Mithilā and saw the Buddha she got back her normal mind, and she listened to the discourse of the Nuruṇ preached by the Buddha. She then acquired insight and became an arhant.

Uḥamradānā - Coming of a clannatic family at Rajagaha, Uḥamradānā was married to a soldier named Visakha. But on his renouncing the world, she too followed and became a bhikkhuni in a village. By virtue of her merits acquired in a previous birth, she soon became an arhant and won

later on ranked by the Buddha as the foremost among the sisters who could preach.

Dhammad.—Coming of a respectable family at Sāvathī, Dhammad entered the Order on her husband's death and became an arhat with thorough knowledge of the Norms in form and meaning.

Mettikā. Daughter of a rich brahmin of Rājagaha, Mettikā lived the life of a recluse and eventually attained arhatship.

Abhaya.—Coming of a respectable family at Ujjain, Abhaya renounced the world, entered the Order, and in course of time attained arhatship at Rājagaha.

Soma.—Born at Rājagaha as the daughter of a purohita, Soma in her advanced years became a lay disciple first and afterwards entered the Order. Within a short time she attained arhatship, and Māra tried in vain to deviate her from this path.

Subhita Kāyāsi.—Coming of a brahmana family of the Kasiya clan at Supta, she renounced the world along with her husband and devoted five years in a hermitage. She was then ordained by Mahāpajāpati Gotami and soon won arhatship. She was later on ranked first among the bhikkhunis who could remember previous births.

Dhira.—Born at Kapilavatthu in the noble clan of the Kasiyas, Dhira renounced the world with Mahāpajāpati Gotami and was troubled in heart at the Master's teaching. She strove for insight and eventually became an arhat.

Chāyā.—Her story is exactly like that of Dhira.

Samvā (I). Born at Kapilavatthu, Samvā (I) renounced the world, was ordained by Mahāpajāpati Gotami, and became gradually an arhat.

Samvā (II). Born at Sāvathī as the sister of the king of Kosala, Samvā (II) after the death of her grandmother went to the village, and there hearing the Buddha preach, asked for ordination in her old age. She eventually became an arhat.

with thorough knowledge of the *Nora* in form and meaning.

Adḍhakeṭṭī.—Born in the kingdom of Kāśī, Adḍhakeṭṭī became a prostitute. But later on she left the world and became ordained by a messenger sent by the Buddha himself. She soon attained arhantship with knowledge of the *Uthara* in form and meaning.

Sugā.—Daughter of a clansman's family at Sāvasthī, Sugā, following her husband, renounced the world in her old age and entered the Order. Her knowledge gradually increased as a result of her hard staff, and she attained arhantship. She was ranked first among the bhikkhunis for rigour of effort.

Sujāṭā.—Born at Sāketa in a treasurer's family. Sujāṭā one day visited the Buddha in the Arigama Grove where the Master expounded the *Nora* to her in an inspiring lesson. Her intelligence being ripe, she at once became an arhant and was admitted to the Order of bhikkhunis.

Paṅkajavāṇī.—Born in a clansman's family at Bhāsikāsetha, Vāṭṭhānata, hearing a bhikkhu preach, became a believer and entered the Order and eventually became an arhant.

Jindāpālī.—Born spontaneously as Vesālī in the king's garden at the foot of a mango tree, beautiful Jindāpālī was sued by many princes and afterwards became their concubine. Later on, out of faith in the Master, she built a vihāra and handed it over to him and the Order. And when she heard her own son preach the *Nora*, she worked her might and soon attained arhantship.

Āpā.—Born in the Vāṭṭhānata country as the daughter of the chief weaver, Āpā, on the attainment of arhantship by her husband, renounced the world at Sāvasthī and attained arhantship.

Sudhā.—Born at Rājagaha in the family of an eminent brahmin, beautiful Sudhā received faith and became a lay disciple. Later on, she renounced the world, entered the Order under

Mahānāyaka Gotāmi, exercised herself in insight, and soon obtained arhantship with a thorough grasp of the Nera in form and meaning.

Sādhā. Hani at Vjain an the daughter of a wealthy and virtuous merchant, she was married several times, but finding each husband undesirable, she grew agitated and took orders under the Theri Jhānāsi. She strove for insight and not long after attained arhantship together with thorough grasp of the Nera in form and meaning.

The 'Parasuttābhāṣā' is a commentary on the Cariyāpitaka. Its author was ^{Parasuttābhāṣā} ^{author.} Dharmapāla. The British Museum has acquired a good manuscript of this commentary in Burmese character dated 1744 (vide J.H.A.S., 1901, 174). The P.T.S. has undertaken to edit this text. Dharmapāla also wrote commentaries on the Ullāsa and Nivuttaka. The Nivuttaka Commentary is being edited by the P.T.S.

* It includes the commentaries on the Cariyāpitaka, Theri-
Vijāyā, Pācāyā, Vināyavācā, Nivuttakā, and Ullāsa.

CHAPTER VI PĀLI CHRONICLES

The *Dīpavamsī*² or the chronicle of the island of Lanka is the earliest known work of its kind. It puts together certain well-known traditions handed down among the Buddhists of Ceylon, sometimes in a clumsy manner. Its diction is in places unintelligible, and its narrative is dull and interrupted by repetitions. Though it is composed in verse, curiously enough the verses are, here and there, intervened by prose passages (cf. *Dīpavamsī*, pp. 12, 64-65). What inference should be drawn from the occurrence of the prose passages in a metrical composition is still a matter of dispute. The point to be settled is whether the traditions on which the *Dīpavamsī* narrative is based were prevalent all in prose or all in verse or in both prose and verse. Its authorship is unknown. The canonical model of this work is to be traced in a number of verses in the *Parivārapāṭha* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.³ The *Dīpavamsī* is an authorita-

¹ Dr. Hooper has published a valuable treatise known as "Dīpavamsī and Mahāvamsī and die geschichtliche Überlieferung in Ceylon," Leipzig, 1913. Translated into English by K. H. Dhammawansa, *Dīpavamsī and Mahāvamsī*, Colombo, 1914. We invite our readers' attention to Dr. Hooper's interesting contributions to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXV, p. 443, on the *Dīpavamsī* and the *Mahāvamsī* and the Historical tradition in Ceylon.

² Cf. *Parivārapāṭha*, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. 7, p. 3.

"Tissathero va siddhāsi Dvādhāso so paṇḍito, |
 paṇḍo amāhāso mahāsi vāso so vāṭṭhilo, |
 bahussāto Culāso paṇḍo va duggādhībhāso, |
 Mahāso paṇḍito va Soḥaso ābhīso paṇḍito, |
 Tisso vāso mahāso paṇḍito paṇḍito paṇḍito, |
 dāso mahāso paṇḍito paṇḍito paṇḍito, |
 Dvāso vāso mahāso paṇḍito mahāso, |
 paṇḍo vāso mahāso mahāso paṇḍito mahāso, |
 mahāso mahāso mahāso mahāso mahāso, |

first visit to the island of Lanka. Gogama obtained perfect enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi-tree. He surveyed the whole world and perceived the island of Lañkā, a dwelling-place fit for sañtas. He forewaw that Mahinda, the son of the Indian King Asoka, would go to the island and propagate the Buddhist faith there. Accordingly he placed a divine guard over the island. He visited Lañkā and drove the Yakkhas, the inhabitants of the place, out of the island.

Buddha visited the island for the second time when the island was on the verge of being destroyed by a terrific war which ensued between the mountain-serpents and the sea-serpents. The Lord exhorted them to live in peace and all the serpents took their refuge in him.

His third visit to the island was in connection with an invitation he got from the Nāga King Mahāśikhā of Kalyāṇi.

The Dipavamsa then traces Buddha's descent from the Prince Mahasammata, the first inaugurated king of the earth. Gotama Buddha was the son of Suddhodana, chief of Kapilavastu and Rāhula-Bhadda was the son of Gotama. Mention is also made of many other kings who reigned before Suddhodana and after Mahasammata.

A brief account of the first two Buddhist Councils and the different Buddhist schools that arose after the Second Council is also given. The First Council was held under the presidency of Mahākassapa and under the patronage of Ajātasattu. The first collection of Dhamma and Vinaya was made with the assistance of Upāli and Ananda. The Second Council was held during the reign of Kulāśaka. The Vajjiputtas proclaimed the ten indulgences which had been forbidden by the Takkāgala. The Vajjiputtas seceded from the orthodox party and were called the Mahānāgrikas. They were the first schismatics. In imitation of them many heresies arose, e.g., the Gokulikas, the Ekavyaharikas the Bahussatiyas, etc. In all these

were eighteen sects¹—seventeen heretical and one orthodox. Besides these there were other minor sects.

The *Mpavāsā* further deals with the reign of the great Indian King Asoka, the grandson of Candragupta and son of Bindusāra, and the notable events that took place in his time. It was during his reign that Mahinda went to Ceylon and spread Buddhism there with the help of the Ceylonese King Devānampiyatissa who was a contemporary of Asoka the Great. It is said that this great king built 84,000 vihāras all over the Jambudīpa. The Third Buddhist Council was held under the presidency of Thera Moggaliputta Tissa and under the patronage of Asoka. After the Council was over the three sent Buddhist missionaries to different countries (Gandhāra, Mathiā, Aparāntaka, Mahārāṣṭra, Yona, Himavata, Svayambhūmi, and Lankā) for the propagation of Buddha's religion.

The *Mpavāsā* gives a brief account of the colonisation of Ceylon by Vijaya, son of the king of Vāṅga, and also a systematic account of kings of Ceylon who ruled after Vijaya and their activities in promoting his cause of Buddhism. Sihalāha, king of Vāṅga, annoyed at the bad conduct of Vijaya, his eldest son, banished him from his kingdom. Vijaya with a number of followers went on board a ship and sailed away on the sea. They in course of their journey through the waters visited the seaport towns of Sūppāra and Bhārukambhū and later on came to Lankādīpa. Vijaya and his followers set on colonising this country and built many cities. Vijaya became the first crowned king of the island. After Vijaya we find a long list of kings among whom Devānampiyatissa stands out pre-eminent.

¹ *Pāli Sūtra*, *Ekya* Devāra, 'The roots of the Buddhist tree,' J. R. A. S., 1901, pp. 249-251; *schools of Buddhist belief*, J. R. A. S., 1902, pp. 1-101. Cf. *Mahāvastu*, chap. 6, *Mahāvastu*, pp. 104-107, *Mahāvastu*, p. 14, *Kāthāvatthupāṇāyana-sūtra*, pp. 2, 3, 4.

It was during the reign of Devānampiyatissa that Buddhism was first introduced into Lanka through Mahinda who at the instance of Thera Moggallāna Tissa, the President of the Third Council, went to Ceylon for the propagation of the Buddhist faith there. It may be noted here that the great Indian King Asoka was a contemporary of Devānampiyatissa and that they were in friendly terms. Asoka sent a branch of the Bodhi-tree of the Tathāgata to Lanka which was planted with great honour at Anurādhapura.

After the death of Devānampiyatissa Buddhism was not in a flourishing condition. The immediate successors of the king were weak. The Danavas came over to Lanka from Southern India and occupied the country. The people were tired of the foreign yoke. They found in Dufbhagāmanī, a prince of the royal family, who could liberate the country from the foreign domination. Dufbhagāmanī at the head of a large army drove the Danavas out of the country. He was the greatest of the Sinhalese kings. Whether as a warrior or a ruler, Dufbhagāmanī appears equally great. He espoused the cause of Buddhism and built the Lohapāṇḍa, nine storeys in height, the Mahāstūpa, and many other viharas. Indeed Buddhism was in its most flourishing condition during the reign of this great king.

Dufbhagāmanī was followed by a number of kings, among them Vafbhagāmanī was the greatest. His reign is highly important for the history of Buddhist literature. It was during his reign that the bhikkhus recurred in written books the text of the three pitakas and also the Aṅgikāthā. Vafbhagāmanī was also succeeded by a number of unimportant kings. The account of the kings of Ceylon is brought down to the reign of King Mahāsena who reigned for 27 years from circa 325 to 352 A.D.

At the close of the 4th century A.D. there existed in Ceylon, an older work, a sort of chronicle

of the history of the island from very early times. The work was a part of the *Atthakathā* which was composed in old Sinhalese prose mingled with Pāli verse. The work existed in the different monasteries of Ceylon and on it the *Mahāvamsā* is based. The chronicle must have originally come down to the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon; but it was later carried down to the reign of Mahāsena (4th century A.D.) with whose reign the *Mahāvamsā* comes to an end. Of this work, the *Dīpavamsā* presents the first clumsy reduction in Pāli verse. The *Mahāvamsā* is thus a conscious and intentional rearrangement of the *Dīpavamsā* as a sort of commentary on the latter.

Author The author of the *Mahāvamsā* is known as Mahāsthūpa.¹

Text A well-known passage of the later *Cūḍavamsā* alludes to the fact that King Dhātusena bestowed a thousand pieces of gold and gave orders to write a *dīpikā* on the *Dīpavamsā*. This *dīpikā* has been identified by Fiset with the *Mahāvamsā*; and if this identification be correct, then the date of its origin is more precisely fixed. Dhātusena reigned at the beginning of the 6th century A.D., and about this time the *Mahāvamsā* was composed.

Historicity of the work. The historicity of the work is established by the following facts:

(a) As to the list of kings before Anura, namely, the nine Nandans, Candagutta, and Bimbisāra, the statements concerning Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu as contemporaries of the Buddha agree with canonical writings, and, in respect of the names, with those of the Brahmanic tradition. In the number of years of Candagutta's reign, the Ceylonese tradition agrees with the Indian. Candagutta's surname *Caṅka* (*Caṅkya*) is also known.

¹ *How Mahāvamsā to the Pāli Literature?* by Rev. P. Seneviratna, published in I.L.O., Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 268-271.

(b) The conversion of Ceylon, according to the chronicles, was the work of Mahinda, son of Asoka, and this is confirmed to a considerable extent by the fact that Asoka twice in his inscriptions (Rock Edicts XIII and II) mentions Ceylon to be one of the countries where he sent his religious missionaries and provided for distribution of medicines. It receives further support from Hsien Tsang who mentions Mahinda, a brother of Asoka, expressly as the man by whom the true doctrine was preached in Sinhala. Even before Mahinda, relations existed between India and Ceylon, for the chronicles relate that Asoka sent to Devānampiyā-tissa presents for his sacred consecration as the king of Ceylon.

(c) An inscription from a reliquary found Topo No. 2 of the Sthūpi group gives us the name of Rāṣṭrīkama Moggaliputta who, according to the tradition, presided over the Third Council under Asoka's rule. There is no doubt that he is identical with Moggaliputta Tissa of the Ceylonese chronicles.

(d) The narrative of the transplanting of a branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree from Uruvelā to Ceylon finds interesting confirmation in a representation of the story on the reliefs of the lower and middle architraves of the East gate of the Sthūpi.

(e) The contemporaneity of Devānampiyā-tissa with Asoka is established on the internal evidence of the Dipavaṁsa and the Mahāvāṁsa, as well as by archaeological evidence. Another contemporaneity of King Meghavarman reigning from c. 352-374 A.D. with Samudragupta is established by the Chinese account of Wang Hsientse.

(f) There is a general historical reminiscence underlying the stories of the three Buddhist Councils recorded in the chronicles.

But the historical statements are not always infallible; and the longer the interval between the time of the events and the time when they are related, the greater the possibility of an error, and

the more will be the influence of legend noticeable. As regards the period from Vijaya to Devānampiyatīsa, there is a considerable distrust of tradition and traditional chronology. Also during the period from Devānampiyatīsa to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi there is matter for doubt. But in later periods we encounter no such difficulties and impossibilities. The chronology is credible, the numbers appear less artificial, and the accounts more trustworthy.

In the ninth month after Buddhahood, when the Lord Buddha was dwelling at Uruvelā, he one day personally went to Laṅkā and converted a large assembly of Yakkhas as well as a large number of other living beings. After this, he came back to Uruvelā but, again in the fifth year of his Buddhahood when he was residing in the Jetavana, he, in an early morning out of compassion for the nāgas went to the Nāgadiya (apparently the north-western part of Ceylon) where he preached the five moral precepts and established the three refuges and converted many nāgas. The Lord then came back to Jetavana, but, again in the eighth year of his Buddhahood the Teacher, while dwelling in the Jetavana, went to Kālyāṇi and preached the Dharma, and then came back to Jetavana.

The Chapter-II gives a long list of kings beginning with Mahāsammata from whose race sprang the Great Race, the Tachāgata. Descendants of this race of kings ruled in Kosāvatī, Rājagaha, and Mithilā, and they reigned in groups in their due order. One group whose chief was Uḅkaka ruled at Kūpilaratthā and was known as the Sākya. In this line was born Yasodharā a daughter of King Jayasena, and she was married to Sāhita Ariyarat. They had two daughters, Māyā and Paṣṣapāṭi, who were both married to Suddhodhana, a grandson of Jayasena and son of Sāhita. The son of Suddhodhana and Māyā was the Lord Buddha whose consort was Bhaddakaccāriyā, son was Kāhola,

Year - the visit of
the Tachāgata.

The Race of Nāga
in Lanka.

great friend was Dindabāra, and another contemporary was Bimbisāra's son, Ajātasattu.

The First Buddhist Council¹ was convened three months after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha (at Kusāsāra) in the Sāṅgapanī Grove at Rājagṛha where his nearest disciples followed by seven hundred thousand bhikkhus and a large number of laymen assembled to establish the most important rules of the Order as, according to their recollection, the Master himself had laid down. The work of the compilation was entrusted to Thera Ānanda and Thera Upālī. Thera Upālī spoke for the Vinaya, and Thera Ānanda for the rest of the Dhamma; and Thera Mahākassapa seated on the throne's chair asked questions touching the Vinaya. Both of them expounded them in detail and the theras repeated what they had said. The work of the First Council took seven months to be completed, and the Council was after it had finished compilation of the Dhamma, and the Canon came to be known as their tradition.

A century after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha when Kulaseka was the reigning king, there were at Vaiśālī many bhikkhus of the Vajji clan who used to preach the Ten points of Buddhadāna. But the fierce of Pāva and Avanti with their leader, the great Thera Kevala, disliked that those Ten points were unlawful, and wanted to bring the dispute to a peaceful end. All of them followed by a large number of bhikkhus they went to Vaiśālī and there met the bhikkhus of the Vajji clan. Kulaseka also went there, and, hearing both sides, decided in favour of the true faith, held out by the theras of Pāva and Avanti. The brotherhood then came together finally to decide, and Kevala resolved to settle the matter by an *Uṭṭasāṭṭhā* wherein

¹ For Uppasaka's *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pp. 1, pp. 8, 30, 76, and 117, should be consulted. Read also *Buddhist Councils* by Dr. R. C. Anderson published in the *Buddhist Studies*, edited by Dr. B. C. Law. For *The Buddhist Councils* held at Rājagṛha, and Vaiśālī translated from Chinese by H. Beal.

four from each of the two parties were represented. These Revata, in order to hold a Council, chose also seven hundred out of all that troop of bhikkhus, and all of them met in the Vāḍikāraṃ and compiled the Dharmas in eight months. The heretical bhikkhus who taught the wrong doctrine founded another school which came to bear the name Mahāśrīgīka.

The Third Council was held under better circumstances during the reign of King Asoka at the Asokārāma in Pataliputta under the guidance and presidency of These Moggalliputta Thera. Within a hundred years from the compilation of the doctrine in the Second Council, there arose eighteen different sects in the Buddhist Order with their respective schools and systems, and another schism in the Church was threatened. At this time, 214 years from the parinibbāna of the Buddha, Asoka came to the throne, and after a reign of four years, he consecrated himself as king in Pataliputta. And, not long after, Śāmasera Niryudha preached the doctrine to the king, and confirmed him with many of his followers in the refuges and precepts of duty. Thereupon the king became beautiful to the bhikkhus and eventually entered the doctrine. From that time the revenue of the brotherhood was on the increase but the heretics became envious, and they too, taking the yellow robe and dwelling along with the bhikkhus, began to proclaim their own doctrine as the doctrine of the Buddha, and carry out their own practices even as they wished. They became so many that King Asoka was obliged to arrange an assembly of the community of bhikkhus in its full numbers at the splendid Asokārāma under the presidency of These Moggalliputta Thera. Then did the king question one by one on the teachings of the Buddha. The heretical bhikkhus expounded their wrong doctrine, upon which the king caused to be expelled from the Order all such bhikkhus and their followers. Only the rightly believing bhikkhus answered that the Lord taught the

Vibhajja-doctrine, and this was supported and confirmed by Thera Moggalliputta Tissa. Three thousand learned bhikkhus were then selected to make a compilation of the true doctrine under the guidance of the great thera, and they completed their work at the Asokarama in nine months.

Vijaya of evil conduct was the son and prince regent of King Sulasāhu, ruler of the kingdom of Lala; but he was banished from the kingdom by his father for his many intolerable deeds of violence. Loaded on a

The coming and
expatriation of
Vijaya and others

ship with his large number of followers with their wives and children, Vijaya first landed at Suppuraka, but afterwards, embarking again, landed in Lanka in the region called Vasubhānā, where he eventually married and consecrated himself as king and built a stupa. After his death, he was succeeded by his brother's son Panduvāsiya who married Sulasā-dakacchā, and consecrated himself as king. He was in his turn succeeded by his son Abhaya who was followed by Pandukabhaya. Between Pandukabhaya and Abhaya there was no king for 17 years.

Pandukabhaya's son Mulasiva followed his father and was succeeded by his second son Devānampiyatissa whose friend was Mahāsāsaka whom he had never seen, but to whom he was pleased to send a priceless treasure as a gift. Mahāsāsaka appreciated the gift, and sent as a return-gift another treasure to Devānampiyatissa who was now consecrated as king of Lanka.

After the termination of the Third Council, Moggalliputta Tissa Thera, in order to establish the religion in adjacent countries, sent out learned and renowned missionaries to Kāśmīra, Gandhara, Mahānāgāra, Vāyavāra, Aparāntaka, Mahārāṣṭra, Sivasambhūta (Burma), and to the Yava country. To the lovely island of Lanka, he sent Mahinda, the thera Uthiya, Uttara, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla to preach the religion.

Mahinda came out to Lanka with four thousand monks, and Saṅghamittā's son Sumana, the gifted ascetic. Even on their landing many devas, rāsas, and sūras were converted to the doctrine, and he with his followers entered the capital city where people thronged to see him, and he preached the true faith unto them. The wise King Devānāmpiyatissa heard him explain some of the miracles and incidents and episodes of the life of the Buddha, and became one of his most devoted patrons. The king then built for the great thera the Mahāvihāra, henceforth known as the Mahāreghavanāraṇa, which the thera accepted. Next the king built for him and his followers another vihāra on the Ceṭiyapabbata, henceforth known as the Ceṭiyapabbata-vihāra, which too the thera accepted. The wise king then became eager to acquiring one of the relics of the Great Lord the Buddha in a stūpa, so that he and the followers of the faith might behold the Conqueror in his relics and worship him. At his request Mahinda sent Sumana to King Dharmasoka with the instruction to bring from him the relics of the Sage and the alms-bowl of the Master, and then to go to Sakka in the fair city of the gods to bring the collar-bone of the Master from him. Sumana faithfully carried out the instruction, and when he landed down on the Misaka mountain with the relics, the king and the people were all filled with joy, and thirty thousand of them received the pabbajjā of the Conqueror's doctrine. Later on the king sent his nephew and minister Ariyaratna to Dharmasoka to bring the Bodhi-tree which at Dharmasoka's approach covered of itself and transplanted itself in the vase provided for the purpose. Ariyaratna then came back on board a ship across the ocean to the capital with the holy tree and a gay rejoicing began. With the Bodhi-tree came also Thera Saṅghamittā with eleven followers. The Tree and its saplings were planted with due ceremony at different places, and royal

consecration was bestowed on them. Under the direction of the Thera Mahipala who converted the island, Devānampiyatissa continued to build vihāras and bāḥās one after another, and thus ruled for 40 years, after which he died. He was succeeded on the throne by his son, Prince Utiya; but in the eighth year of his reign, the great Thera Mahipala, who had brought light to the island of Lūka, died at the age of sixty; and the whole island was struck with sorrow at his death, and the funeral rights were observed with great ceremony.

After a reign of ten years Utiya died, and was followed by Mahāsiya, Pāratissu, two ^{Dutthagamani.} Damilas, Sesa and Gutaka. Aśoka and Elāra, a Damila from the Cola country, in succession. Elāra was killed by Dutthagamani who succeeded the former as king.

Chāmani, for such was his original name, was born of Prince Kākavannatisa, overlord of Mahāgāṭṭa, and Vihāradēvi, daughter of the king of Kalyāṇa. Chāmani was thus descended through the dynasty of Mahāsiya, second brother of Devānampiyatissa. Kākavannatisa had another son by Vihāradēvi named Tissa, and both Chāmani and Tissa grew up together. Now when they were ten and twelve years old, Kākavannatisa, who was a believing Buddhist, wanted his sons to make three promises; first, they would never turn away from the bhikkhus, secondly, the two brothers would ever be friendly towards each other, and, thirdly, never would they fight the Damilas. The two brothers made the first two promises but turned back to make the third, upon which their father became sorry. Chāmani gradually grew up to sixteen years, vigorous, ruddy-complexioned, intelligent, majestic, and mighty. He gathered round him mighty and great warriors from far and near villages, as well as from the royal and noble families. Chāmani developed a strong hatred towards the Damilas who had more than once usurped the throne of Lūka, and became determined to quell them down. Now he had

gathered a strong army of brave and sturdy warriors round him, he approached his father for permission to make war on the Dandjas. But the king, though repeatedly requested, declined to give any such permission. As a pious Buddhist devoted to the cult of ahimsā, he could not give permission for war that would result in bloodshed and cruelty. He also dissuaded the warriors to fight for his son. Gāmanī, thereupon, became disgusted with his father, and went to Malaya; and because of his anger and disgust towards his father, he was named as Ducchagāmanī. In the meantime King Kaku-vaṅgatiśa died, and there arose a deadly scramble for the throne between the two brothers, Ducchagāmanī and Tissa. Two battles were fought with considerable loss of life, and Ducchagāmanī eventually became victorious. Peace was then concluded and the two brothers began to live together again. He took some time to provide for his people who had suffered during the last wars, and then went out to fight against the Dandjas. He overpowered Mañña Chitta, conquered Mañña Tīthambha and many other mighty Dandja princes and kings. Deadly were the wars that he fought with them, but eventually he came out victorious, and united the whole of Lāṅkā into one kingdom. Gāmanī was then consecrated with great pomp, and not long after he himself consecrated the Maricavattī vihāra which he had built up. Next took place the consecration of the Laddapavādi; but the building up of the Great Thūpa was now to be taken up. He took some time to the obtaining of the wherewithal, i.e., the materials of the thūpa from different quarters, and then began the work in which masons and workmen from far and near did take part, and at the beginning of which a great assemblage of deities from different countries took place. When the work of the building had considerably advanced, the king ordered the making of the Heli-chamber in which the relics were afterwards enshrined with due cult, pomp, and

ceremony. But even yet the making of the chatta and the plaster work of the monument was finished, the king fell ill which later on proved fatal. He sent for his younger brother Tissa, and asked him to complete the thūpa, which Tissa did. The ill king passed round the Cetiya on a palanquin and did homage to it, and left with Tissa the charge of doing all the work that still remained to be done towards it. He then enumerated some of the pious works he had done in his life to the theras and bhikkhus assembled round his bed, and one of the theras spoke to him on the unconquerable law of death. Then the king became silent, and he saw that a golden chariot came down from the Tusita heaven. Then he breathed his last, and was immediately seen reborn and standing in celestial form in a car that had come down from the Tusita heaven.

Duttthagāmanī was succeeded by his daughter

A long list of
Sinh.--Tuking.

Suddhātissa who ruled for 18 years,

and built many cetiyas and viharas.

He was followed by Uthūthana, Lañjātissa, Khullūtanaga, and Vattagāmanī. The last named was a famous king during whose reign the Devāsīlas became powerful and again usurped the throne. Vattagāmanī was thus followed by Damiā Pulhantala, Damiā Bāhya, Damiā Penayamāra, Damiā Pijayambala, and Damiā Dēhika. But the Damiās were dispossessed of their power not long after by Vattagāmanī, who now ruled for a few more years.

After his death, his adopted son Mahāsīla

never king.

Mahātissa reigned for 14 years with

piety and justice. He was followed

by Carasāga, Tissa, Siva, Damiā Vayaha, Brahmā Nīliya, Queen Anula, Kūlakanya Tissa, Bhūti Kūbhaya, and 'Ajatasmhika Mahānaga.' All of them had short reigns and were builders of viharas

¹ In the list of ancient kings of Ceylon the name of Damiā Pulhantala appears under Damiā Vayaha in the Geiger, Mahāvamsa, Introduction, p. 277-278.

and Uchiyaa. Anallā was a notorious queen and to her love intrigues at least four kings, Śiva, Tissa, Dambha Vatuka, and Balaśūra Niliya, lost their lives. Except Tissa, they were all neoplates and they rightly deserved the fate that had been theirs.

After Mahānāgika's death, Anandiyāpani
Twenty kings. Abhaya, his son, followed him on the throne. He was followed by Kāṣṭhāntāsa, Uśābhaya, Queen Svastī, Haruṣa, Candāśūka Śiva, Yaśāntakāsa, Subhara, Varikaśākatāsa, Gaḍḍābhagaśāsi, and Mahāśaka Nāga in succession. Most of these kings were worldly, and their merit lay only in the building or extension of viharas and other religious establishments and in court-intellects. Two of them, Haruṣa and Subhara, were, however, comparatively more noted for their use of bravery and valour exhibited mostly in local wars.

After the death of Mahāśaka, his son Bhāṭika-
Thirteen kings. śaka reigned for 21 years. He was followed in succession by Kāṣṭhāntāsa, Khujjāṅga, Kāṣṭhāntāsa, Niriṅga, Tissa, Abhayaśaka, Śiśūṅga, Vijayakumārān, Śrīghoṣṭāsa, Śrīguruśābhadhī, Gollābhaya, and Jettāhāsa who were grouped together in a chapter entitled "Thirteen Kings" in the Mahāvastu. Scarcely there is anything important enough to be recorded about these kings, besides the fact that most of them ruled as pious Buddhists, always trying to further the cause of the religion by the foundation and extension of religious establishments, and that they carried out the affairs of the kingdom through wars, intrigues, rebellions, and local feuds.

King Jettāhāsa was succeeded by his younger
King Mahāśaka. brother, Mahāśaka, who ruled for 37 years and during whose reign, most probably, the Mahāvastu was given its present form. Originally it ended with the death of King Dvāpāgamaṇḍa, but now it was probably brought up-to-date.

On his accession to the throne, he forbade the

people to give food to any bhikkhu dwelling in the Mahāvihāra on penalty of a fine of hundred pieces of money. The bhikkhus thus fell in want, and they left the vihāra which remained empty for nine years. It was then destroyed by the ill-advice of the king and its riches were removed to enrich the Abhayagirivihāra. The king wrought many a deed of wrong upon which his minister Meghavamsābhaya became angry and became a rebel. A battle was imminent, but the two former friends met, and the king, repentant of his misdeeds, promised to make good all the harm done to the religious establishments of Lankā. The king rebuilt the Mahāvihāra, and founded amongst others two new vihāras, the Jetavanavihāra and the Manūshravihāra. He was also the builder of the famous Thūpārāmanavihāra, as well as of two other numerous. He also excavated many tanks and did many other works of merit.

Dr. Kern says in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism* that the Mahāvamsa deserves a special notice on account of its being so highly important for the religious history of Ceylon. Dr. Geiger who has made a thorough study of the Pāli chronicles, has edited the text of the Mahāvamsa for the P.T.S., London, and has ably translated it into English for the same society, with the assistance of the late Dr. M. H. Hoë. G. Foranow's edition and translation of this text are now out of date. Prof. Geiger has translated it into German. Mrs. Hoë has retranslated it into English and Dr. Geiger himself has revised the English translation. There is a commentary on the Mahāvamsa known as the Mahāvamsāṅkāra (Wu-chantchepakkaṅka) revised and edited by Ratwanatradawa and Mānissara, Colombo, 1905) written by Mahānāma of Anurādhapura. This commentary is helpful in reading the text. It contains many additional data not found in the text. Readers are referred to the Mahāvamsa, ed. by Foranow, Ceylon, 1837, Mahāvamsa revised and edited by H. Saddāgala B.,

wamburawa, Colombo, 1883, and the *Atthakathā Mahāvaiyaṃ* by K. Hardy, J. R. A. S., 1902. There is a Sinhalese translation by Wijaintha, Colombo, 1892 (chapter and verses).

It has long been ascertained that both *Dīpa-*

Dīpa-
Mahāvaiyaṃ
com-
pared.
vaṃ and *Mahāvaiyaṃ* owe their origin to a common source the *Atthakathā-Mahāvaiyaṃ* of the *Mahāvīthā* monastery, which, evi-

dently was a part of the annals of the history of the island from very early times, and must have formed an introductory part of the old theological commentary (*atthakathā*) on the canonical writings of the Buddhists. Both Oldenberg and Geiger, the celebrated editors of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaiyaṃ* respectively, are of opinion that this *Atthakathā-Mahāvaiyaṃ* was composed in Sinhalese prose, interpreted, no doubt with verse in the Pāli language. This book (*Mahāvaiyaṃ-atthakathā*) existed in various recensions in the different monasteries of the island, and the authors of both *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaiyaṃ* borrowed the materials of their works from one or other of the various recensions of that *Atthakathā*. This borrowing presumably was independent, and quite in their own way; but even then, in the main, they are nothing but two different versions of the same thing. But as the *Dīpavaṃsa* had been composed at least one century and a half earlier than the *Mahāvaiyaṃ*, it shows perhaps more faithfulness to the original, i. e., to the *Atthakathā*, for, as Oldenberg points out, that the "author of the *Dīpavaṃsa* borrowed not only the materials of his own work but also the mode of expression, and even whole lines, word for word, from the *Atthakathā*. In fact, a great part of the *Dīpavaṃsa* has the appearance not of an independent, continual work, but of a compilation of such single stanzas extracted from a work or works like the *Atthakathā*."¹ But the author of

¹ *Dīpavaṃsa* (Oldenberg), Introduction, p. 2.

the Mahāvamsa is not so fettered in his style or execution. Coming as he did at least one century and a half later (i.e., the beginning of the 6th century A.D.) than the author of the Dipavamsa when the islanders had attained much more freedom in their learning and writing of the Pāli language he evidently showed greater ease and skill in his use of the language, as well as in his style and composition, and finally, a more free and liberal use of the material of his original.

It is well known that Mahānāman was the author of the Mahāvamsa, whereas we are completely in the dark as to the name of the author of the Dipavamsa. A further proof of the fact that both the authors were indebted to a common source is provided by a very striking coincidence of the two narratives, namely, that both the chronicles finish their accounts with the death of King Mahāsena who flourished about the beginning of the 4th century A.D. It was not much later that the Dipavamsa was composed, but as the Mahāvamsa was composed still later, we might as well expect the bringing down of the narrative to a later date. But this was not the case, apparently for the fact that their common source, the *Atthakathā-Mahāvamsa* of the Mahavihāra monastery, as shown by Oldenberg, was very intimately connected with King Mahāsena with whose reign the glorious destinies of the monastery came practically to an end, and there the *Atthakathā* could only logically stop its account.¹

But the historical writers of the Mahavihāra fraternity did not at once bring down their account to the reign of Mahāsena. The *Atthakathā-Mahāvamsa* seems to have originally brought down its account only to the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon; but it was later on continued and brought down to the reign of Mahāsena, where both the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa as already noticed, came to an end.

¹ *Dipavamsa Pāṭhaṅga*, I, 206, p. 8

That the *Dīpavamsa* was well known to the author of the *Mahāvamsa* is evident from the very arrangement of the chapters and events of the narrative, so much so that the *Mahāvamsa* seems to be more an explanatory commentary on the earlier chronicle. The account in the *Dīpavamsa* is condensed, and the sequence of events and characters presents the form more of a list and catalogue than of any connected account. The *Mahāvamsa*, on the other hand, is elaborate, more embellished, and seems rather to explain the catalogue of events and characters of the earlier chronicle so as to give it the form of a connected narrative. Unger rightly thinks in this connection that "the quotation of the *Mahāvamsa* of the incidents in the proceedings of our *Mahāvamsa* refers precisely to the *Dīpavamsa*."¹ The well-known passage of the *Cūlavamsa* (38, 58) "dāvēs sahasānā dīpetān Dīpavamsinī sāsādi" which Fleet translates as "he (King Dhātupema) bestowed a thousand (pieces of gold) and gave orders to write a *dīpikā* on the *Dīpavamsa*" also lends support to this view,² for the *Dīpikā*, Fleet says, is identical with *Mahāvamsa*.

It is interesting to compare the more important chapters of the two chronicles to see how their subject-matters agree or differ. We have already indicated that their contents are almost identical; in the *Dīpavamsa* they are condensed, and in the *Mahāvamsa*, elaborate. After an identical account of the rise of Mahāsammata, both the earlier and later chronicles proceed to give a more or less detailed account of the three Buddhist Councils. The account of the First Council is almost the same. Five hundred chosen bhikkhus assembled under the leadership of Mahākassapa in the Sattapunnā cave at Rājagṛha and composed the collection of the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*. The *Dīpa-*

¹ *Mahāvamsa* (Unger), *Intro.*, p. xi.

² *Mahāvamsa* (Unger), *Intro.*, p. xi, where Unger quotes Fleet.

rather mentions the fourth month after the Master's death as the time at which the First Council was held. This was the second Vassa month, i.e., Śāvaga. This date is substantiated by that provided by the *Mahāvamsa* which mentions the bright half of Asada, the fourth month of the year as the beginning of the Council. But as the first month was spent in preparations, the actual proceedings did not begin till the month of Śāvaga. The account of the Second Council too is substantially the same. It was brought about by the *dama-vadāntā* of the Vajjians of Vesālī, a relaxation of monastic discipline; and 700 bhikkhus took part in the discussion of the Council. It was held in the 11th year of the reign of Kāśāpaka; there is, however, a slight discrepancy about the locality where the Council was held. The *Mahāvamsa* mentions the *Vālikāraṇa*, whereas the *Dipavamsa* mentions the *Kūṭāgārasālā* of the Mahāvamsa monastery as the place of the Council. The tradition of a schism in the Second Council is also identical in the two chronicles. The *Dipavamsa* states that the heretical monks held a separate Council called the *Mahāsaṅgī*, and prepared a different redaction of the scriptures. The tradition is also noticed in the *Mahāvamsa* where it is related that they formed a separate sect under the name *Mahāsaṅghika*. The account of the Third Council is also identical. It was held at Pāṭaliputta under the presidency of Tissa Moggaliputta and lasted for nine months.

The list of Indian kings before Asoka and pieces of historical account unconnected with them, the traditional date of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, and the duration of reigns of individual Indian kings are always almost identical in both the chronicles. The story of the conversion of Ceylon, that of the coming of Vijaya and his consecration, the list and account of Ceylonese kings up to Devānampiyatissa and that of the latter's contemporaneity with King Dharmāśoka, are for all practical purposes

the same. Just before the two chronicles take up the account of Mahinda's coming to Ceylon, the *Mahāvamsa* inserts a somewhat elaborate account of the converting of different countries under the efficient missionary organisation of Moggallānko Thera. The *Mahāvamsa* thus rightly stresses the fact that it was a part of the religious policy of the great theras that Mahinda came to Ceylon. Here again the accounts of the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* are identical; then follow the identical accounts of Mahinda's entry into the capital, his acceptance of the *Mahāvamsa* and that of the *Cetiya-pabbata-vihāra*, the arrival of the religion, the receiving and coming of the Bodhi tree, and the Nibbāna of the Thera Mahinda. From Vijaya to Devānampiyatissa the tradition and traditional chronology are almost identical; there is only a discrepancy about the date of Devānampiyatissa himself. The earlier chronicle states that King Devānampiyatissa was consecrated king in the 23rd year after the Buddha's death, whereas the *Mahāvamsa* places it on the first day of the bright half of the ninth month, Maggasiṃ (Oct.-Nov.), showing a discrepancy involved probably in the chronological arrangement itself.¹

The account of the kings from the death of Devānampiyatissa to Dutthagāmaṇi is also identical in the two chronicles. But the *Mahāvamsa* is much more detailed and elaborate in its account of King Dutthagāmaṇi, giving us it does in separate chapters the topics of the birth of Prince Gāmaṇi, the levying of the warriors for the war of the two brothers, Gāmaṇi and Tissa, the victory of Dutthagāmaṇi, the consecrating of the *Mānāvuttī* vihāra, the consecrating of the *Lobapāsāda*, the obtaining of the woodwithal to build the *Mahathūpa*, the beginning of the *Mahathūpa*, the making of the relic-chamber for the *Mahathūpa*, the enshrining of the relics and finally his death; whereas the

¹ See *Mahāvamsa* (Singer), *ibid.*, pp. 234-235.

Dipavamsa sources and that also in brief, the two accounts only in their main outline.

The list and account of the later kings from Dullhagāmasā to Mahāsena in the Dipavamsa are very brief. In the Mahāvamsa, however, though the essential points and topics are the same, the accounts differ considerably in their detail which may be due to the more liberal use by the author of the original as well as of other historical and traditional sources than the Attūlathā-Mahāvamsa. He might have also used those indigenous historical literature and tradition that might have grown up after the author of the Dipavamsa had laid aside his pen. This is apparent from a comparison of the respective accounts of any individual king, say, the last King Mahāsena. Thus the Dipavamsa relates that while he was in search of really good and modest bhikkhus, he met some wicked bhikkhus; and knowing them not he asked them the cause of Buddhism and the true doctrine. Those bhikkhus, for their own advantage, taught him that the true doctrine was a false doctrine. In consequence of his intercourse with those wicked persons, he performed evil as well as good deeds, and then died. The Mahāvamsa account is otherwise. It gives the story of his consecration by Saighamitthā, the account of the vicissitudes of the Mahavihāra, how it was left desolate for nine years, how a hostile party succeeded in obtaining the king's attention for destroying the monastery, why for this fault of the king the minister became a rebel, how the Mahavihāra was reconstructed and came to be again inhabited by bhikkhus, how an offence of the gravest kind was made against Chera Tisa and how he was expelled, how the king built the Mahavihāra vihāra, destroying the temples of some brahminical gods, and how he built many other āraṇyas and vihāras, and a number of laṅkā and maṇḍa for the good of his subjects.

One such instance as just noticed is sufficient to explain the nature of the difference in the accounts

of individual kings as given in the two chronicles. The duration of ruling years as given to individual kings is in most cases identical; there are only a few discrepancies, e.g., with regard to the reigns of Sena and Guita, Lajjitissa. (the Mahāvamsa gives the name as Lañjalissa), Niliya, Tissa Yasalā, Abhaya, and Tissu. In the case of Sena and Guita, the Dīpavamsa gives the duration of rule as 12 years, whereas the Mahāvamsa gives it as 22 years. The Dīpavamsa gives 9 years 8 months to Lajjitissa, whereas the later chronicle gives 9 years 8 months. Niliya is given 2 months in the earlier chronicle, but in the later chronicle he is given 6 months. Tissa Yasalā is given 8 years 7 months, and Tissu 7 years and 8 months respectively; and the order of rule of Abhaya and Tissu of the Dīpavamsa is transposed in the Mahāvamsa as Tissu and Abhaya, and Abhaya is given only 5 years in place of 22 as given by the Dīpavamsa.

In the early days of the study of the Ceylonese chronicles, scholars were sceptical about their value as sources of authentic historical tradition and information. But now after lapse of years when the study of Indian and Ceylonese history has far advanced, it is now comparatively easy for us to estimate their real value.

Like all chronicles, the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa contain germs of historical truth buried deep under a mesh of absurd fables and marvellous tales. But if they do contain mainly myths and marvels and read more like fantasies, they are like other chronicles of their time. This, however, should not be used as any argument for completely rejecting the chronicles as positively false and untrustworthy. It is, however, important that one should read them with a critical eye as all records of popular and ecclesiastical tradition deserve to be read. Buried in the illumination of myths, miracles, and legends, there are indeed germs which go to make up facts of history, but they can only

The value of two
Ceylonese chronicles

be gleaned by a very careful elimination of all mythical and unessential details which the pious sentiment of the believer gathered round the nucleus. "If we pause", Geiger rightly says, "first at internal evidence then the Ceylonese chronicles will assuredly at once win approval in that they at least wished to write the truth. Certainly the writers could not go beyond the ideas determined by their age and their social position, and delude the create of a past time in the mirror of a considered tradition. But they certainly did not intend to deceive honest or readers."

The very fact that both *Kāpavāṇisa* and *Mahāvāṇisa* are based on the earlier *Aṅgikathā-Mahāvāṇisa*, a sort of a chronicle which itself was based upon still earlier chronicles, causes us in our belief that they contain not historical facts, for, with the *Aṅgikathā*, the tradition goes back several centuries, and becomes almost contemporaneous with the historical incidents narrated in the chronicle.

Even in the very introductory chapters, there are statements which agree with other canonical writings, and find confirmation in our already known facts of history. Such are the statements that *Bimbisāra* was a great friend of Buddha, and both *Bimbisāra* and *Aśoka* were contemporaries of the Master. There does not seem to be any ground for rejecting the tradition of the chronicles that *Gotama* was five years older than *Bimbisāra*, though the duration of rule ascribed to each of them disagrees with that ascribed by the *Purāṇas*. But whatever that might be, there can hardly be any doubt as to the authenticity of the list of Indian kings from *Bimbisāra* to *Asoka* provided by the chronicles. The Jain tradition has, no doubt, other names; "this", as pointed out by Geiger, "does not affect the actual agreement. There can be no doubt that the nine *Nandya* as well as the two *Evermanns* of *Asoka*, *Candagutta*

and Vijayasena, were altogether historical personages." But more than this is the complete agreement of the Ceylonese and Pauranic tradition in the duration of reign, namely 21, ascribed to Candagutta. The discrepancy of the two traditions in respect of regnal duration of Bindusara and Asoka, namely 3 years and 1 year respectively, is almost negligible. Still more interesting is the name of Candakka (Cāṅkka), the brahmin minister of Candagutta, who was known to the authors of the *Dīpa-vaṁśa* and the *Mahāvamsa*.

No much with regard to the historical value of the Ceylonese chronicles in respect of Indian history. But more valuable are the chronicles with regard to the history of Ceylon. As regards the oldest period from Vijaya to Devanampiyatissa the chronicles are certainly trustworthy to the extent that the duration of years ascribed to each reign seems incredible in view of the fact that they appear to be calculated according to a set scheme, and present certain insuperable difficulties of chronology with regard to one or two reigns, e.g. of King Parakramabhuva and Mutasiva. Moreover, the day of Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon has been made to synchronize with the date of Buddha's death, which itself is liable to create a distrust in our mind. But even in the first and the earliest period of Ceylonese history, there are certain elements of truth which can hardly be questioned. Thus there is no ground for doubting the authenticity of the list of kings from Vijaya to Devanampiyatissa: nor is there any reason for rejecting the account of Parakramabhuva's campaigns, as well as the detailed account of the reign of Devanampiyatissa, which seem decidedly to be historical. We have also sufficient reason to believe the contemporaneity and friendship of These and Asoka who exchanged presents of gifts between themselves.

As for the period from Devanampiyatissa to Mahāsena, the chronicles may safely but intelligently be utilized as of value. There are no doubt gaps in

the traditional chronology which have been carefully filled in, notably in the period from Deva-nāmpiyatissa to Dapphaggaṇana, but after Gotthugāmaṇi there is no such careful and fictitious filling in of gaps, nor any set-up system of chronology, and on the whole the list of kings and their duration of reigns are credible. But even where the chronology is doubtful there is no ground whatsoever for doubting the kernel of historical truth that has mixed up with mythical tales in respect of the account of each individual reign, say, for example, of the reign of Dapphaggaṇana. It may, therefore, be safely asserted that the Ceylonese chronicles can be relied, if not as an independent historical source, at least as a repository of historical tradition in which we can find important confirmatory evidence of our information with regard to early Indian and contemporary Ceylonese history.

But the chronicles must be considered to be of more value for the ecclesiastical history not only of Ceylon but of India as well. With regard to this there are certain notices in the chronicles that have helped us to start with almost definite chronological points which are equally important in respect of the political history of the continent and its island. One such fixed point is provided by the chronicle where it has been stated that 218 years after the Sambuddha had passed into Nirvāṇa when Anura was consecrated. This corner stone has helped us to ascertain one of the most knotty and at the same time most useful starting points of Indian history, namely, the year of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa and his birth, which, according to the calculation based on the date just cited are 483 B.C. and 563 B.C. respectively.¹

Next in point of importance with regard to the history of Buddhism is the conversion of the island by Mahinda, who is represented in the chronicles as a son of Asoka. Historians have doubted the

¹ See Mahavamsa (Galle), Book I, ch. 11. J. 1, 100-101.

tradition in view of the fact that there is no mention of it in the numerous edicts and inscriptions of Asoka. Geiger has very ably shown that this argument is at least an *argumentum e silentio* and can hardly be conclusive. The tradition of the chronicles is unanimously supported by the tradition of the country itself, and finds further confirmation in the account of Yuan Chwang who expressly states that the conversion of Ceylon was the work of Alphandara or Mahinda, who is, however, represented as a brother of Asoka. But it must not be understood that Ceylon was converted all at a sudden by Alphandara or Mahinda. Similar missions must have been sent earlier; "a hint that Mahinda's mission was preceded by similar missions to Ceylon is to be found even in Dharmapala and Mahāvamsa when they relate that Asoka, sending to Devānāpiyāsita with presents for his secular government as king, exhorted him to adhere to the doctrine of the Buddha."¹

Geiger has also been able to find very striking confirmation of the history of the religious missions as related in the chronicles in the relic-inscriptions of the Sādhū stūpa, No. 2.² He has thus pointed out that Majjhima who is named in the *Mahāvamsa* as the teacher who converted the Himalaya region and Kassapagotta who appears as his companion in the *Dharmapala* are also mentioned in one of the inscriptions just referred to as 'pious Majjhima' and 'pious Kassapagotta, the teacher of the Himalaya.' In another inscription also Kassapagotta is mentioned as the teacher of the Himalaya. Dharmadhisso who is also mentioned in the chronicles as one of the Theras who won the Himalaya countries to Buddhism, is mentioned in another inscription as Daddhissara along with Gotiputta (i.e., Kāśiputta Kassapagotta). The Therā, i.e., Moggalliputta Tissa, who is described in the chronicles

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, p. xiv.

² *Ibid.*, pp. xiv-xv.

as having presided over the Third Buddhist Council, is also mentioned in another inscription as *Mogaliputta*. These facts are guarantees enough for successfully utilizing the chronicles as an important source of information for the early history of Buddhism.

This would be far more evident when we would consider the accounts of the three Buddhist Councils as related in the two chronicles. The authenticity of the accounts of these Councils had during the early days of the study of the two chronicles often been doubted. But it is simply impossible to doubt that there must lie a kernel of historical truth at the bottom of these accounts. As to the First Council, both the northern and southern traditions agree as to the place and occasion and the President of the Council. As to the Second Council, both traditions agree as to the occasion and cause of the first schism in the Church, namely, the relaxation of monastic discipline brought about by the *Vajjira* monks. As to the place of the Council, the northern tradition is uncertain, but the southern tradition is definite inasmuch as it states that it was held in Vesālī under King *Kāṭhaka* in 387 B.C. and led to the separation of the *Mahāsāṅghikas* from the *Theravāda*. The Ceylonese tradition speaks of a Third Council at Paṭaliputra in the year 247 B.C. under King *Dharmasoka* which led to the expulsion of certain disintegrating elements from the community. The northern tradition has, however, no record of a Third Council, but that is no reason why we should doubt its authenticity. Geiger has successfully shown that the "discrepancy between two separate Councils is in fact correct. The Northern Buddhists have mistakenly fused the two into one as they confounded the kings, *Kāṭhaka* and *Dharmasoka*, one with another. But traces of the right tradition are still preserved in the surviving uncertain statements as to the time and place of the Council."¹

¹ *Introduction* (Geiger's 1911), pp. 10-12 and 16.

The succession of teachers from Upāli to Mahāma, as provided by the chronicles, is also interesting from the view-point of the history of early Buddhism. The succession list which includes Upāli, the great authority on Vinaya at the time of the Buddha, Dhāsaka, Śunaka, Siggava, Moggallaputta Tissa, and Mahāma, may not represent the whole circle, they even might not all be Vinaya-paṇḍitā, i.e., authorities on Vinaya, but the list presents at least an aspect of truth, and is interesting, possessing, as it does, "a continuous synchronological connection between the history of Ceylon and that of India". The list can thus be utilised for ascertaining the chronological arrangement of early Indian history as well as of the teachers of early Buddhism.

The chronicles can still more profitably be utilised as a very faithful record of the origin and growth of the numerous religious establishments of Ceylon. They are so very elaborately described and the catalogue seems to us so complete that a careful study may enable us to frame out a history of the various kinds of religions and monastic establishments, e.g., stūpas, vihāras, cetīyas, etc., of Ceylon. Thus the history of the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri vihāra, the Dhūpārāma, Mahānāgavāsanerāma, and of a host of others is recorded in elaborate detail. Incidentally they refer to the social and religious life led by the monks of the Order as well as by the lay people. It is easy to gather from the chronicles that the great architectural activity of the island began as early as the reign of Devānampiyatissa and continued unabated during each succeeding reign till the death of Mahāsena. The numerous edifices, tanks and canals whose ruins now cover the old capitals of the island were built during that period, and their history is unmistakably recorded in the chronicles. Religious ceremonies and processions are often vividly described, and they give us glimpses of the life and conditions of the time. Not less interesting is the fact, often times related

as a part of the account of these religious edifices, of very close intercourse with more or less important religious centres of India, namely, Kāśyapa, Kāmuṭa, Vesaṅ, Ujjeni, Pappasāra, Pāllava, Alagada (Alexandria), and other countries. Every important function was attended by brother monks and teachers from the main land to which the Ceylonese kings and people turned for inspection whenever any question of bringing and evaluating a relic arose. There are also incidental and stray references which are no less valuable. The *Maḥāvamsa* informs us that King Mahāsena built the Mahāvihāra and founded three other viharas, destroying temples of the (brahmanical) gods. It shows that brahmanical temples existed side by side, and religious toleration was not always the practice.

As far as the internal political history and foreign political relations with South India, especially with the Pañcālas, the chronicles seem to preserve very faithful records. No less faithful is the geographical information of India and Ceylon as supported by them. But most of all, as we have hinted above, is the information contained in them, in respect of the history of Buddhism and Buddhist establishments of the island. There is hardly any reason to doubt the historicity of such information.

The *Cūlavamsa* is not an uniform and homogeneous work. It is a series of additions to, and continuations of, the *Maḥāvamsa*. The *Maḥāvamsa* is the work of one man—Mahāsena, who compiled the work during the reign of Dharmapala in the 6th century A.D. But the single parts of the *Cūlavamsa* are of different character, written by different authors at different times. The first who continued the chronicle was according to Sinhalese tradition the Thera Maun-

* Edited by Dr. W. Geiger in two volumes for the P.T.S., London, translated into English by Geiger and Mrs. R. H. Murray, 1912.

makāḍḍā. He came from Burma to Ceylon during the reign of King Parakkambāhu II in the 13th century A. D.

Between the Chapters 67 and 70 no trace is found of the commencement of a new section. This part of the chronicle seems to be the work of the same author. So it is clear, if the Sinhalese tradition is authentic, then about three quarters of what we call the *Cūlavamsa* (pages 448 out of 592 pages of Geiger's edition of the *Cūlavamsa*) were composed by Dharmapāḍi.

The second section of the *Cūlavamsa* begins with the reign of Vijayabāhu II, the successor of Parakkambāhu I, and ends with that of Parakkambāhu IV. Hence it follows, the second part of the *Cūlavamsa* consists of the Chapters from 60 to 69, both inclusive.

The third portion begins with the Chapter 81 and ends with the Chapter 100.

The *Mahāvamsa* gives us a list of kings from Vijaya, the first crowned king of Ceylon, to Mahāsena. Mahāsena simply followed here his chief source, the *Majjavamsa*, which also ends with King Mahāsena. The *Cūlavamsa*, however, begins with the reign of King Sirimeghavarṇa, son of King Mahāsena, and ends with Sirīlakkheṃarāḍḍha.

The final section of the *Cūlavamsa* begins with Sirimeghavarṇa and ends with Parakkambāhu I. Evidently this portion gives a chronological account of 78 kings of Ceylon. Altogether eighteen paricchēdas are devoted to the glorification of the great national hero of the Sinhalese people, Parakkambāhu I. Revd. H. S. Carpenter has called this portion of the *Cūlavamsa* the "epic of Parakkama." This king was noted for his charity. He not only made gifts of alms to the needy, but also to the bhikkhus. As a warrior this king also stands out pre-eminent. The Chōlas and Pandās came to Lanka from Southern India and occupied Anurādhapurā. Parakkama fought many battles with them and drove them out of the country and became

king of the united Lanka. He then espoused the cause of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He built many great viharas and thūpas. He also constructed many vāpīs and uyyānas.

The second portion of the Cūlavāsiya begins with Vijayaśāhāna II and ends with Parakkramabāhu IV. Thus it refers to 23 kings of Ceylon.

The third section begins with Bhuvanakabāhu III and ends with Kittisirīśasāha. Thus it refers to 24 kings.

The last chapter gives a brief account of the last two kings e.g., Sirīśajjāsirīśasāha and Sirīvik-kamāśasāha.

There are in both the chronicles, the Dipavamsi and the Mahāvamsi, interesting references to Pāli texts affording very useful materials for the history of Pāli literature as well as of early Buddhism in Ceylon.

In the Dipavamsi references are not only made to Vinaya texts, the five collections of Sutta Piṭaka, the three Piṭakas, the five Nikāyas (they are not separately mentioned), and the sixfold doctrine of the Teacher comprising the Sutta, Gayya, Veyyakarūpa, Gāthā, Udāna, Nivāṇīka, Jāṭaka, Abhiṅga, and Vesālā, but also to the seven sections of the Abhidhamma, the Paṭṭasāhāsikā, the Niddesa, the Piṭaka of the Āgamas and the different sections, namely, Vaggas, Paṭṭisāhas, Saṅgīyāna, and Nīpātas into which the Digha, Majjhima, Saṅgīyāna, and Saṅgīyāna Nikāyas are respectively divided. Mention is also made separately of the two Vāṅḍānas of Vinaya, namely, Parivāra and Khandhaka, the Cariyāpiṭaka, the Vinaya Piṭaka, the Pāṭisākhā, and the Appakāśikā. We find further mention of the Kathavāṅḍu of the Abhi-dhamma, the Paṭavuttā, the Summasāṅgīyāna, and the Vimānavāṅḍu. Of Simpas and Suttāntas separate mention is made of the Devalāta Sutta, Pāṭisākhā Suttānta, Aggikkhanda Suttānta, Sālyā Suttānta, Āsvāṅḍāna Suttānta, Aus-

List of Pāli texts
in the Ceylonese
Chronicles

matuggiya Sutta, Gomayapindasovāda Suttanta, Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta, and the Mahasamaya Suttanta.

Index of Pāli texts in the Dīghanikāya

- Abhihamana, 5, 37; 7, 68.
 Abhidāsa, 4, 15.
 Aggikkhandha Suttanta, 14, 12.
 Anamataggiya Suttanta, 14, 45.
 Atthakakkhā, 20, 20.
 Āpama, 4, 12; 4, 14.
 Asivisa Suttanta, 14, 13.
 Āvāsāpama Suttanta, 14, 45.
 Uvuttaka, 4, 15.
 Udana, 4, 15.
 Kathāvatthū, 7, 41; 7, 50.
 Khandhū, 7, 43.
 Uyyā, 4, 13.
 Gāthā, 4, 15.
 Gomayapindasovāda Suttanta, 14, 46.
 Comyāputaka, 14, 45.
 Jātika, 4, 15; 5, 27.
 Dhammaṅga (precepts), 4, 3.
 Īhanama, 4, 4; 4, 6.
 Dhammasādhakapavattana, 4, 1.
 Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta, 14, 44.
 Dēvadāsa Sutta, 13, 7.
 Nipāsa, 4, 16.
 Niddesa, 5, 37.
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 Pīṭhas, 4, 32; 5, 71; 7, 30; 20, 20.
 Pāvāsa, 5, 37; 7, 41.
 Pāṭhasakā, 4, 16.
 Petavatthū, 12, 24.
 Pāṭhasakka, 15, 55.
 Pūjasaṁbhāsa, 6, 37.
 Vāsa, 4, 3; 4, 4 and 5; 7, 43.
 Veyyakuta, 4, 15.
 Vesāṭṭhū, 4, 15.
 Vaggū, 4, 14.

- Vimānāvatthāna, 12, 85.
 Mahāpaṇḍita Suttaṅga, 13, 13.
 Vinaya Piṭaka, 18, 19; 16, 33; 16, 37.
 Vibhaṅga, 7, 43.
 Mahāsamaya Suttaṅga, 11, 53.
 Sutta, 4, 15; 4, 14.
 Sutta Piṭaka (pañcanikāye), 18, 19, 16, 33.
 Saṃyutta, 1, 16.

In the Mahāvastu too we find numerous mentions of Pāli texts. But, curiously enough, references to independent texts are much less comprehensive than that of the earlier chronicle; though mentions of Suttas and Suttaṅgas mainly of the three Nikāyas, the Aṅguttara, the Majjhima, and the Saṃyutta, as well as of the Sutta Nipāta and the Vinaya Piṭaka are much more numerous. There are also several references to Jātakas. The three pitakas are often mentioned as important texts, but only the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya are mentioned by name, and that too only once or twice in each case.

Index of Pāli Texts in the Mahāvastu

- Abhidhamma Piṭaka, 5, 150.
 Aśvinsūpanā Sutta (Aṅguttara Nikāya), 12, 36.
 Aśvinsūpanā Saṃyutta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 12, 31.
 Aggikkhandopama Sutta (Aṅguttara), 12, 34.
 Kapa Jātaka, 35, 31.
 Kālakarava Suttaṅga, 12, 39.
 Khujjiniya Suttaṅga (Saṃyutta N.), 15, 196.
 Khuddakās (Sections of the Mahāvastu and Culavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka), 36, 65.
 Goraṃyapūṭṭhanta (Sara S.), 15, 197.
 Cūḍakabhijjāpūṭṭhanta Suttaṅga (Majjhima N.), 14, 22.
 Uttayanaka (Ret. Yamshappakama of the Abhidhamma), 5, 146.
 Jataka (abv.), 27, 39; 30, 62.
 Tipiṭaka, 1, 62; 3, 61; 5, 112; 5, 113 and 119; 6, 240; 27, 44.

- Tāḍira Jātaka, 5, 284.
 Devadūta Suttaṅga (Majjhima N.), 12, 29.
 Dharmarāṭṭhapavāsanā-suttaṅga (Mahāvagga
 of the V.P.), 12, 41: 15, 100.
 Bāḍapāḍḍhila Suttaṅga (Samyutta N.), 15, 4.
 Brūhmadāyana sūtraṅga. 12, 61.
 Vesāṇḍhara Jātaka, 30, 58.
 Vinaya, 5, 161.
 Mahā-udāra-Kasaṇḍha Jātaka, 12, 47.
 Mahāppurūḍḍha-sūdanā (Saṅgitta N.), 16, 3.
 Maṅgala Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), 52, 13.
 Mahāmaṅgala-Sutta (Sutta N.), 103, 67.
 Mahāsuwaya Suttaṅga (Piṅga Nikāya), 79, 93.
 Samacitta Sutta (Samacittasutta in the Dāka
 Nipāta of the Aṅguttara Nikāya), 14, 30.
 Sutta Nipāta, 5, 150.

The Chinese chronicles incidentally refer to a large number of countries and localities, important in the history of Buddhism, in India and Ceylon. Most of them come in for mention as a result of their association with the life and religion of the Buddha, or in connection with the historical interrelations, or the part played by them in the history of India and Ceylon. Most of these places and countries are already known from other, mainly Buddhist, sources, and few of them require any new identification. Even then, they add to our geographical knowledge, and not a few of the references are of more than passing usual interest. Such are, for example, the references to Alasanda in the city of the Yonas in the Mahāvastu, or to Yonaka in the Dharmapala in connection with the building of the Great Thūpa and the sending of Missionary by Maṅgaliputta respectively. Alasanda, as is well known, is Alexandria in the land of the Yonas, probably the town founded by Alexander in the country of the Paropamāsche near Kabul. The chronicles refer in summary to the following places and countries in India and Ceylon:

North and North-West India

Gāndhāra -modern Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts.

Yona or Yanuka -The foreign settlements on the North-Western Frontier, perhaps identical with the Greco-Bactrian kingdom.

Amuntā lake -One of the seven great lakes in the Himalayas.

Western India

Aparāntaka -comprises modern Gujrat, Kathiawar and the adjacent districts.

Sūppāra (Śūp) or Sūppāraka (Mah) -Sūppāraka (Sūns), modern Sopara in the Thānā district north of Bombay.

Mahārāṣṭra -modern Mahārāṣṭra.

Mid-India and Eastern India—

Kapilavasthā -the birth place of Gotama, and capital of the Śākya tribe in Nepal.

Kosāvatī -identical with later Kosāvatī.

Kusinera -a town of the clan of the Mallas in modern Nepal.

Chiribhaja -of Rājāghra, modern Raigarh in Bihar.

Jetavana -a park and monastery near Savatthi in the Kosala country.

Mādhura -another name for Mathura, modern Mathura.

Ujjain -now Ujjain in the Gwalior State; old capital of Avanti.

Uruvā -in ancient Buddha-Gayā in Gaya district.

Kāśī -modern Benares district.

Isipatana -the famous deer park of Benares where Buddha first turned the Wheel of Law.

Tāmsilīya (Śūp) or Tāmsalī (Mah) -Tāmsilīpi, modern Tamsik in the district of Mithapur, Deogal.

Paṭaliputta—identical with modern Patna and the adjoining region.

Poppāpura Puspapura, identical with ancient Pāsaliputra.

Kāraṇṣel—modern Benares.

Mulūā modern Mirat in Bihar.

Rājagṛha—modern Rājgir in Bihar.

Vaḍḍā (Dip) or Vaḍḍa (Māh) identical roughly with Eastern Bengal.

Vesālī—modern Basū in Musaffarpur, north of Patna.

The Deccan and South India—

Vijjha (Dip), Vinjhasvat (Māh)—The Vindhyā mountain with its dense forests.

Devanā—The Tamil country.

Ceylon—

Suvannabhūmi not in Ceylon, generally identified with Lower Burma comprising the RamanasSuddesa.

Madaya—Central mountain region in the interior of Ceylon.

Ahlayagiri—outside the north gate of Anurādhapura.

Uggavapi probably the modern Kandyakattu tank in the Eastern Province.

Ślakṣṣā—northern peak of the Mihinṭala mountain.

Jetavana a park and monastery near Sāvasthī in the Kosala country.

Kāyāṅḍī—modern Kādāṅḍī, the river that flows into the sea near Colombo.

Setiyapabbata—(Its later name: of the Misaṅka mountain).

Nandana-vana—between Mahāmeghavana where the Mahāvihāra now stands and the northern wall of the city of Anurādhapura.

Laṅkā is identified with the island of Ceylon.

Mūsakagiri (Dip), pabbata (Māh)—modern Mihinṭala mountain, east of Anurādhapura.

The *Dharmapala*, however, exclusively mentions several countries and places which are not mentioned in the *Mahavamsa*.

North and North-West India—

Kurudipa—probably identical with *Kurukuru*.
Takusila—modern Taxila in the N.-W. frontier province.

Sigala (reading doubtful)—modern Sialkot in the Punjab.

Western India—

Dharmakaccha—modern Dhamak, an ancient seaport in Kathiawar.

Lahantila—identical either with *Lasa* in modern Gujarat or *Rajha* in Bengal.

Silaputa—capital city of *Lasa* or *Rajha* country.

Mid-India and Eastern India

Anga—identical with modern Bhagalpur region in Bihar.

Campa—modern Patnagarh in the district of Bhagalpur.

Magadha—a tribe dwelling in the territory now represented by modern Patna and Gaya districts in Bihar.

Malla—a republican tribe of ancient Kusasthā and Pāvā.

Vardhamānapura—*Vardhamānabhokti* of inscriptions: modern Bardwan.

Vesuvana—the famous bamboo-garden monastery in Rājagṛha, modern Rajgir.

Vesūsa—*Vidisa*, modern Bilaspur in the Orissa State.

Hasthipura—*Hastinapura* (Śāns); probably identified with an old town in Alwar District Meerut.

Indrapura—*Indraprastha*, near modern Delhi.

It may be noticed in this connection that in the *Dīpavamsa*, *Angu*, *Maggadha*, *Vāṅgha*, and *Malla* are mentioned in the plural, not as *Vāṅgha* in the singular as in the *Mahāvamsa*. The original significance has been maintained in the *Dīpavamsa*, whereas in the later chronicle it has been overlooked.

Ceylon—

- Anurādhapura*—ancient capital of Ceylon, now in ruins.
- Ariyādhapura*—in North Central province, north of *Maḥarāṣa*.
- Suggathipa*—probably an island in the Arabian Sea.
- Tambapanni*—most probably identical with the island of Ceylon.

The *Mahāvamsa* likewise refers exclusively to several countries and places not mentioned in the *Dīpavamsa*.

North and North-West India—

- Alasanda*—*Alorandria*, the town founded by Alexander in the Paropamisadae country.
- Vithurakura*—a country north of *Kāśāstra*, mentioned in Vedic and Paurāṇic literature. *Kāśāstra*: modern *Kashmir*.

Mid-India and Eastern India—

- Avanti*—the region round modern *Ujjain* in *Crāndia*.
- Madra*—the country lay between the *Ravi* and the *Chenal*, roughly identical with the country round the modern district of *Balkot*.
- Mahāvamsa*—a monastery in the ancient *Vajji* country mentioned also by *Pā-Hien*.
- Makkhigiri vihāra*—a *vihāra* in *Ujjain*.
- Paṅḍya*—modern *Alibabad*.
- Pāṇḍya*—a republican state inhabited by the *Kṣatriyas*.

Kaṣṣambī—modern Kāṣṣā in Aṣṣāḥad, on the Jubbā, capital of the Vatsāq.

South India and the Dinaya -

Čoḷa—The ancient Čoḷa country whose capital was Kāñčīpuram, modern Čanjīveram.

Māhīśāmarāḷa—identical with Mādhātā island on the Māhānāḷ, ancient capital Māhīśāmarī, a district south of the Viśākhā.

Vaṣṣaśānī—modern Vāṣṣā in north Kāñā, preserved the older name.

Ceylon -

Ākāśa Četiya situated on the summit of a rock not very far from the Čittulupabbata monastery.

Kāḍambā nadi—modern Mādhāśī-ya by the ruins of Ānurādhapura (Kāḍambāka nadi in the Dharmapāli).

Kāriññā and modern Kīriññā-ya in the Southern province where must be located the Pañjāli-pabbata.

Kula Vapi built by Dharmasena by banking up the river Kula-ya at Čōḷa nadi.

Čāmbhika nadi—7 or 8 miles north of Ānurādhapura.

Čōḷa nadi—modern Kula-ya river.

Četāśānāḥāra near Ābhayagiri degree in Ānurādhapura.

Čissāmaśāyāhāra in South Čeylon, north-east of Čambhānāḷa.

Čissāvāpi—a tank near Mādhāśānā.

Čūpāśānā—a monastery in Ānurādhapura.

Čāḷanna Četiya outside the western gate of Ānurādhapura.

Mādhānā—now Mādhānā, a tank near Čōḷa-nāḷa.

Mādhāśānā identical with Mādhāśānā river.

Mādhāśānā—identical with modern Mādhāśānā opposite the island of Čōḷa.

Mahāmeghavāna—south of the capital Anurādhapura.

Dvāraṇḍala—near Cetiya-pabbata (Mihintale), east of Anurādhapura.

Paṇḍita. = Barbarous tribe dwelling in the country inland between Colombo, Kalutara, Galle and the mountains (Geiger-Mahavamsa, p. 90, Note 5).

Arubbala - immediately below the Mihintale mountain.

Besides these, there are many other references to countries and places of Ceylon of lesser importance. They have all been noticed and identified in Geiger's edition of the Mahāvamsa to which we are indebted for the identification of places in Ceylon noticed above.

The Buddhaghosapatti deals with the life ^{Buddhaghosa} and career of Buddhaghosa, the ^{paṭi} famous commentator, less authentic than the account contained in the Cūḍavaṃsa. It gives us an account of Buddhaghosa's boyhood, his admission to the priesthood, his father's conversion, voyage to Ceylon, Buddhaghosa as a witness, permission to translate scriptures, his object attained, return to India, and his passing away. The book is written in an easy language. It is more or less a historical romance. As to the historical value of this work readers are referred to my work, 'The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa' (Ch. II, pp. 43-44). The Buddhaghosapatti has been edited by James Grey and published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London. They has also translated the book into English.

The stories in the Milinda Paṭṭa, the Mahāvamsa and the Buddhaghosapatti are so similar that one doubts it very much that the author of this work borrowed the incidents from the Milinda Paṭṭa and the Mahāvamsa and grafted them on to his own.

A critical study of the Buddhaghosapatti does not help us much in elucidating the history of

Buddhaghosa. The author had little authentic knowledge of the great commentator. He only collected the legends which centred round the remarkable man by the time when his work was written. These legends are mostly valueless from the strict historical point of view. Gray truly says in his introduction to the *Buddhaghosapatti* that the work reads like an "Arthurian Romance". The accounts given by the *Buddhaghosapatti* about the birth, early life, conversion, etc., of Buddhaghosa bear a great similarity to those of Milinda and Moggaliputta Tissa. In the interview which took place between Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta, the latter is said to have told Buddhaghosa thus, "I am old, have not long to live and shall not, therefore, be able to accomplish my purpose. You carry out the work satisfactorily".

In Buddhadatta's *Vinayasâviteçhaya* we read that Buddhadatta requested Buddhaghosa to send him the commentaries when finished that he might summarise them. This request was complied with by Buddhaghosa. Buddhadatta summarised the commentary on the *Abhidhamma* in the *Abhidhammasâratthâ* and the commentary on the *Vinaya* in the *Vinayasâviteçhaya*. The above statement in the *Vinayasâviteçhaya* which is more authoritative than the *Buddhaghosapatti* is in direct contradiction to the statement in the latter book. The author has made a mistake in the sixth chapter of the *Buddhaghosapatti* in which it is stated that Buddhaghosa rendered the Buddhist scriptures into *Mâgadhî*. In the seventh chapter of the same book we read that after the lapse of three months when he completed his task, the works of Mahinda were piled up and burnt. Buddhaghosa translated the Sinhalese commentaries into *Mâgadhî* and not the texts themselves. Had it been so there would not have been any occasion for burning the works of Mahinda. On the other hand they would have been carefully preserved as the only reliable and

authentic interpretation of the sacred texts. It has been definitely stated in the Mahāvastu that the texts only existed in the Jambudīpa and Buddhaghosa was sent to Egypt to translate the Sinhalese commentaries into Māgadhī. If the tradition recorded in the Mahāvastu is to be believed, then only we can get an explanation for the destruction of Mahinda's works.

The Saddhammasūtra is a collection of good sayings and teachings of the Master. There are prose and poetry portions in it. It consists of nine chapters. It was written by Dharmacakyaśāhīdāna Thera. It has been edited by Nalināle Saddhamanda for the P.T.S., London. The Digha, Majjhima, Saṅgutta, Aṅguttara, and Khuddaka Nikāyas are mentioned in it. The books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka are referred to in this work. There are references in it to the Vajjiputtakas of Vesālī and Vāsa's stay in the Kāṣṭhāśāhī in the Mahāvastu. It is mentioned in this book that Moggaliputta Tissa recited the Kathavatthu in order to refute the doctrines of others. This treatise contains an account of the missionaries sent to various places to establish the Buddha's religion. Thera Majjhantika was sent to Kashmir and Gandhāra, Mahadeva Thera to Mahāsamaśala, Kakkhina Thera to Varanasi, Yasaka-Dhammarakkhita Thera to Aparāntaka, Mahadhammarakkhita Thera to Mahurāṣṭra, Mahārakkhita Thera to the Yasaka region, Majjhima Thera to the Himalayan region, Sāsaka and Uttara to Suvarnabhūmi, and Mahinda Thera to Lanka with four other Theras, Itthiya, Uṭṭiya, Sambhala, and Bhaddasāha. Besides, there is a reference to the Buddha's preaching his Dharma to the inhabitants of the city of Campāna (Campaknaga, vāṣīṅga).

The Sandesa-Kāthā has been edited by Max Müller in J.P.T.S., 1885. It is written mostly in prose. It dilates on many points, e.g., the composition of Abhidhammaśāstra by Thera Amarāditta, the composition

of a commentary known as the *Abhidhammatthavilāsinī* by Therā Saṃvāgasaṅgāhī, etc. It refers to many kingdoms, e.g. Śāvasābhama, Kāśāpāna, Jayavāḍḍhama, Aṅgikāpāya, Kāśāpāya, Sivi, Uṭṭa, etc.

The *Mahābuddhavaṃsa* has been edited by ~~Mr. Strong~~ Mr. Strong for the P.T.S., London. This work was written by Upatissa (*Upatisaḍḍhanavarena* vināyika). The Sinhalese edition by Upatissa and revised by Sarananda, Colombo, 1891, deserves mention. There is a Sinhalese translation of this work in twelve chapters. Prof. Geiger says that the date of the composition of the *Mahābuddhavaṃsa* is the 10th century A.D. (*Diyaḥama and Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 29). According to some it was composed within the last quarter of the 4th century A.D. Strong points out in the preface to his edition of the *Mahābuddhavaṃsa* that the author has treated his subject with freedom and proflixity. Most of the events in the early history of Buddhism pass under the shadow of the Bo tree. The author has borrowed largely from the sources as well as from the usual text of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, but there is abundant evidence that he employed other materials as well. This work contains discourses on the attainment of araha (enlightenment), the attainment of bodhi by Aśoka, passing away of the Buddha who was endowed with ten potentialities, the first three Buddhist conventions (*saṃgāhi*), landing of Mahāśūkhā at Lanka, accepting Mahāśūkhā and Cetiyagiri. Images worshipped by the Buddha, advent of Dandaka, etc.

The following manuscripts of the *Mahābuddhavaṃsa* are available :

- (1) A manuscript on paper in the Sinhalese character in possession of the P.T.S., England.
- (2) A palm-leaf manuscript in the Sinhalese character in possession of the P.T.S., England.
- (3) A palm-leaf manuscript in the Sinhalese character in the library of the British Museum.

(4) A palm-leaf manuscript in the Burmese character in the Library of the India Office.

The *Thūpavāṇisa* contains an account of the stupas or dagobas built over the relics of the Buddha. Readers' attention is invited to a paper on this book by Don Martino de Silva Wickromasinghe (J. U. A. S., 1898). This work has not yet been edited by the P. T. S., London. A Sinhalese edition of this work is available (ed. by Dharmapala, Paṭṭayaṅṅa, 1896).

In the *Thūpavāṇisa* we are told that the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa sent thera (elders) to different parts of India for the propagation of the Buddhist faith. He sent Majjhānīkathera to Kaśmira and Guṇḍhara, Mahāvīkathera to Mahīśaketa, Rakkhitāthera to Vamsavā, Yaśaka-dharmarakkhitāthera to Aparāntaka, Mahādharmarakkhitāthera to Mahārāṣṭra, Mahārakkhitāthera to Yaśakaloka, Mājjhīkathera to Himavanta, Saṁāthera and Uttāthera to Suvarṇabhūmi, and Mahānā and four other theras to Tāmla Paṇḍīpa. It may be added here that the Thera Mahānā and the Thera Saṅghasanti, son and daughter respectively of Aśoka, were instrumental in propagating Buddhism in Ceylon. The *Mahāvāṇisa* also states the same thing, and it further says that Moggaliputta Tissa was a contemporary of Aśoka and that he presided over the Buddhist Council which was held under the patronage of this great monarch.

It appears from both the *Mahāvāṇisa* and the *Thūpavāṇisa* that the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa sent these thera to different parts of India at his own initiative. There is no mention of Aśoka having taken any part in this activity, though such an important event occurred during his time and in his own kingdom mainly. But in his Rock Edict XIII, Aśoka says that he

despatched ambassadors to countries in and outside India. He further says in his book *Edict II* that he provided for the distribution of medicines in different countries. In both the *Edicts Asoka* mentioning Ceylon (*Pāṇḍraparvī*). But how to reconcile these two accounts which we find in the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Thūpavamsa* on the one hand and the *liḥi* records of Asoka on the other? Dr. Geiger in his introduction to his translation of the *Mahāvamsa* (pp. xvi-xvii) says that before Mahinda's mission existed between continental India and Ceylon and efforts were made to transplant the Buddhist doctrine to Ceylon. But with Mahinda this process came to a successful end. Besides, Mahinda's mission was preceded by similar missions to Ceylon. The *Dappavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* relate that Asoka, sending to Devanampiyatissa with presents for his second consecration as king, exhorted him to adhere to the doctrine of the Buddha.

The history of the missions as related in *Mahāvamsa*, *Mahāvamsa*, and *Thūpavamsa* receives most striking confirmation in the inscriptions. The names of the thera Majjhima and Kassapaggiya (who appears as Majjhima's companion in the *Dappavamsa*) occur in the *Alaka Topes* (*Sāñchi* group and *Samūhī* group) as teachers of the Himalayas. The name of Moggaliputta Tissa also occurs in the *Sāñchi* group. Further, according to Grünwedel, the transplanting of a branch of the sacred Kālā tree from Uruvelā to Ceylon is represented in the East Gate of the *Sāñchi Topes*.

Dr. Geiger has successfully proved the trustworthiness of the Ceylonese chronicles. He in an ingenious and convincing way has shown that the two accounts, which we find in the inscriptions of Asoka and the Ceylonese chronicles, are not contradictory. Asoka strove to propagate Buddhism in and outside India. Moggaliputta Tissa also played an important part in spreading Buddhism in countries within India. The conversion of

Uyana was achieved by Mahinda and his followers, who were despatched by Moggaliputta Tissa, and also by Mahinda's sister Sanghamitā.

It is thus clear from what Geiger says that there were two separate attempts to propagate Buddhism in the time of Asoka. The first attempt was made by the king himself who sent ambassadors to countries both in and outside India. The second attempt was made by Moggaliputta Tissa, the then head of the Buddhist Church, after the Third Council was over. But this attempt was confined to India only.

That the success of Buddhism both in India and outside countries was largely due to the support in past times kings like Bimbisāra, Pāśupati, Asoka, Kanishka, and Harshavarman and also from the Pāda kings of Bengal, nobody can dispute. If it did not receive royal patronage, it would have surely met the same fate as Jainism did. Taking this important fact into consideration, we shall not be unjustified to say that Asoka must have lent ungrudging help to Moggaliputta Tissa.

From what has been stated above and from the grounds which we will state below it will not be unreasonable to say that there were no two separate attempts, but a single attempt for the propagation of the Buddhist Faith, and that in this attempt both Asoka and Moggaliputta Tissa played important parts. But why the names of Asoka and Moggaliputta Tissa are absent respectively from the Pāli chronicles and the inscriptions of Asoka? In a general way Asoka says that he sent ambassadors, who were undoubtedly Buddhist monks, to different countries. He does not even make mention of his own son and daughter who did great service to the cause of Buddhism. He must have sent ambassadors in collaboration with the leading monks of the time. It will be unjust to accuse such a great king like Asoka that he intentionally cut off self-complacency and self-interest did not mention Moggaliputta Tissa.

and other leading theras. But such is not the case with the authors of the Ceylonese chronicles. They have intentionally excluded the name of Asoka, and thereby have enhanced the position of the Buddhist Saṅgha, and the prestige of its leaders. There is no lack of fables and tales in the chronicles. There are also statements which are rational. But these are meant for the glorification of the Buddha, His Disciples, and His Saṅgha only.

Tāmasiṭṭi, a harbour in the region at the mouth of the Ganges, now Tamluk. At ^{Geographical} *Tāmasiṭṭi* the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien embarked for Ceylon in the beginning of the 5th century A.D.

Chandabho comprises the districts of Peshwar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab.

Kāśmir is the modern Kāśmir.

Mahāśakambhūta is generally taken as the modern Mysore. Kēśh later it as the territory of Mūjikha of which the capital was Mūhijantī. Agreeing with Fargier he places this capital on the island of the Narbadā river, now called Mandlāṭā. *Mahāśakambhūta* is, therefore, a district south of the Vindhya mountains.

Vanavāsi—The *Vanavāsihā* or *Vanavāsins* are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and *Mahāvastu*, as a people dwelling in Southern India. There is also a modern town *Vanavāsi* in North Kanara which seems to have preserved the old name.

Apāradakā, the western ends, comprising the territory of Northern Gujarat, Kathiawar, Kutch, and Sind.

Mahāraṭṭha, the country of the Marāṭhas.

Yonakā—The *Yonā* are also mentioned together with the *Kurubojas*, in the Rock Edicts V and XIII of Asoka. V. Smith says that they meant the clans of foreign race (not necessarily Greek) on the north western frontier, included in the Empire of Asoka.

Suvāṣaṭṭhāmi—The general opinion is that *Suvāṣaṭṭhāmi* is lower Burma with northern

districts. Fleet says that it might be the country in Bengal called *Kārasāvāṇṇa*, or else the country along the river *Sou*, a river in Central India, and tributary of the *Ganges* on its right bank, which is called *Uragavāṇṇa* 'the gold bearer'.

Vedisa is the modern *Bhilsa* in *Gwalior State*, situated 25 miles north-east of *Bhopal*.

Kāṣṣāyāna The *Kāṣṣiyya* of *Uranagara* were a tribe related to the *Sākīyya*. The river *Ruhinī* flowed between the territories of the *Kāṣṣiyya* and *Sākīyya*. In the *Samāgāhāvāṇṇa* the capital of the *Kāṣṣiyya* is called *Vyagghapajja*.

Piṇḍī was the capital of the *Bhilsa*. *Misaka* *Pubbata*, now the mountain *Mihintale*, 3 miles to the east of *Amurādhapura*, is also called the *Oṭṭiyapubbata*.

The text of the *Thūpavaṇṇa* may be conveniently divided into three main chapters. The first chapter comprises the previous birth of the Buddha. The second chapter deals with the life of the Buddha from his birth to the attainment of his *Abhayaṇirvāṇa* and also the distribution of the bodily relics of the Buddha by the brahmin *Doggā* and the building of a great stūpa at the south-eastern part of *Itajupala* by *Ajātasat* at *Magadha* at the instance of the *Thera Mahākassapa* in which the bodily relics of the Buddha from *Vesālī*, *Kāśīlavatthū*, *Āḷakappa*, *Vethadīpa*, *Pava*, *Kuśinārā*, and *Rājagaha* were deposited. The third or the last chapter treats of the later history of the relics.

The author justifies his composition of the *Thūpavaṇṇa* in Pāli, when there are already two other versions of the same text, one in the Sinhalese language and the other in the *Māgadhī*, by saying that the Sinhalese version is not conducive to the good of all, and that the *Māgadhī* version is full of contradictory words and that it is not exhaustive.

The author goes to explain what is meant by a

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Chapter I.

thūpas. He says that there are four kinds of persons who are worthy of thūpas: Tathāgata, Pacceka Buddha, Tathāgata-sāvako and Rajā-sakkavatti. A thūpa is a cetiya in which the relics of any one of the above four have been deposited. As for example, the Kāśyapaśālikā Mahāthūpa contains the relics of Gotama Buddha who has fulfilled the thirty pāramitās, attained the supreme knowledge, set forth the wheel of law, and performed other duties and won the anupāsāda-sūbhāsa.

The author then gives a detailed account of the Buddhas who appeared in this earth for the salvation of mankind. He speaks of the Buddhas who preceded Gotama Buddha and the thūpas that were erected in honour of them. He then sums up the life of Gotama Buddha in a masterly way and gives a detailed account of the thūpas, that were erected over the relics of Gotama Buddha, with their later history.

We shall now deal with the story of Sumedha Tapasa who was born as the Bodhisatta several times during the period in which the twenty-four Buddhas appeared in this earth for the welfare of the worldly beings and who himself appeared in this earth as the 25th Buddha, called Gotama Buddha.

In the time of the Buddha Dīpankara, the brahmin Sumedha lived in the city of Amarāvati. He was reared in the Brahmanical law. He lost his parents in his boyhood. When he came of age he inherited a vast fortune. But knowing that the world is full of misery and that money is the source of misery, he made up his mind to distribute his wealth among the needy. One day he gave away his wealth to the poor and left the world and dwelt in the Hinayana.

Meanwhile the Buddha Dīpankara came to Kāśyapāpura and the inhabitants of the city invited the Blessed One and his followers to take their meal at a certain place highly decorated for the purpose. The people began repairing the road

connecting the proposed place and the Vihāra in which the Lord dwelt. Sumedha heard the news and offered his services. He was given a muddy place to cleanse. Before the place was cleansed the Buddha with his followers reached the place. Sumedha at once fell flat on the muddy place with the determined desire to become a Buddha in a later birth and the Buddha and his followers crossed the muddy place treading over his body. The Blessed One while crossing the muddy place over Sumedha's body predicted that Sumedha would surely become Gotama Buddha in future. The Buddha Dīpaṅkara went to the place where he had been invited, took his meal, and exhorted all to do good deeds and went away. The Blessed One attained anupaticeturibhāna in the Nandārāma and the people raised a great thūpa.

In the time of the Buddha Kondaṇḍa, the Bodhisatta was born as a great king named Vijitav. He made immense gifts to the Bhikkhu Saṅgha with the Buddha at its head. The Lord predicted that the Bodhisatta was destined to become Gotama Buddha in future. When the king heard the Buddha preaching he made up his mind to renounce the worldly life. He did leave the world. He performed many meritorious acts and was born in the Nīlāmaloka. The Buddha attained Parinibhāna in the delightful Candārāma and a cetiya, measuring 7 yojanas in extent, was raised by the people.

In the time of the Buddha Maṅgala, the Bodhisatta was born as a brahmin named Suruci. He invited the Buddha to his home for seven days and heard the Blessed One preaching. The Lord predicted that the Bodhisatta would become Gotama Buddha in future. When the Bodhisatta heard this prediction, he left the worldly life and adopted the life of a monk. In due course he was born in the Nīlāmaloka. The Buddha was Parinibhāna in due course and the people raised a great thūpa.

In the time of the Buddha Saṅgasa, the Great

Being was born as a Nāga king named Atula. He invited the Buddha and his followers to his house and served them with dairy dishes. The Lord predicted that he would be the Buddha Gotama in future. The Blessed One attained Parinibbāna in due course and a thūpa was raised.

In the time of the Buddha Kevāla, the Bodhisatta was born as a brahmin named Atideva. He heard the Buddha preaching and was established in the dhamma. The Blessed One predicted that he would be Gotama Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Sobhita, the Bodhisatta was born as a brāhmana named Ajita. He heard the Buddha preaching and was established in the dhamma. The Lord predicted that he would be the Buddha Gotama in future.

In the time of the Buddha Anoma-kassā, the Bodhisatta was born as a Yakkhasenāpatti. He made immense gifts to the Bhikkhu Saṅgha with the Buddha at his head. The Buddha predicted that he was destined to be the Buddha Gotama.

In the time of the Buddha Pūduvāra, the Bodhisatta was born as a lion who for seven days without going out in search of food saw the Buddha engaged in the Nirvāḍha-samāpatti. The Blessed One predicted that the lion would be born as the Buddha Gotama in future.

In the time of Buddha Nāradā, the Bodhisatta renounced the worldly life and invited the Buddha and his followers to a sumptuous feast. The Buddha predicted that he would be the Buddha Gotama in future.

In the time of the Buddha Padumavāra, the Bodhisatta was born as a great king named Anjita. He made immense gifts to the Buddha and his followers. The Buddha predicted that he would be the Buddha Gotama in future.

In the time of the Buddha Samuddha, the Bodhisatta was born as a youth named Māyava possessing immense riches. He distributed his wealth and made immense gifts to the Buddha

and his followers and heard the Buddha preaching and was established in the *saraya*s or refuge. The Buddha predicted that he would be the Buddha *Gotama* in the near future.

In the time of the Buddha *Sujata*, the *Kodhigatta* was born as a great king. He heard the preaching of the Buddha and distributed in charity his riches to the Buddha and his *Saṅgha*. He renounced the world and always made great gifts. The Buddha predicted that he would be the Buddha *Gotama* in future.

In the time of the Buddha *Piyadasi*, the *Bodhimatta* was born as a youth named *Kṛṣṇapa*. He mastered the three *Vedas*. Once he heard the discourse of the Buddha and distributed his immense riches. He was established in the *sila* and *enraja*. The Buddha predicted that he would be the Buddha *Gotama* in future.

In the time of the Buddha *Aṭṭhalaṅka*, the *Kodhigatta* was born as a great ascetic named *Sutta*. He heard the religious discourses of the Buddha and worshipped the lord with great honour. The Blessed One predicted that *Sutta* was destined to become a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha *Dharmadassi*, the *Kodhigatta* was born as *Sakka*, the king of gods. He worshipped the lord with great honour. The Blessed One predicted that he would be a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha *Siddhāttha*, the *Bodhisatta* was born as a great ascetic named *Māṅgala*. He picked up jungle fruits and offered them to the Buddha. The Blessed One predicted that he would be the Buddha *Gotama* in future.

In the time of the Buddha *Piṇḍa*, the *Kodhigatta* was born as a *Khattiya* of great fame and wealth. He renounced the worldly life. He worshipped the Buddha with great honour. The Blessed One predicted that he would be a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha *Piṇḍa*, the *Bodhisatta* was born as a *Khattiya* king named *Vijitav*.

He gave up the worldly life, heard the three pitakas, and performed the silas and parrivatta. The Buddha predicted that he was destined to be a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Vipassi, the Bodhisatta was born as a Naga king named Anula. He made a gift to the Buddha of the great golden throne adorned with seven kinds of gems. The Blessed One predicted that he would become a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Sikkhi, the Bodhisatta was born as a king named Arindama. He made immense gifts to the Bhikkhu Sangha with the Buddha at its head. The Blessed One predicted that he would be a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Vesakha, the Bodhisatta was born as King Sudassana. He made immense gifts to the Buddha and his Sangha. The Blessed One predicted that Sudassana would be born as Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Kakassalla, the Bodhisatta was born as King Khama. He made immense gifts to the Buddha and his Bhikkhu Sangha, heard the discourses of the Buddha, and gave up the worldly life. The great teacher predicted that he should be a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Konagamana, the Bodhisatta was born as a king named Pabhata. He accompanied by his ministers went to the teacher and heard the Master preaching. He made many gifts by way of charity to the Bhikkhu Sangha with the Buddha at its head. Afterwards he received ordination from the Buddha. The Blessed One predicted that the King Pabhata would be a Buddha in future.

In the time of the Buddha Kassapa, the Bodhisatta was born as a youth named Jalipala. He was well versed in the three Vedas. He with Ghastakara went to the place where the Buddha was. He heard the Master preaching. He took pabbajja and heard the three pitakas. The teacher predicted that he was destined to be a Buddha.

The Buddha Gotama having passed through successive births during the period in which the twenty-four Buddhas beginning with Dīpaṅkara appeared in this earth was born as King Vessamāra having performed the Pāruṣīta. He was then born in the Tūgita heaven. He was entreated by the Devatas to be born among men in order to work out their salvation. The Buddha consented to their proposal and observing the way, the island, the country, the family, and the extent of lifespan of her who will bear him, he was born in the Śākya family. He was bred and brought up in luxury. On four occasions while going out to enjoy in the gardens he saw an old man, a diseased person, a dead man, and a samāsa, respectively. Seeing the miseries of the world he was bent upon renouncing the world. He left the world leaving behind his wife and only son. On the bank of the Anurādhā he cut off his tūṅga and wore the robe of a monk forsaking his royal garments. He first went to Ājāva and Uddaka and being unsatisfied with their discourses went to the river Nerañjara and sat at the foot of the Nodhi tree meditating. He was fully enlightened. He became the Buddha. Being entreated by Brahmins to preach the doctrine he evolved, he went to Bāseara and preached the doctrine there to the Puṇḍravaggiya bhikkhus. Thousands of men and women gradually became his followers. The blessed One attained Mahāparinirvāṇa at Kāśyāpā in the Upavātiassa of the Malla. The body was wrapped up with corded cotton and new cloth and was kept in an iron bough containing oil and was covered with another iron trough. Four Malla chiefs followed by others tried to light up the coffin but failed in their attempt. It was then told by Anuruddha that the coffin could not be lighted before the Thera Mahākassapa, who with his followers was on the way to Kāśāpā from Pāvā, would arrive at the place and pay his obeisance to the Lord. In due course the Thera arrived. Fire was set to the

sons. At the time when Bindusara was ill, Asoka, who was Governor of Ujjain, hurried to Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Maurya kingdom, to usurp the throne. Bindusara died and Asoka having killed all his brothers except Tissa Kumāra took possession of the royal throne. But Asoka's coronation took place four years after. At first Asoka was not a patron of the Buddhists. He like his father supported the brahmins and other sects. One day he noticed the improper conduct of them while taking meals. He became highly dissatisfied with them. Thenceforth he began to feed the Buddhist monks and became their great patron.

One day the king saw his nephew Nigrodha Sāmaṇera, son of Sumana, who was Asoka's elder brother, passing through the royal courtyards. The king was highly satisfied with Nigrodha's calm demeanour. The king sent his minister for the Sāmaṇera. When Nigrodha came, the king received him with great honour. The Sāmaṇera admonished the king by reciting the Appamādevagga of the Dharmacapada. The king with his followers was established in the three saṃyoḡa and five aṅga. Throughout his kingdom he built 84,000 vihāra or 84,000 stūpa. He found out the relics that were deposited in the south-eastern part of Rajyaha by King Ajātasattu and deposited them in the 84,000 vihāra that he built. He further became a 'dāyaka' of the Dharmas by allowing his son Mahinda and his daughter Sanghamittā to become members of the Buddhist Saṅgha.

Meanwhile the Thera Maḡgaliputta Tissa in order to propagate the Buddha's Dharmas sent Maḡjhantāśākhara to Kāśmīra and Gandhāra, Mahāśākhara to Mahānukumbhāra, Itakkiṅgāthara to Vāraṇasī, Yonkandhammāśākhara to Apurandhā, Mahādhammāśākhara to Mallarūṭṭha, Mahāpakkajjāthara to Yamakulakaṇṭha, Maḡghimāśākhara to the Himavantaṇṭha, the thera Soma and Uttara to Suvarṇabhūmi, and the Theras Mahinda, Sāliya, Sāliya, and Mahāśākhara to the

Tambapanniya. All the thera succeeded in their mission. The Thera Mahinda together with his companions went to Ceylon when Devānampiyatissa was ruling there. King Devānampiyatissa was a great friend of Ananda, though the two had never seen each other. The Ceylonese king knowing that the Uruva were disciples of the Buddha received them with great honour. The people of Ceylon together with their king became followers of the Buddha. Many were established in the saṅgha.

The king with his 600 wives was established in the first stage of sanctification when they heard the Thera Mahinda preaching the Vinaya-sūtra, Peta-vāṭṭa, and Sacassanīyatta. When the thera preached the Devadatta Sūtra to the masses, they were also placed in the first stage of sanctification.

At the request of the Thera Mahinda the King Devānampiyatissa sent the Sāmānera Sumana to King Asoka in order to have relics so that he could build a stūpa. Sumana went to Pātaliputra and got from King Asoka relics contained in the bowl used by the Buddha. He then saw Sakka, the king of gods, and got from him the Buddha's right eye. Sumana came back to Lanka with the relics. The relics were received by Devānampiyatissa with great care and honour. A great viṭṭa was built and the right eye of the Buddha was placed in it.

Anulādevī, Devānampiyatissa's brother's wife, became desirous of receiving pabbajjā. At the suggestion of the Thera Mahinda, Devānampiyatissa sent his nephew Ariṭṭha to Asoka in order to bring a branch of the Bodhi tree to Ceylon and also to bring the Therī Saṅghamittā who would give pabbajjā to Anulā. King Asoka received Ariṭṭha with great honour when the latter came to Pātaliputra. The king readily consented to send a branch of the Bodhi tree and the Therī Saṅghamittā to Ceylon. In course of time Ariṭṭha came back to Ceylon with the branch and Saṅghamittā. The branch was transplanted at Anurādhapura with great honour. Anulādevī with five hundred young ladies received

the pabbajjā ordination from the then Śāṅghamitta. They gradually attained arahatship.

The great King Devānampiyatissa built viharas throughout Tambapannāpa at the interval of a yujana.

Devānampiyatissa was followed by a succession of rulers: Uctaya, Mahāśiva, and Śāratissa. But Śāratissa was defeated by the Damiilas who usurped the throne of Lanka for some time. But the Damiilas were overpowered by Asula, a son of Māhāsiva. But a Damiila named Eśāra came over as a fugitive from the Ghoṣa country, defeated and killed Asula and became king of Ceylon. Eśāra, however, could not rule for long, for he was killed and defeated by King Dutthagāmaṇi.

King Devānampiyatissa's second brother was Upasāji Mahānāga. The king's wife desiring that her son should be king, used every means to put an end to Mahānāga's life. Mahānāga accompanied by his wife and followers fled to Rohana and thence to Mahagāma and began to rule there. His wife bore him two sons, Yaṭṭhālatissa and Tissa. After Mahānāga's death Yaṭṭhālatissa ruled over Mahagāma. After Yaṭṭhālatissa's death his son Goṭṭhābhaya became king. Goṭṭhābhaya was succeeded by Kakkavannatissa who had two sons, Gārujini Abhaya and Tissa.

The country was under the yoke of the Damiilas. Dutthagāmaṇi, when he came of age, expressed his desire to fight with the Damiilas. But his father did not permit him to do so out of affection. But Dutthagāmaṇi became very turbulent and repeatedly expressed his desire to free the country from the yoke of the Damiilas. He fled from Mahagāma as he was angry with his father. He was accordingly called Dutthagāmaṇi. After the death of Kakkavannatissa, Tissa, who was then at Dighavapi, came to Mahagāma and performed his duties to the departed soul. He being afraid of his brother came back to Dighavapi with his mother and the elephant Kaṇḍala. Dutthagāmaṇi

came back to Mahāgāma and became king. On his accession to the throne he sent messengers to his brother demanding his mother and the elephant. Fissa refused to accede to the demand. The two brothers met in the battle-field. Dutthagāma was defeated in the battle. Dutthagāma again marched with a huge army against his brother. This time he came out successful. The throne of the island brought about reconciliation between the two brothers.

Dutthagāma then decided to drive the Danavas out of the island. He marched with a mighty army against the Danavas. He first went to Mahiyāngama and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Danavas and built the Kutaka stupa at Mahiyāngama. The past history of this stupa may be told here. At the time of the Buddha's visit to Lanka at the ninth month of His Galilimbavamsa, Sumana, the lord of gods, got from the Buddha his (the Blessed One's) hairs as relics to worship. A stupa was raised 7 cubits in height over the relics at Mahiyāngama, the place which the Buddha visited. After the Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna, Saśuddhi, Saṅgatta's disciple, came to Lanka with the collar-bone of the Buddha and deposited it in the same stupa which was made 12 cubits in height. Deva-nampiyatissa's brother Cūḍabhaya made the stupa 30 cubits in height and Dutthagāma after defeating the Danavas made the stupa 80 cubits high.

Dutthagāma succeeded in defeating and killing the thirty-two Danava kings, the greatest of them being Eḷlā, and thus freed the country from the foreign domination. He then became the undisputed ruler of the country. He rewarded those who aided him in his enterprise against the Danavas. He then devoted himself to promote the good and happiness of his subjects and the interests of the Buddhist Saṅgha. The king took the Bhūṇavāṣi-vihāra over the spear with the relic, with which he marched against the Danavas and erected there. The vihāra was dedicated to the Buddha's Saṅgha.

Duṭṭhagiri then made known his desire to build the great stūpa, the splendid Govappamāli, a hundred and twenty cubits in height, and an uposatha house, the Lohapāsāda, making it nine stories high. The Lohapāsāda was built after the design of the Palace of the gods. There were one thousand chambers in the pāsāda. On the pillars were figures of lions, tigers, and shapes of devatās. Seven charak-tales were also fifty placed here and there. When the viharā was finished, the king dedicated the same to the Buddhist Saṅgha.

Duṭṭhagiri then resolved to build the Mahāsthūpa without oppressing the people by levying taxes from them. He was very anxious how to get the materials to build the great stūpa. But the gods came to his rescue. He was provided with all the materials by the gods. The building of the Mahāsthūpa was begun on the full-moon day of the month Vesākha. The foundation stone of the Great Cetiya was laid with great care and magnificence in presence of the bhikkhus who assembled there from different parts of Jambudīpa. In the relic-chamber the king placed a Bodhi tree, made up of jewels. Over it a beautiful canopy was raised. The figures of the sun, moon, and stars and different lotus-flowers, made up of jewels, were fastened to the canopy. In the relic-chamber were depicted the setting in motion of the wheel of the doctrine by the Buddha, the preaching in the heaven of gods, the Mahāsamaya Sutta, the exhortation to Kāśyapa, the Mahāsaṅgahatthā, the distribution of the relics by Deva, and many other scenes connected with the life of the Buddha.

One of the eight dohas of the bodily relics of the Buddha, which was adored by the Koliyas of Rāmaputana and which was taken thence to the Naga Kingdom, was brought to Laṅkā to be deposited in the Mahāsthūpa. The relics were then enshrined with great honour.

But before the making of the chūṭa and the plaster-work on the cetiya was finished, Duṭṭha-

gāraṇi fell seriously ill. The king sent for his younger brother Tissa from Dighavapi and told him to complete the work of the stūpa that was left unfinished. Lying on a palanquin the king passed round the stūpa and paid his homage to it. He had the scribe read aloud the book of meritorious deeds. It is stated that the king built 99 vihāras of which the Maricavapi-vihāra, the Vedhupāsāla, and the Mahastūpa were his greatest works. The great king passed into the Tūṣita heaven.

The *Atthavagalla-vihāra-varisaya* or the *Atthavagalla-vihāra-varisaya* history of the temple of Atthavagalla consists of eleven chapters written in abstruse Pāli. Eight chapters deal with an account of King Sīri-Sāmyambodhi and the last three chapters deal with the erection of various monumental and religious edifices on the spot where the king spent his last days. It reads like an historical novel. J. D'Aris' English translation with notes and annotations deserves mention. Dr. G. P. Mahipatana has undertaken to prepare an edition and English translation of this work in the Indian Historical Quarterly. There is an edition of this work published in Colombo, 1909, under the title, "Atthavagalla-vihāra-varisaya".

The *Dāthāvāsā* or the *Dantadimavāsā* means an account of the traditions of the Buddha's lineage. *Vāsā* means chronicle, history, tradition, etc. Literally it means lineage, dynasty, etc. The *Dāthāvāsā* is a quasi-religious historical record written with the intention of edifying and at the same time giving an interesting story of the past. This work is noteworthy because it shows us Pāli as a medium of epic poetry.

The work was written by Mahipatana Dharmadhara of the city of Palatni. He was a disciple of Sāyagāthā, the author of the *Sāraṭṭhāpīṇī-tīkā*, *Sāraṭṭhāpīṇī-tīkā*, *Kāṭhāpīṇī-tīkā* on the *Cakkavāyāvatana* and the *Vāṇyāvatana*. He was well versed in

Sanskrit, *Māgadhābhāṣā*, *śāstraśāstra* (logic), *vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *kāvya* (poetry), *āgama* (religious literature), etc. He was fortunate enough to secure the post of a Rājaguru. Two versions of the Pāli Buddhist literature, the *Sāsaṇavāsiṇa* and the *Maṇḍavāsiṇa*, tell us that it was he who composed the *Dāṭhāvāsiṇa* (P.T.S. Ed., p. 34 and J.P.T.S., 1880, p. 62). We know from the *Dāṭhāvāsiṇa* that originally it was written by the poets in the Sinhalese language and later on rendered into *Māgadhābhāṣā* by Dharmakitti for the benefit of the people of the other countries at the request of Parakkama, the Commander-in-chief of Ceylon, who placed Liṅgavāli on the vacant throne of Ceylon. This Liṅgavāli, later on, became the queen of Parākramabāhu, the king of Ceylon. (Verses 4-10.)

The *Dāṭhāvāsiṇa* was written in the Buddha era 815 during the reign of King Kīrtisīringhavarṇa, of Ceylon. Kern says that it is also known as *Dehadāvāsiṇa* composed about 810 A.D. It was translated into Pāli in A.D. 1200 under the title of *Dāṭhāvāsiṇa* (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 88).

The *Dāṭhāvāsiṇa* is an important contribution to the history of Pāli Buddhist literature. It is an historical record of the incidents connected with the tooth- relic of the Buddha. It is as important as the *Mahāvāsiṇa* and the *Dīpaṇvāsiṇa*. The history of Ceylon would be incomplete without it.

The *Dāṭhāvāsiṇa* is a specimen of the poetry. It contains Pāli and some debased Sinhalese words. Its vocabulary is new. Kern rightly remarks that it belongs to the class of conventionalism and contains repetitions of passages from some ancient works with more or less apocryphal additions (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 88). In the first chapter, stanzas are written in jagatīśānda. Sixty stanzas are written in *vaṇṇavāsiṇa* vitta and the last two in *śāradhārā* vitta; in the second chapter, stanzas are written

in *amṣṭapachanda* in *pathyavaktra* vṛtta and in *maṇḍākrānta* vṛtta; in the third chapter, the stanzas are written in *trīṣṭupachanda* in *upajāta*, *incha-vajra*, *upendravajra*, and *śikhariṇī* vṛttas; in the fourth chapter, stanzas are written in *atīśahruci* *chanda* in *mālinī*, *śāddulavikrīḍita* vṛttas; and in the last chapter, stanzas are written in *śekharaṇḍa* in *vaṇṭatāḷaka* and *śaṅgīharā* vṛttas.

The *Dāḷhavarīca* gives an account of the history of the Buddha which is said to have been brought to Ceylon by *Dantakumāra*, prince of *Kalīṅga*, from *Dantaḡara*, the capital of *Kalīṅga*. It consists of five chapters, a brief summary of which is given below.

Chapter I. While the Buddha *Uṣṇākara* was coming to the city of *Rāmaṇavati* at the invitation of the people of the city, a hermit named *Sammedha* showed his devotion by laying himself down on the muddy road which the Buddha was to cross. The Buddha walked over his body with his disciples. *Sammedha* prayed to the Buddha *Uṣṇākara* that he might be a Buddha himself in future. *Uṣṇākara* granted him the boon whereupon he set himself in all earnestness, to fulfil the ten perfections (perfections). The hermit was in heaven prior to his last birth. At the instance of the gods, he was reborn in *Kapilavastu* in the family of *Suddhodana* and in the womb of *Mahāmāyā*. As soon as he was reborn, he stood up and looked round and was worshipped by men and gods. He went seven steps northwards. He was named *Siddhattha-kumāra*. Three palaces, suitable for the three seasons of the year, were built for him. While going to the garden, he saw an old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a hermit. He then made up his mind to renounce the worldly life. With the help of the gods he left the palace and reached the river *Aciravati* and on the banks of the river, he cut off his hair and threw it upwards to the sky. From a pot the hair sank into a cavity over it which is still known as *Caḷamaya Cailya*. A potter brought a

yellow robe, a beggar's bowl, etc., for him. He put on the yellow robe and left for Bājagaha. Thence he went to Uruvelā and made strenuous efforts for six years to acquire bodhi (enlightenment). In the evening of the full-moon day of Vaisākhi, he went to the foot of the Bodhi tree and sat on a seat made of straw and defeated Mara's army. In the last watch of the night he acquired supreme knowledge. After the attainment of bodhi, he spent a week, seated on the same seat at the foot of the Bo-tree, enjoying the bliss of emancipation. He spent another week, looking at the Bodhi tree with steadfast eyes. Another week was spent by him at a place called Ittanapagharu near the Bodhi tree, meditating upon *pañcassamuppāda* (dependent origination). He then went to the foot of the Ajapāhūnigrodhā tree: where he spent a week in meditation. He went to Bhūmalindā nāgabhavana where he was saved by the nāga from hailstorm. He then visited the Itājyātana. Thence he started for Isipatana-nigādhāra to preach his first sermon known as *Dhammacakkapavattana*, but on the way two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, offered him *moḥṇayijifika* (a kind of food prepared with honey and milk-essence). The Buddha placed them in two refuges. He then reached Isipatana on the full-moon day of the month of Āṣāḍha. He preached the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* to the first band of five disciples headed by *Āṣṣakandaśīla*.

Chapter II. The Buddha was thinking of doing good to the world. Nine months after his attainment of bodhi, the Buddha made an aerial voyage to Lakkā to fulfil his mission and descended on the golden palace *Muhūtapavāna*. Then he went to the meeting of the yakkhas and terrified them by creating storm, darkness, and heavy rains. The yakkhas having been greatly troubled by these, came to the Buddha and asked for protection. In the midst of the meeting he sat down on a seat of leather but by his supernatural power he made the seat very hot and owing to the excessive heat

radiating from the seat, the yakkhas became very much distressed and the leather expanded so as to cover the whole of the island of Lanka and the yakkhas gathered together on the coast, unable to bear the excessive heat. The Giridipa which was full of shady trees, was brought close to the island of Lanka by the Buddha and the yakkhas, to save themselves from the extreme heat, went into the Giridipa which was again set on its former site and thus the island of Lanka was rid of the yakkhas. As soon as the yakkhas left the island of Lanka he stopped his miracle and many a god came to the island and surrounded him. The Buddha preached to the devas Dhamma and gave one of his hairs to God Sumana who built a city on the top of the Soroanalesto Hill and worshipped it. Then the Buddha returned to Jetavana. Again he went to Lanka five years after his enlightenment and pacified the contest between Cakchala and Mahachala for a jewelled throne. Again he came to the island of Lanka eight years after his enlightenment being invited by a naga named Manakkhika. The Buddha with five hundred disciples went to the house of Manakkhika in Kalyani. A city built over his seat offered by Manakkhika and used and left by the Buddha, was worshipped by the nagas there. This city was named Kalyani City. The Buddha then visited the Sumanalesto Hill and left his footprints there. Thence he went to Diglavapi where he sat in meditation for some time. Thence he visited the site of the Kashi tree at Anuradhapura where also he sat in meditation for some time. Thence he visited the Thapumana and finished his work in Ceylon. He preached Dhamma for forty-five years and obtained parinibbana on the full-moon day of the month of Vaisakha in the garden named Upavuttana of the Malis kings near Kusavata. In the first watch of the night of his parinibbana, he preached Dhamma to the Mallas, in the middle watch he made Sivalaka an arhat, and in the last watch he instructed the bhikkhus to

be ardent and strenuous. Early in the morning he rose up from meditation and passed away. Many miracles were seen after his parinibbāna, e.g., the earth quaked from end to end, celestial music was played, all trees became saturated with flowers, though it was not the time for flowers to bloom. The body of the Buddha was wrapped up in new clothes and cotton, five hundred times. It was put into a golden pot, full of oil. A funeral pyre was prepared with scented wood such as sandal, twenty cubits in height, and the Malla chiefs put the oil-pot in the pyre. As Mahākassapa did not arrive, fire could not be kindled because it was desired by the gods that the Buddha's body must not be burnt before Mahākassapa had worshipped it. As soon as Mahākassapa came and worshipped the dead body of the Buddha, fire was kindled. The dead body was so completely burnt as to leave no ashes or charcoal. Only the bones of the Buddha of the colour of pearl and gold remained. On account of the Buddha's desire the bones became separated excepting the four bones of the head, two collar-bones, and teeth. Sarabhin, a disciple of Śāriputta, went to Mahisāgama in Ceylon taking with him one of the collar-bones of the Buddha and built a cailya. An arhat named Kāśyapa took a left tooth-relic of the Buddha and over the remaining bone relics, kings of eight countries began to quarrel. Kāśyapa settled the dispute and divided the bones equally among the eight countries. The kings after having received the relics, took them to their respective kingdoms, built cailyas over them, and worshipped them. One tooth-relic taken by Kāśyapa was given to Brahmadatta, king of Kāśyapa, who built a cailya over it and worshipped it. Brahmadatta's son, Kāśyapa, succeeded his father and worshipped, like his dead father, the cailya built over the tooth-relic of the Buddha. Kāśyapa's son, Sāradatta, succeeded him and did the same. Sāradatta's son, Gāndhāra, succeeded him to the throne and did the same. Gāndhāra's minister, who was a false believer,

asked the king whether there was anything supernatural in the tooth-relic of the Buddha which the king worshipped and for which valuable offerings were given by him. The king then narrated the various qualities of the tooth-relic which showed miracles when prayed for. The minister gave up his false belief and became a follower of the Buddha. The heretics seeing this became very much dissatisfied. Gulasiva ordered all the nigāntṃhas to be driven out of the kingdom. The nigāntṃhas went to King Paṇḍu of Pāṭaliputta, who was then a very powerful king of Saubudīpa. They complained to Paṇḍu that King Gulasiva being a king subordinate to him (Paṇḍu) worshipped the bone of a dead person (that is, Buddha's relic) without worshipping Brahma, Śiva, and others whom he (Paṇḍu) worshipped and they further complained that Gulasiva ridiculed the deities worshipped by him (Paṇḍu). Hearing this King Paṇḍu grew angry and sent one of his subordinate kings called Uttayāna with a hundred army to arrest and bring Gulasiva with the tooth-relic. Uttayāna informed Gulasiva of his mission and Gulasiva welcomed him cordially, showed him the tooth-relic of the Buddha, and narrated to him the virtues possessed by it. Uttayāna became very much pleased with him and became a follower of the Buddha.

Chapter III. Uttayāna then informed Gulasiva of the order of King Paṇḍu. Gulasiva with the tooth-relic on his head, followed by a large number of followers with valuable presents for King Paṇḍu, went to Pāṭaliputta. The nigāntṃhas requested King Paṇḍu not to offer any seat to Gulasiva, and they also requested him to set fire to the tooth-relic. A big pit of burning charcoal was dug by the king's command and the heretics after taking away the tooth-relic, threw it into the fire. As soon as it came in contact with fire, fire became as cool as the winter breeze and a lotus blossomed in the fire and in the midst of the lotus, the tooth-relic was placed. Seeing this wonder, many heretics

gave up false beliefs, but the king himself being a false believer for a long time, could not give up false belief and ordered the tooth-relic to be destroyed by stone, which found its place in the sky. The niganthas asked the king not to attach great importance to the miracles as they were not unprecedented. The tooth-relic was put in a casket and the niganthas were asked to take it out and throw it away, but none could do so. The king declared that he who would be able to take out the tooth-relic, would be rewarded. Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson recollecting the virtues of the Buddha and the deeds done by his great grandfather for the Buddha, was very much pleased to know of the declaration and went to take the tooth-relic out of the casket. He praised the tooth-relic much and then the tooth-relic rose up to the sky and then came down to rest on the head of the great grandson of Anāthapiṇḍika. The niganthas told King Paṇḍu that due to the influence of Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson the tooth-relic could rise up to the sky and come down to rest on the head of the great grandson. The niganthas denied the influence of the tooth-relic which displayed various miracles according to the deeds of Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson. The tooth-relic was thrown into a well. Cūṭayāna advised the king that he should follow Dharmapala of the Buddha because by worshipping the tooth-relic, Bimbisāra and other kings attained nirvāṇa. Thus advised he gave up false belief and brought the tooth-relic with great pomp. King Guhastiva was cordially received by King Paṇḍu and both of them did many meritorious deeds.

Chapter IV. A king named Khiradhāra came to fight with King Paṇḍu who became victorious. Paṇḍu after re-establishing peace in his kingdom, sent back Mahastva with Buddha's tooth-relic to Kāṭiṅga. Dantakinnara, son of the king of Ujjain, came to Kāṭiṅga to worship the tooth-relic. Guhastiva cordially welcomed him and became pleased to

bear the qualities of Dantakumāra and afterwards gave his daughter in marriage to Dantakumāra. After the defeat of Dantakumāra, his sons and nephews came to Malayaśvāra, a town near Dantapūra, to take away the tooth-relic by force. Fully realising the danger, Hahastva asked his son-in-law and daughter to go to Ceylon with the tooth-relic. As the king of Ceylon and his subjects were faithful to the Buddha, he thought Ceylon would be the best and safest place for the relic. At this time Mahāsena, a friend of Guhasāva, was the king of Ceylon. His son-in-law and the daughter with the relic sailed by a merchant ship from the port of Tāmbrāvotī. The ship reached Ceylon safely with the relic.

Chapter V. Dantakumāra and his wife with the relic went to a village near the eastern gate of Anurādhapura in the ninth year of the reign of Kittisīriśoegha, son of Mahādharma. Dantakumāra met an arāhat and informed him of the tooth-relic which he brought to Ceylon for its safety. The arāhat after hearing this, went to the king and informed him of the matter. Mahādharma, the preceding king of Ceylon, was a friend of Chhoten, king of Kāśīra, who did not know that Mahādharma had died and his son, Kittisīriśoegha, was on the throne of Ceylon. Dantakumāra and his wife became very much grieved to know that Mahādharma was no more and his son Kittisīriśoegha had succeeded him on the throne. The king of Ceylon after hearing from the arāhat that the tooth-relic was brought to Ceylon for its safety by Dantakumāra and his wife, became very much pleased. The king and the queen of Ceylon were transferred to Meghaghri-vihāra, residence of the arāhat, to receive the relic. They brought the relic to the palace and placed it on the throne with great devotion. The citizens of Ceylon, the bhikkhus well-versed in the Tripiṭakas, and the arāhats came to worship it. The king knew that the colour of the relic was as white as the morning star. But finding it not to be so

when it was taken out of the casket, suspicion arose in the mind of the king, but his suspicion was soon removed when the relic displayed several miracles. The king built a special temple and kept it there. All the Sinhalese monks and house-holders assembled at Anurādhapura to worship the tooth-relic. At this time a question arose as to the section of the monks to whom the tooth-relic would be entrusted for its safety and management. The king decided that the tooth-relic would select its own abode. The tooth-relic placed on a fully decorated elephant¹ was taken round the city and was brought to the place where the Thera Mahinda preached his first sermon after reaching Ceylon. The king of Ceylon ruled that the relic would be taken round the city once in a year in spring. The temple where it was kept, was extended at the cost of nine lakhs. After the death of Kittirivimoghō, his successors such as Buddhadasa worshipped it with devotion and protected it.²

The *Chakrasamvārtavāṇā* has been edited by Minayeff of St. Petersburg in J.P.T.S., 1896. It is a work by a modern Burmese author of unknown date. It is a mixture of prose and poetry. The language is simple and the diction noteworthy. It contains an account of the changes raised by Sukka, Pajjanna, Mahāśākala, Addhikāmbhaka, Varaha-

¹ The *Dullavamaṇi* has been edited in Dowager's *Shawnee* and translated into English by Dr. B. C. Law and published for Messrs. Macmillan & Co. (proprietors of the *Shawnee* Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, India). There are two Sinhalese editions by *Sambuddha* and *Śāmalakṛā*, A. & C. P. S. (London) edition published in 1884 in J. P. T. S. There is a recent English translation of this work by Nika Chaturvedi, printed by Messrs. Trilochar and Co. London. A French version of this work appeared in Paris in 1881 under the name "Le Dharmapala; ou, Histoire de la dent sacrée du Bouddha d'après les traditions du peuple de Ceylan". There is a commentary on the *Dullavamaṇi* known as the *Dullavamaṇi-takā* mentioned in an inscription of the 16th century A. D. Pāḍyāśāḍḍa 'Yonaka - Account of the Tooth Relic in Ceylon' J. A. S. B. viii.

- Mahānāma : Nīdhananāropakāsaṃ, Mahā-
 yāna. Chulhevānāsaṃ,
 Cāyāna - Sūlōhanarāhītikāsaṃ.
 Moggallāna : Moggallānāyākāsaṃ.
 Saṅghasūchita : Sūlōdīhānāsaṃ.
 Vāṭṭāyaka : Vāṭṭāya, Sātibhānāsaṃ,
 Nāvākaṃ.
 Dharmasūci : -Kāṇḍakāsaṃ.
 Anurādha : Kāṇḍakāsaṃ.
 Anuraḍha : -Darsanānāsaṃ, Nāma-
 rōpaṇāsaṃ. Abhidharmasūtrāyaka-
 kāsaṃ.
 Khacca : Khacca.
 Śāripuṭṭa : Śāripuṭṭāsaṃ, Vinaya-
 nāsaṃ, Sātibhānāsaṃ, Pañcakaṃ.
 Bhaddhaka : -Vinaya-
 nāsaṃ.
 Sura Moggallāna : Abhidharmasūtrā-
 yaka-
 kāsaṃ, Nāmarōpaṇāsaṃ,
 Pañcakaṃ, Khacca-
 kāsaṃ, Vinaya-
 nāsaṃ, Sātibhānāsaṃ, Nāma-
 rōpaṇāsaṃ, Bhāva-
 yaṃ, Yoga-
 sāsaṃ, Sū-
 lōdīhāsaṃ, Rōpaṇāsaṃ, Pañcakaṃ.
 Suraśaka : -Abhidharmasūtrā-
 yaka-
 kāsaṃ.
 Mahānāma : -Darsanānāsaṃ,
 Medhānāsaṃ : -Jināsaṃ.
 Sātibhānāsaṃ : -Sūlōdīhāsaṃ.
 Deva : -Nāmarōpaṇāsaṃ.
 Sātibhānāsaṃ : -Sātibhānāsaṃ,
 Nāma-
 rōpaṇāsaṃ.
 Rājapāla : -Medhānāsaṃ.
 Aggavaṃsa : -Sātibhānāsaṃ,
 Vinaya-
 nāsaṃ : -Mahāyāna.
 Uḍḍāna : -Sātibhānāsaṃ,
 Nāma-
 rōpaṇāsaṃ.
 Kāyāśaka : -Sātibhānāsaṃ,
 Nāma-
 rōpaṇāsaṃ.
 Sātibhānāsaṃ : -Sātibhānāsaṃ,
 Nāma-
 rōpaṇāsaṃ.
 Aggavaṃsa : -Sātibhānāsaṃ,
 Nāma-
 rōpaṇāsaṃ.
 Sātibhānāsaṃ : -Sātibhānāsaṃ,
 Nāma-
 rōpaṇāsaṃ.

dhirāṅṅaṇṇānavaṭṭhā, Sotappanāṇi, Paṭṭa-
jananī, Sāhodhānīkāvāṇa, Navavāṭṭā, Cūḷavattā-
kāṇi, Bāḷappabāḷavaṇa, Saḍḍatthabuddhacintāya
majjhimsāṭṭhā, Kūrikayāṭṭhā, Kīṭimānandīpi-
kayūṭṭhā, Dīpavaṇṇā, Thūpavāṇa, and
Bhikkhuvāṇa.

The author of the *Sāsanavāṇa* gives an outline
of Buddha's life and briefly deals
with the three Buddhist Councils
held during the reigns of the three Indian kings,
Aśśoka, Kāśśaka, and Asoka. After the Third
Council was over, Moggaliputta Tīssathēra sent
Buddhist missionaries to different countries for
the propagation of the Buddhist faith. Paṇḍita,
the author of the *Sāsanavāṇa*, speaks of the
nine regions visited by the missionaries. But of
these nine, five are placed in Indo-China. Dr. Mabel
Beale is of opinion that the author's horizon seems
to be limited, first by an orthodox desire to claim
most of the early teachers for the countries of the
South (and hence to prove the purest possible
sources for the Southern doctrine), and actually
by a certain feeling of national pride. According
to this account, Mahā-Moggaliputta Tīssa (as if
with a special care for the religious future of
Māraṇṇa) sent two separate missionaries to neigh-
bouring regions in the valley of the Irrawaddy—
besides three others, who visited Java and Pagan.

The *Uṭṭara Mahinda* went to Ceylon for the
propagation of the faith during the reign of the
Sinhalese King Devānampiyatīssa who was a
contemporary of the Indian King Asoka.

Sona and Uttara visited Suvannabhūmi
(Sudhannapura that is, Tharon at the mouth of
the Salween River). The author holds that even
before the sending out of the missionaries to
Suvannabhūmi by Moggaliputta Tīssathēra, the
Buddha came here personally with a number of bhikkhus
to preach his doctrine.

Buddhācārika Thera spread Buddhism in the

Yana country (the country of the Šāva tribes *nikāyā Zimmā*).

Yonakarakkhina Thera visited the country of Vannavāṣṭ (the region round Pāṭṭali) and propagated Buddhism there.

Mujjhantika visited Kāśmīra and Gandhāra (the Gandhāra country) lay on the right bank of the Indus, south of Kabul, and the whole country became a strong Buddhist hold.

It was through Mahā-Bhāvata Thera that Buddhism found its way into Māhīśākaśāstrāṇḍā (Andhra country).

Mahā-Dharmasarakkha Thera went to Malāva (the *Mahānāgara-rājya* or Siam) and spread Buddhism there.

Majjhira Thera spread the Buddhist faith in Anurāṭṭha (the Hinnavantapada of the Ceylon monks).

Now we shall deal with the history of the spread of Buddhism in *Aprasītoṣṭha* which (placed by European scholars west of the Ganges) is no other than the *Burmesiania* of the Burmese, i.e., the region lying west of the upper Irrawaddy.

The *Sāsanavūṭṭha* brings before us a picture of the relations of State and *Sāraṅga* in Burma from the time of Anurādha, with his constant adviser, *Arakhaṇa*, to the time of King *Dun-Meng*, with his Council of *Mahāsīras*. These relations were one of mutual dependence. The Order, though enriched by the gifts of pious laymen, yet depends, in the last resort, upon the king. The peaceful, easy life dear to the Burmese bhikkhu, the necessary calm for study or the writing of books, the food or water to be set apart for ecclesiastical ceremonies, all these are only secured by the king's favour and protection. This accounts for the general loyalty of the *Sāraṅga* to the head of the State. The king's despotism is also held in check.

At the lowest, the royal gifts of viharas and the building of viharas are either the pure and

down for desired prosperity and victory, or the atonement for bloodshed and plunder; and the despot dares not risk the terrors, the degradation, that later titles, in coming time, may hold in store for him, if he injures or neglects the Saṅgha." As a rule, the king was the recognised authority in constitutional affairs. This is evident from Anuruddha's vigorous reforms. The Saṅgharāja is not the elected Head of the Order. He is appointed by the king, whose favourite and tutor he usually is. It appears from the Pārapana Ekasāśka controversy that the king's power to settle a religious question by royal decree is fully recognised by the Saṅgha. That we also see the king himself under the Koenig's influence, so far as to ensure his favouring the orthodox or unorthodox school, according to the views of the Saṅgharāja.

The history of religion in Myanmar is nothing more than the history of the Buddhist Order in Suvāpura and Tumbadipa. The history of the Burmese as a nation centres in a group of cities—Pagan, Sagon, Ava, Panyā, Amarapura, Mandalay—each, in its turn, the seat of kings.

The early Buddhist stronghold in Burma was at Sudhammapura, the capital of Manohari, king of Pagan. Anuruddha, king of Pagan, at the instance of Ariyaratna, a great teacher who came from Sudhammapura to Pagan, made war with Manohari and brought the sacred relics and books to Pagan. All the members of the Saṅgha in Thator (Sudhammapura) were also transferred to Pagan. Anuruddha further sent for copies from Ceylon, which Ariyaratna compared with those of Pagan, to retain the readings.

During the reign of Nāgasthisā, the celebrated teacher, Uṭṭarājiva, came from Sudhammapura to Ariyaratna and established religion there. His pupil Chāpata, who spent ten years studying in Ceylon returned with four colleagues to the capital. After the death of Chāpata separate schools came into existence, having their origin in certain differences that arose between the three surviving

teachers Sivali, Yamahinda, and Anura. The schools are together known as Paucapanna or distinguished them from the earlier school in Ariyaratana (Purimaganu) founded by Apalana.

The reign of Kysora is highly important for the history of Buddhism. He was himself the author of two manuals—Paramuttahāsindu and Sakhāsīndu, for the use of his wives, and one of his daughters wrote the Vihāravūthā. We are told of the wisdom and zeal of the women of Ariyaratana, and anecdotes are told of their skill in grammar and the easiness of their wit.

In the reign of Hseng Naung religious freedom reigned. It is recorded of him that he even taxed Buddhism on the Shāns and Muslims in the north of his kingdom.

In the reign of Sivi-Mahāsīhasārasodhānandjā begins a new chapter in the history of Buddhism—Buddhism—the Pārapana-Ēkariśīla controversy. The rise and many phases of the dispute are set forth at length by the author of the Ēśasavāna. Two sects arose—the Ēkariśīka sect (it was named so for going about in the village with one shoulder uncovered by the upper garment) and the Pārapana sect (this school strictly observed the wearing of the upper garment on both shoulders during the village rounds). During the reign of Dabāh Pī the question was settled for good. A royal decree established the Pārapana practice for the whole of the kingdom.

During the reign of Meng-dun-Meng we come to the last controversy, perhaps recorded because it points to the influence of the Burmese Saingha in Ceylon. An ancient Stupa in the island (Ceylon) was the subject of dispute. The matter was brought for judgment to the Saingharaja at Madaṅkay, by deputations from both sides. The Saingharājā gave judgment after consulting various sacred texts. The members of both sides received presents from the king. Thus the history of religion in Assam closes.

The edition of the *Sāsanavamsa*¹ is based on two palm-leaf MSS. in the British Museum. It is a non-ecological book and is a text of Burmese authorship. It is a very interesting historical work. The author Paññasāmi, who dates his book 1223 of the Burmese Calendar Era 1861 A.D., was the tutor of the then reigning king of Burma and himself a pupil of the head of the Order at Mandalay. The table of contents promises a general history of Buddhism drawn from a few well-known Pāli works, e.g., *Aṅgikāthā*, *Vinaya Pīṭaka*, *Mahāvamsa*, and *Dīpavamsa*. Events are brought up to the time of the Third Council in the time of Aśoka and the sending forth of missionaries by the Thera Mahā-Nāgajipatta Tissa. The later history of religion consists of nine chapters, which fall into two parts. The first part consists of a few legends strung together with quotations from *Buddhingaṇa* and *Dīpavamsa*. The accounts of Ceylon and Burma seem to be more careful and complete than those of other writers of this group. The second part covers three-fifths of the book and treats solely of the history of Buddhism in Burma proper. In part one, the section dealing with the missions strikes the key-note of the *Sāsanavamsa*. A few geographical notes explained the nine regions visited by the first missionaries. A careful study of this work shows the author's intimate acquaintance with the communities. The style imitates that of *Buddhingaṇa* and his successors. There are no points of philological interest. The book gives us an interesting record of the part played by the Buddha's religion in the social and intellectual life. Paññasāmi's history is a purely ecclesiastical piece of work. This work has been edited by Mahā Hada, Ph. D., for the P.T.S., London.

¹ *Book Sāsanavamsadīpa* edited by Jambūtika Nāyaka Ponnada and *Sāsanavamsadīpa* by Venkatesa Chinna. Book also "The author of the *Sāsanavamsa*" by M. Hada, J.R.A.S., 1867, pp. 674-680.

CHAPTER VII PĀLI MANUALS

INTRODUCTION

Saṅgaha is an earlier Pāli terminology for both a compilation and a manual. The later term *Atthakāra* is precisely an equivalent of the English handbook or manual. The Buddhist teachers had indeed developed the art of manual writing much earlier, the *Khuddakopāṭha*, the *Pañjikā*, and the *Abhidharma* treatises, all partaking of the character of manuals. The manuals were written in both prose and verse: and in some cases in the form of *Kārikā*. As a matter of fact most of the works of Thesea Buddhadeva represent no many manuals in the shape of *Kārikā*. Buddhaghosa's writings are conspicuous by the absence of such manuals with the solitary exception of the *Vimuttiwagga*. The same holds true in this case of Dharmapala's writings. The art continued nevertheless, and owing to somewhat later times we have a number of works that deserve to be classed under manuals. Although the subject-matters of these manuals vary, one predominant feature of each of them is this that it presents its theme systematically in a somewhat terse and concise form, purporting to be used as a handbook of constant reference.

The *Succasānikhapa* is a religious work or treatise written by Dharmapala. The *Malalasekera* prints out that there seems to be some uncertainty as to the authorship and date of the *Succasānikhapa*. The *Saddhammasaṅgaha* assigns it to Ānanda.¹ The *Succasānikhapa* has been edited by Dharmasena Bhikkhu. There are five chapters in it dealing with *paṇa* (foam),

vedanā (feeling), citta-savatti (thought), pañcā-kasavijāḥa, and nibbāna. It is known as the summary of the truth, published by the P.T.S. in J.P.T.S., 1917-1919. It consists of 389 stanzas. Itupa or form is one of the five khandhas. The destruction of the four elements means the destruction of rūpa. There are three kinds of vedanā or feeling, feeling that is pleasant, feeling that is unpleasant, and feeling that is neither pleasant nor unpleasant, i.e., indifferent. All the three vedanās are to be done away with, for they are painful. Citta or thought when attached to rūpa or passion leads to repeated births which are full of misery. When citta is detached from passion there is no rebirth for a being. The Pañcākasavijāḥa-vibhāga treats of niggāhāna subjects, e.g., pride, sloth, uggādhāna, and their evil effects. The last chapter deals with nirvāṇa which means destruction of all passions and desires and avoidance of all worldly miseries.

The *Abhidhammatthā-Saṅgaha*⁴ has served for probably eight centuries as a primer of psychology and philosophy in Burma and Ceylon, and a whole literature of exegesis has grown up around it, the latest additions to which are but of yesterday. The manual is ascribed to a teacher named Amarāditta; but nothing is known about him except the fact that he had compiled two other treatises on philosophy, and one of them was written while the author was at Kāñcīpura or Canjeveram. Burmese tradition asserts that he was a bhāṣya of Ceylon and wrote the compendium at the Sinhalese vihāra founded by Sāradatī, queen of King Vattagāmaṇi who flourished between 38-74 B.C., a date notoriously early for the book. In fact, Amarāditta is believed to have lived earlier than 12th but later than the

⁴ *Abhidhammatthā-Saṅgaha* or Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy and Psychology, Vol. I, by Mahānanda Govinda Bhāṣyaśāstrī.

8th century A.D. Śāriputta compiled a paraphrase to this work. The *Abhidharmasamāhita-Saṅgaha* has been edited and published in J.P.T.S., 1893, and translated with notes by Elwe Zan Aung and revised by Mrs. Elyse Davids under the name of the Compendium of Philosophy included in the P.T.S. translation series.

The *Abhidharmasamāhita-Saṅgaha* is referred in Index of names of Buddhist philosophical manuals. Burmese bibliography under a classified list of Philosophical manuals, nine in number. They are:—

1. *Abhidharmasamāhita-Saṅgaha*, by Anuruddha,
2. *Paramattha Vinicchaya*, by Anuruddha,
3. *Abhidharmasāyasa*, by Saddhadatta,
4. *Rūpārūpa-vibhaga*, by Saddhadatta,
5. *Samsāra-nikhepa*, by Dharmapala,
6. *Mahavivachana*, by Kaccapa,
7. *Khemappakarana*, by Khema,
8. *Nāma-rūpa-dīpa*, by Saddhamma Jotipala, and
9. *Nāma-rūpa-pariccheda*, by Anuruddha.

The *Abhidharmasamāhita-Saṅgaha*, because of its Excerptal Index from the book exclusively condensed treatment, stimulated a large growth of auxiliary works, of which the following have up till now been known.

A. Four like or commentaries: 1. *Paramatthā*, by Navavimāla Bodhi of Ceylon, 2. *Abhidharmasamāhita-vibhāṅga*, by Suddhānanda of Ceylon, 3. *Nāma-rūpa-samāhita*, by Saddhamma Jotipala of Burma, and 4. *Paramattha-dīpa-nīlaka*, by Lehi Sada of Burma.

B. A 'Key' to the *Tika-gyan*, entitled *Maṅgala-sāra*, by Ariyaratna of Sagan, Burma.

C. A commentary entitled *Maddha-Saṅgaha-dīpa*, by Mahānanda of Hanthawaddy Burma.

D. A number of works, not in Pāli, but in Tibetan:

1. *Abhidharmasamāhita-saṅgaha-mūlha*, a modern work by Hogaung Sada,
2. *Abhidharmasamāhita-saṅgaha-gaṇṭhi*, a modern work by Payagyi Sada,
3. *Paramattha Sarapa-bodhani*, by Visuddhanta Sada,
4. *Abhidharmasamāhita-Sarapa-dīpa*, by

Sadda, & Abhidhammattha-Sāra-dīpaka, by the late Myahyngyi, and S. a number of analytical works entitled Akāsa.

The Abhidhammattha-Sāraḡa covers very largely the same range of subject-matter as that of the Visuddhimagga, though the amplitude of treatment and the order and emphasis of treatment in each are different. But they are to some extent complementary, and as such still hold the field as modern text-books for students of Buddhism in Buddhist countries.

The Abhidhammattha-Sāraḡa is so highly condensed that it consists, for the most part, of terse, pithy sentences, which are not easily intelligible to lay readers. It is, therefore, profitable to have a résumé of the main topics and problems of the whole work as a Manual of Buddhist Psychology and Philosophy.

Mind is ordinarily defined as that which is conscious of an object; and the Buddhists have tried to frame their definition with the help of fifty-two mental attributes or properties enumerated in Part II of the Abhidhammattha-Sāraḡa. But the definition of mind is also a decision of mind, and our author's division into vedanā, nāma, and manāsika corresponds to Baile's division of the mind into feeling, thought or intellect, and will or volition.

Consciousness (viññāna) has, therefore, been defined as the relation between ārammaṇika (subject) and ārammaṇa (object). In this relation the object presented is termed paṇḍita (the relating thing) and the subject, paṇḍayuppama (the thing related). The two terms are thus relative.

The object of Consciousness is either object of Sense or object of Thought. Object of sense subdivides itself into five classes—sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch,—which are collectively termed pañcārammaṇa (fivefold object). The object of thought also consists of five sub-classes: citta

(mind), *cetasika* (mental properties), *pasāda*, *rūpa* and *sukkhamaṅga* (sensitive and subtle qualities of body), *paññā* (wisdom, idea, notion, concept), and *nibbāna*. These are collectively termed *dhammā-rūpīyā*.

The *Paññatti* object consists of several sub-classes. *Paññatti* is either (1) that which makes known (*paññāpatti*); or (2) that which is made known (*paññāpiṇṇati*), corresponding to our author's terminology -- *Saddhapaññatti* and *Ātthapaññatti* which are undoubtedly relative terms. *Saddhapaññatti* is a name (of a thing) which, when expressed in words, or represented by a sign is called a 'term'. It is synonymous with *nāma-paññatti*. *Ātthapaññatti* is the idea or notion of the attainment of a thing made known or represented by a name. In other words, it is equivalent to 'concept' and is subdivided into various classes. *Paññatti* has been distinguished from *Panamaṭṭha* in the sense that the former is nominal and conceptual whereas the latter is real.

The object encompassing, as it does, the subject, is wider, more extensive than the latter. This is probably one reason why greater prominence is given to the object *paññāna*. In Buddhism there is no actor apart from his action, no participant apart from perception. In other words, there is no conscious subject behind consciousness.

Like the current of the river (*maṇi vata vija*) is the Buddhist idea of existence. For us two consecutive moments is the fabric of the body the same, and this theory of the ceaseless change or flux is called *anicca-dhamma* which is applied alike to the body and the mind, or the Being and thought respectively. The dividing line between these two is termed *mano-dēva*, the Threshold of consciousness. Life, then, in the Buddhist view of things, is like an ever-changing river, having its source in birth, its goal in death, receiving from the tributary streams of sense constant accretions to its flood.

and ever-dependant on the world around it the thought-stuff it has gathered by the way.

Subliminal consciousness is either *kāma*, *rūpa* or *arūpa*. Superliminal consciousness is normal, supernatural, and transcendental. Normal consciousness is termed *kāmapatti*, so called because desire or *kāma* prevails in it; *jhāna* or raptitude. Supernatural consciousness is termed *Mahaggatōtṭha* because it has reached the sublime state, and is further distinguished as *rūpa*, or *arūpārotṭha*.

Consciousness in this fourfold classification is primarily composed of seven mental properties (*cetasakāra*)—usually, contact (*phassa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), will or volition (*etanā*), awareness of object (*ekaggatā*), psycho life (*jīvitindriya*), and attention (*manasikāra*). These seven mental properties are termed *sabbā-dhite-sādharaṇa* or universal's, because they are common to every class and state of consciousness, or every separate act of mind or thought. There are forty-five different properties distinguishing one class from another. And these, in varying combinations, give rise to the eighty-nine classes of consciousness enumerated in Part I of the *Abhidhammasaṅgaha*, or according to a broader classification, one hundred and twenty-one. The seven mental properties have been enumerated above; there are, besides these, six particular specific or accidental properties. These are *vitakka*, *vicāra*, *adhimokkha*, *vicīya*, *piṭi*, and *chanda*. The four universal *had* *vetanikas* or properties are *maḥā*, *phīṭika*, *saṅgappa*, and *udāhāra*. Besides these, there are also two specific *vetanikas* or properties, *kalha* and *dīṭṭhi*. All these properties are discussed and explained in the body of the book.

Of these and other classes of consciousness making up a total of eighty-nine, some function as causes or *kaṇṭha*, some as *vesāntāra* or *vipāka*,

and *śūnyā* are immutational or *liya*. Besides these three classes, there are two elements in every consciousness, the Constant and the Variable. The form of consciousness is the constant element, and is opposed to the matter of consciousness which constitutes the variable element. But in Buddhism, both subject and object are variable at every moment; and there are several forms of consciousness each of which may be designated a 'process of thought' whenever it takes place as a fact. To every separate state of consciousness which takes part in a process of thought as a functional state, either in the subjective form of the stream of being, or in the objective form of a conscious act of mind or thought, the *sa* are three phases *genesis* (*upādāna*), *development* (*bhūti*), and *dissolution* (*bhanga*)—each of which is explained and discussed by the author in his *Śāstra* in all its processes and stages.

The possibility of the 'universal' presentation of all the six classes of objects mentioned above in this discussion can be experienced, the Buddhists believe, without the corresponding object or standard. The possibility of Reflection proper is attributed to the relation termed 'preliminary sufficient cause' by virtue of which (a) a sense impression once experienced in a sense cognition by way of the five doors, or (b) a previous experience of all internal intuition or cognition by way of the mind-door, or (c) the idea once formed in the objects of either, can never be lost. There are different processes of reflection in connection with Things Seen (*dīpita*). But *visā* an object that has not been actually seen is constructed out of, and connected with these seen objects, it is termed 'object-associated with things seen' (*dīpita-sa-bandha*). And the process of thought associated therewith is classed in the category of objects associated with things seen. The object-constructed

These are the
of Consciousness
are grouped.

internal form
of the object
is called
internal-
association.

out of and connected with Things Heard (and object) is termed 'object associated with things heard' (*śrūta-sambandha*). Any object constructed out of Things Cogitated (*vinīta*) and connected therewith is termed 'associated with things cogitated' (*vinīta-sambandha*). Any object in the category of Things Seen, Heard or Cogitated may either be past, present or future. When it is present, it is intuited as a vivid reality. The same forms hold good for all kinds of thought or reflection.

How is memory possible, if the object be not the same for any two consecutive moments in life? The answer is given in detail by the author. Each mental state is related to the next in at least four different modes of relation (*parivā*):

Proximity (*ananta*), Contiguity (*sannasanna*), Absence (*atthā*), and Absence (*avigata*). This fourfold relation is understood to mean that each expired state renders service to the next. In other words, each, on passing away, gives up the whole of its energy to its successor; and this is how the memory is helped and retained.

The stage of apprehension pertains to that active side of an existence (*kamma-bhāva*), which determines the passive side (*upapatti-bhāva*) of the next existence. The apprehensional act is thus a free, determining, causal act of thought, as distinguished from the mental states, which are fixed, determined and resultant ones (*vipākā*) of *kamma*. Volition, under favourable circumstances, is transformed into *kamma*. But volition (*cetanā*) in apprehension or attention of senses (*pañca-dvārikā-javana*) cannot possibly become *kamma*. Hence we must look to the volition involved in reflective or representative apprehension (*manovārika-javana*) for *kamma*, which according to the different characters of volition is classed in different types or varieties with distinct characteristics.

Interesting, though is the phenomenon of dream,

it is conspicuous in the Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha
 by its absence. Scattered refer-
 ences and sometimes systematic ex-
 planations have here and there been
 made in Buddhist works regarding forms of dream-
 thought, dreams-classified, theories of dreams, rela-
 tion of dream to sleep, etc.

The first essential qualification of the process
 of thought transition from the
 normal to the super-normal is 'purity
 of virtue or morals'. The next is
 meditation and concentration of thought. There
 are four moments of apperception during the
 transitional stage from normal to super-normal
 consciousness. The first is termed 'preparation',
 the second 'success', which is followed by the
 third called 'adaptation'. After the last moment
 of 'adaptation' normal consciousness is cut off by
 the super-normal, and the transitional stage is
 superseded by the latter, known as the first
 Jhāna, and for one thought-moment, the person
 attaining it experiences ecstasy. Attainment is
 Jhāna is thus a very important psychological
 moment, marking an epoch in his mental experience
 for the person who succeeds in commanding it.
 Jhāna is usually classified in five stages, and in the
 fifth stage ecstatic concentration reaches its full
 development with the help of the continued voluntary
 exercise of the mind on an after image to which it
 has been directed.

To attain super-intellectual powers (abhijñā)
 for an adept in the fifth Jhāna,
 it will be necessary for him to go
 through a course of mental training
 in fourteen processes. Super-normal powers of will
 or Iddhi-vidhi may then be developed by means of
 the so-called four bases of Iddhi which involve
 respectively—the development of Four dominant
 or predominant principles of purpose, effort, know-
 ledge, and wisdom. There are ten classes of Iddhi
 known to Buddhism, the last three of which

contemplate the *dīḍhi-vidhā*, and are used as a basis for the willing process.

With a slight difference in procedure in mental *attāna* and mental of thought, the same *lagna* of the transitional, inductive, or sustained and retrospective processes of Fifth *Ārya-Jhāna* obtain in the case of the First *Ārya-Jhāna*. When an adept in the Fifth *Ārya-Jhāna*, who has repeatedly induced this same through any one of the ten circles, with the exception of space, unconsciously believes that all physical pain and misery are due to the existence of the body, and reflects on the relative grossness of this *Jhāna*, he wishes to attain the First *Ārya-Jhāna*, which he considers to be very calm and serene.

A person who wishes to transcend the experience of this conditioned world must first of all cultivate 'purity of views' or *dīḍhi-vidhā*. Next, he must cultivate in succession, 'purity of transcending doubt' or *śāntkīḍ-vitarāga-vidhā*, 'Ten modes of insight' or *Vipassanā-ñāna*; or in other words the contemplative insight, enumerated and explained in the Text. All these ten kinds of insight are collectively termed 'purity of intellectual culture'. The highest insight of equanimity receives the special designation of 'wisdom of discernment leading to uprising', because it invariably leads to the Path, conceived as a 'rising out of'. It is also styled as the 'mouth or gate of *Kamaññipatti*' (*Vivakka-mukha*).

Kamaññipatti has a triple designation, namely, the 'Signless' or *ananta*, the 'Un-*desired*' or *appasārita*, and the 'yond' or *suñāta*. *Kamaññipatti* itself, whether of the Path, the Fruit, or *Nibbāna*, also receives the same triad of names, according as it is preceded by the contemplation of things by 'arising discernment' as either impermanent, or evil, or substantial.

The purity of insight which is the gateway of

Emancipation is also called Path-insight. One who has attained perfect purity of insight, surges off the highway of the average mind and evolves the image of the Transcendental. It is followed by a single moment of Path-consciousness by which the truth of the Four Noble Truths is clearly discerned. Error and doubt are got rid of, Nibbana is intuited, and the eightfold Path-constituents are anticipated. These four simultaneous functions correspond to the Four Noble Truths. Just like the Four Noble Truths, there are four stages of the Path, which are called Four Paths. The attainer of the first is termed Sotthapanna who will have as yet to undergo seven more rebirths in the Kamuloka; the attainer of the second is termed Sakadagami who will have one more such rebirth. But the complete determination of these two does not permit of another rebirth in the case of the Augghat or Never-returned of the Third Path. The wisdom of the Highest or Supreme Path is the same mental order of intelligence developed into the Perfected view of the highest order and is the last stage of 'purity of insight'.

Death is assigned to one of four causes: (1) the exhaustion of the force of the reproductive (janaka) kamma that has given rise to the existence in question, (2) the expiry of the maximum life-term possible for this particular generation, (3) the combination of both these causes, (4) the action of a stranger arresting kamma that suddenly cuts off the reproductive kamma before the latter's force is spent or before the expiry of the life-term.

The disease of the Arhant is according to Buddhist philosophy, the Final Death. If the Arhant be of the class known as 'dry-visioned' (asukhā-vipassaka) who does not practise Ahimsa, his final death, which takes place on the kamma plane, occurs after apprehension or retention of impressions. If he be participant in Ahimsa, final death may occur (a) after sustained

Jāṇa; or (b) after apprehension in subsequent retrospect; or (c) after the receipt of 'super-intellectual' knowledge (pblāṇā); or finally, (d) after retrospection following the attainment of the Topmost Fruit.

The *Nāmaṅgapapaññasā* is another Abhidhamma manual written by Anuruddha Mahāthera. It consists of 1,845 stanzas dealing with nāma

and rūpa.

The *Nāmaṅgapapaññasā* was written by Thea Kueṇsburiya mostly in prose. It deals with citta and cetasakakāra.

The *Sutta Saṅgaha* is a later manual or compendium of select suttas and is primarily intended for those beginners who desire to have a knowledge of the Pāli scriptural texts in a nut-shell.

The *Paritta* or *Mahāparitta*, a small collection of texts gathered from the *Sutta Piṭaka*, is more widely known by the European laity of all classes than any other Pāli book. The *Paritta*, learned by heart and recited on appropriate occasions, is to conjure various evils, physical and moral. Some of the miscellaneous extracts that make up the collection are of purely religious and ethical character. The use of the *Paritta* is said to have had the Buddha's sanction. The victory of the holy man was accompanied by the *Paritta* (Mudalāde, 'The Pāli Literature of Burma', pp. 3-4).

The *Kaṃṃavāṇa*¹ is a conventional title for the collection of certain set forms of speech followed or to be followed in conducting the business of the Saṅgha either at the time of conferring ordination or at the time of holding a synod or a council.

¹ Cf. "A new Kammavāṇa" by T. W. Ishya Davida and Claxton, & Sāyana's *Kammavāṇa*, Paper of Interest of Sri Ramana Mission, J.R.A.S., Vol. VII, New Series, Tiruvempudi-Kammavāṇa, a Pāli text with a translation and notes by J. F. Dinniss, J.R.A.S., 1876.

These set forms are but excerpts from the *Vaṅṣa Mahāvagga* and *Thūlavagga*, the utility of the *Kaṇṇavācā* text being no other than this, namely, that we have in it all put together in a handy and systematic form. There are various manuscripts of this text available in Burma, Ceylon, and Siam, some of the Mandalay manuscripts being very handsome written as they are in Burmese ritual or ceremonial scroll letters printed with a thick black resinous gum. There is a collection of *Kaṇṇavācā* manuscripts by Herbert Baynes (*vide J.R.A.S., 1892, Art. III*). In Burmese Pāli collections we find no less frequently than the *Parāṇa* of the laity, the *Kaṇṇavācā* of the mendicant order. It goes without saying that the text of *Kaṇṇavācā* is a text of a purely Buddhist ecclesiastical use.

In the Kalyāṇī stone inscriptions of Dharmapala Bedi of Pegu, we find mention of the *Siṃhālikāraspekaraṇa* amongst the earlier authoritative texts bearing upon the subject of strict or sanctified boundary of the Buddhist ecclesiastical order. It is not quite clear from the reference if the *Siṃhālikāraspekaraṇa* was not the same work as the *Siṃhālikārasāṅgaha* mentioned in the same lithic record of the 16th century A.D. It is evident from these records as well as from a later work, the *Siṃhāvāḍavini-śaya-hatthā* that the proper erection and the determination of the sanctified boundary came to be considered as an effective means of the purification of the Buddhist holy order.

The *Khuddakasiṅgala* and the *Mūlasikkā* are the two short *Vaṅṣa* manuals, written usually in verse, a few passages occurring in prose. The *Uttara Dharmasāhi*, evidently a Shabbesa priest, is the author of the *Khuddakasiṅgala*. But in the Burmese history of the pitukas the *Mūlasikkā* is ascribed to Dharmasāri and the *Khuddakasiṅgala* to another Buddhist priest, Mahāyāsi by name. The authorship of the *Khuddakasiṅgala* cannot be reasonably ascribed

to any other person than Dhammasiri in view of the author's own statement in the following stanza :

"Tena Dhammasiritena 'Fambhapanniyaketunā
 dhorena iccika Dhammavāyafidupesaṁ-
 sītū."¹

If we are to give credence to the Burmese tradition, there is no other alternative than regarding the *Mūlasikkhā* as a work not of Dhammasiri but of Mahāśāst. It is also difficult to accept the Burmese tradition according to which the two manuals were written about 120 years after the demise of the Buddha.² Judged by the language and general style of the two manuals, these would seem to be literary productions of a much later age. We have already given an idea of their contents (ante p. 70). Only one important point which remains to be noticed is the significance of the *Mūlasikkhā* used as a title of one of the two manuals. It is suggested in the opening stanza of the *Mūlasikkhā* that the title has no other significance than this, that the manual presents the necessary lessons on the *Vīraṇā* rules and discipline in the language of the original texts, that is to say, in Pāli which is the language of the *pitakas* :

"Bhikkhūnaṁ navakentho mūlabhāṣiṇya sikkhā-
 lam yasamutthāraṁ parivāro bhikkhūnaṁ mag-
 gāṭṭhāyo suto."³

¹ J.V.I.S., 1863, p. 67.

CHAPTER VIII

PĀLI LITERARY PIECES

INTRODUCTION

In the present chapter we have to deal with seven metrical compositions, the *Anāgata-vāṇī*, the *Juṅgaṇṭha*, the *Tetśakāḍḍagāthā*, the *Pajja-mūḍha*, the *Rasavāṇī*, the *Saddhammapayāna*, and the *Paṭṭhapaṭṭhāna*, which were evidently the literary productions of Ceylon¹ and which belonged mostly to the closing period of Pāli literary activities of Ceylon ranging from the tenth or eleventh to the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D. Amongst them the *Anāgata-vāṇī* stands as a supplement to the canonical work, *Duddhāvāṇī*; the *Juṅgaṇṭha* occupies the same place in Pāli as the *Buddhāṇṭa* in the Sanskrit Buddhist literature. The *Tetśakāḍḍagāthā* and the *Pajjamūḍha* represent two interesting examples of the Śatuka type of poetry, the *Paṭṭhapaṭṭhāna* and the *Saddhammapayāna* are written for the edification of certain select topics of Buddhism and the *Rasavāṇī* is a most charming book of folk-stories narrated in elegant and simple style, in prose and in verse. Most of these works show a tendency towards the Sanskritisation of Pāli and display that amount of literary excellence and poetic imagination as may be expected from the people of Ceylon in general and the Buddhist monks in particular.

The *Anāgata-vāṇī* edited by Minayanti for the P.T.S., is based upon four Sinhalese manuscripts which do not agree in their sentences. One manuscript embodies recension of this work in prose and in verse, and in another

¹ It is only in the case of the *Anāgata-vāṇī* that opinion may differ.

we have it entirely in verse while in a third we have quite a different work in prose dealing with ten future Buddhas including Metteyya and devoting a chapter to each of them. The possibility of the last mentioned work is suggested in the closing verses of that mixed recension of the *Anāgata-vaiśeṣa* which is found in prose and in verse:—

“ Metteyyo, Uttaro, Itano, Pāseruṃhī Kasubhī
 bhūṭhā
 Dighasūṃhī va Saṅghasūṃhī Subbu Todeyya
 bhūṭhā
 Nāḷagīyapāḷeṃṃyā Bodhisattaṃ imo dāsa
 Antikkamēna sambodhīṃ pāpapesanti’ā-
 gūṭe’i ”

(*Anāgata-vaiśeṣa*, J.P.T.S., 1886, p. 37.)

So far as the mixed recension goes, the text is written in prose style of the sutta in the *nīkāya*. The prose passages are interwoven or followed by certain verses the general tenor of which is somewhat different from those generally met with in the *nīkāya*. The text is composed of a dialogue between Śāriputta and Buddha and deals with the subject of gradual decline and disappearance of Buddhism, its literature, glory, and influence in time: to come rather than with the life and career of the future Buddha, Metteyya. Viewed in this light, the text of the *Anāgata-vaiśeṣa* may justly be regarded as a supplement or sequel to the sutta dealing with *Anāgata-bhayaṃ*, “future dangers of the faith”, the discourse recommended by King Aśoka in his *Dhātrī* Edict for a constant study by the Buddhists, both monks and laity. Whether such a prose dialogue as this was at any time incorporated in the *nīkāya* is a question to which no decisive answer may yet be given. It may suffice here to treat as a sequel to the *Anāgata-bhaya-sūtra* and the texts dealing with the ten future Buddhas.

The text with which we are concerned is a work in verse. It is completed in 148 stanzas

and which deals with the life and career of the future Buddha Mātreyya. According to the Gandhāvarian the original *Anāgata-vaiśeṣa* was the work of an elder named Kassapa (presumably the Cītyakūṭhi Kumbhā Kassapa). The ascription of authorship to Kassapa is not however justified by the text itself, which is set forth as a dialogue between Śāriputta and the Buddha. It is composed apparently in the manner and style of the Buddha-vaśiṣa to which it was meant to serve, no doubt, as a supplement. A comparison between the following verses quoted from the two works may make their interconnection clear:—

1. *Buddhavaśiṣa* :—With regard to Buddha Vipassī :

"Nagarānā Buddhavaśiṣā nāna Buddhama nāna
khattiyo nāna Buddhamaṇi nāna Vipassī
sāna sākāśāna." (xx. v. 28.)

2. *Anāgata-vaiśeṣa* :—

"Saṅghā nāna upasānā Saṅghā nāna nūyānā
pūcupasānāṇi sambuddhānāṇi sātthā-
hāseṣā." (v. 61, J. P. T. S., 1886.)

Seeing that the account of future Buddha Mātreyya is precluded from the extant Buddha-vaśiṣa volume of the *Itis* of 26 Buddhas including Mātreyya, it will be reasonable to enquire if the *Anāgata-vaiśeṣa* in its present form was not a later elaboration of a shorter account of Mātreyya forming the closing section of the *Buddhavaśiṣa* in its original form.

At the request of Śāriputta who desired to know about the future Buddha, the Buddha Gautama spoke in brief about Mātreyya Buddha. The future Buddha would be born in India at Kāṭṭhapaṇḍin in a brahmin family. He would be named Ajita and would possess immense wealth. He would enjoy worldly life for eight thousand years and then would forsake the world after having seen the four sights (Dharmas). Thousands of men and women

would illumine the world with him. On the day of his retirement he would proceed to the great Bodhi tree. He would attain supreme enlightenment and then would set rolling the Wheel of Law. Many would escape worldly miseries by following the Dhamma which would be preached by the Buddha Metteyya.

Jinacarita is a Pāli Kāvya consisting of more than 470 stanzas composed in different metres, some stanzas being of the *stijagati* class, consisting of 13 syllables. It represents a poetic development in Pāli similar to that represented by the Buddhacarita in the Sanskrit Buddhist literature. Its theme, like that of the Buddhacarita, is the life of the Buddha and the narrative is chiefly based upon the *Jataka-nidānakāthā*. The slavish dependence on the prose narrative of the *Nidānakāthā* has proved a handicap to a free expression of the poetic sentiment.

Mrs. Dorezelle, to whom we owe the English edition and translation of the text, has aptly remarked that the poet has risen to heights placing him in the foremost rank among poets only in those places where he has broken through the slavish imitation and written from the depths of his own inspiration. In the opinion of Mrs. Dorezelle, "the charm of the *Jinacarita* lies in its lighter style; in the author's choice of graceful, and sometimes forcible, images; in the art of his descriptions, the richness and, in some passages the delicacy of his expressions; qualities which go to make its reading refreshing and welcome after the laborious reading of heavy didactic poetry" (*Jinacarita*, Introduction, p. ii.)

The influence of the Sanskrit Kāvya poetry of India, particularly of the works of Kālidāsa, cannot be denied. We meet indeed in the Pāli Kāvya with some images and comparisons "which are seldom found in Pāli, but are of frequent occurrence in Sanskrit works (e.g., the *Kumārasambhava* and *Meghadūta*). In a few instances Mrs. Dorezelle

has found also an echo of some of verses of the *Mahābhārata* :

Jinacarita ... 'Ka yam Saktaṃ na lho, Harṣaḥ
 Māraṃ nāgāṃ hi śrīṃā.'
Mahābhārata—'Ka 'yam deva 'thava yuko
 gandharva vā bhaviṣyati ?'
 (III. 6, 62, *Vaṃśaparva*.)

Without denying the intimate acquaintance of the author of the *Jinacarita* with classical Sanskrit poetry, we may point out that the type of stanza quoted from the *Mahābhārata* is not such as not to be frequently met with in the *Jātaka* literature. And as far as the indebtedness of our author to Kālidāsa or to Śāvaghoṣa who paved the way for the former is concerned, we may equally maintain that the style of poetry developed either in the *Buddhacarita* of Śāvaghoṣa or in the *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa, lends us much to the genius forming the prototype of the *Nāḍikāśūtra* in the *Isotta Nipāta* for its model.

In the *Gandhāraśāstra* and *Saddharmaśānggola* the work has been ascribed to our *Melharika*. He was called *Vamratama Melharika*, and was also the author of another Pāli book '*Paṭyogajātaka*' and flourished under *Brāhmanā Bāhu I*st (1277-1288 A.D.).

The *Jinacarita*, however, throws no new light on the life of this *Master*; and we can hardly expect such a thing from a purely devotional work such as this. But what is strikingly surprising is that the *Jinacarita* is unknown both in *Burma* and *Siam*.

* *Jour. P.T.S.*, 1940, p. 10. Note on *Melharika* by T. W. Edgewood. See also Charles Fawcett's theory that "The poem was written in the monastery built by Viṣṇubhūti II who reigned the third in A.D. 1288 and was the immediate successor of the lastest King *Parasurāma*." *Journal*, p. iii (1934) and translated by G. Davidson, *London*, 1936. See also " *Bhacarita* " edited and translated by G. W. H. D. Rouse in the *J.P.T.S.*, 1914, 1915.

In the beautiful city of Amara, there was a
From Pagan. Brahmana youth, wise and con-
 passionless, handsome and pleasant,
 by name Sumedha, hankering after wealth and
 treasures he had none, for this bodily frame he had
 no attachment. He, therefore, left his pleasant
 house, went to the Himalayas, and there discovered
 the right implements necessary for an ascetic. He
 put on the ascetic garb and within a week obtained
 the five High Powers and the eight Attainments,
 enjoying the bliss of mystic meditation. One day
 he came down from the sky, and lay himself down
 in a muddy portion of a road through which the
 Dipankara Buddha with his disciples was to pass.
 He, the Dipankara Buddha, was delighted at it,
 and foretold that the ascetic Sumedha, in time to
 come, should become a fully enlightened Buddha,
 by name Gotama. Sumedha did him homage,
 and then seated in meditation, he investigated
 those conditions that go to make a Buddha.
 Sumedha, searching for Nirvana, casted away
 hardships while going through the continued suc-
 ception of existence, fulfilling the virtue of charity.
 He fulfilled, moreover, the Perfections of Morality,
 of Self-abnegation, of wisdom, and all others, and
 came to the existence of Vesantara. Passing away
 thence, he was reborn in the city of Tushita, and
 afterwards had another rebirth in the city of Kapila
 through the noble King Suddhodana, and his Queen
 Maya. He approached the bosom of Maya, and
 at the time of his conception, various wonders
 took place all over the world. In her tenth month,
 while she was proceeding to the house of her relative,
 she brought forth the Sage in the Lambini-garden
 while she kept standing under a Sala tree catching
 hold of a branch. The god Brahma approached
 and received the child in a golden net, the child
 thus was born unsoiled as a priceless gem. From
 the hands of Brahma and the angels, he stepped on
 to the ground, and gods and men approached and
 made offerings to him. Accompanied by a con-

course of gods and men, he went to Kapilavastu and there a rejoicing of nature and men ensued for days and nights. In the Tavatimsa heaven the hosts of angels rejoiced and sported and predicted that he, the child, would sit upon the Throne of Wisdom and become a Buddha. The ascetic Kalādeva, the spiritual adviser of King Suddhodana, went to the Tavatimsa heaven, heard the cause of their rejoicing came down to Suddhodana's palace, and wanted to see the child. The child was brought and instantly, the lotus-feet of the prince were laid on the ascetic's head. Upon this, both Kalādeva and Suddhodana revered the soft lotus-feet. A second act of reverence was done by Suddhodana and other men and women of the royal house during the sowing festival when the child, the Wise One, had performed a miracle. The prince then began to grow day by day living as he did in three magnificent mansions provided for him. One day as he came out in chariot on the royal road, he saw in succession the representation of an old man, of a diseased man, and of a dead man. He then became free from attachment to the three forms of existence and on the fourth occasion, delighted in seeing pleasant representation of a monk. He then came back home and laid himself down on a costly couch, and nymph-like women surrounded him and performed various kinds of dances and songs. The Sage, however, did not relish them - and while the dancers fell asleep he bent upon retirement into solitudes and free from attachment to the five worldly pleasures, called his minister and friend Channa to harness his horse. He then went to his wife's apartment and saw the sleeping son and mother and silently took leave of them. Descending from the palace he mounted his horse and silently came out of the gate which was opened up by the gods, insalubring it. Māra then came to divert him from going by saying that on the seventh day hence, the divine wheel of a universal monarch should appear unto him. But,

he, the Wise of the World, did not desire any sovereignty, but wanted to become a Buddha. Upon this Mara disappeared, and he proceeded towards the bank of the river Anoma where he dismounted himself and asked Chanda to go back home with the horse and his ornaments. He then cut off his knot of hair with a sword; the hair rose up into the air and Sakra received it with bent head and placed it in a gold basket to worship it. Next he put up the right requisites of a monk and having spent seven days in the Anapiya mango grove in the joy of having left the world, went to Mufagubū and made his round for alms just enough for his subsistence. Leaving the town he went to the Pāndava mountain and took the food. He was repeatedly approached by King Bhishānu and offered the kingdom, but he declined it; and retiring to a chinter practised unmatched hardships. All this was of no avail; he, therefore, partook of material food and regarding bodily perfection, went to the foot of the Ajapāla baṅgāru tree where he sat facing the east. Sūjata, a beautiful woman, mistook him for a sylvan deity and offered him a gold vessel of milk rice. The Sage took it, and having gone to the bank of the Nandijarū river he ate the food, took his rest, and then in the evening went to the Do-tree which he circumambulated keeping the tree to his right. To his astonishment, a throne appeared, on which he took his seat facing the east, and promised that he would give up his efforts to attain Supreme Enlightenment even at his flesh, blood, bones, sinews, and skin dried up. On his head the Maha-Rāhula held an umbrella, Sūyāma, the king of gods, fanned a splendid yak's tail, and god Pūṇasikha, the snake-king Kala and thirty-two devas all kept standing and serving the Sage. Māra, then, creating unto himself a thousand dreadful arms, and surrounding himself by a manifold fierce army, approached the Do-tree. And at his approach the gods made good their escape. Mara created a terrific wind with a fierce

rear, then the terrible torrent of large rocks, and
 brought on a most dreadful darkness, but such in
 succession was of little avail. All these turned to
 good account and the Blessed One did not even
 show any sign of commotion. The Evil One
 then threw his disc, hurled rocky peaks, yet the
 Unconquerable sat motionless as before. Baffled
 in his attempt he approached the All-Merciful
 and asked him to rise from his seat. The Blessed
 One enquired of the witness about his son and Māra,
 showing his army, told that they were his witnesses—
 and asked in his turn who had been the witness of
 Siddhārtha. Siddhārtha then stretched his hands
 towards the earth and called the earth goddess to
 witness. She gave birth thousands of sons and
 Māra caught by the fear fled with his army. Having
 dispersed Māra's hosts, he remained seated still
 on the irremovable seat, and in the first watch of
 the night he obtained the excellent knowledge of the
 past, and in the middle watch the Eye Divine.
 In the last watch, he gained thorough knowledge
 of the re-creation of *samsāra* and *saṃsāra*, and at
 dawn he became perfectly Enlightened Buddha.
 Yet he did not rise up from his seat, but to remove
 the doubt of the gods remained seated there for seven
 days and performed a double miracle. Then after
 the investigation of the Four Laws, he at the foot
 of the goat-herd's banyan tree, caused to wither
 the face of Māra's daughter, and, at the foot of
 the Mucalinda tree, caused to blossom the mouth of
 the snake-king. And, at last, at the foot of the
 Rājyātana tree, he enjoyed the bliss of meditation.
 Then the king of the Law, entreated by Brahmanā
 Sahaṅgipati, wanted to fill the world with the free
 gift of the master of the Good Law. With this
 object, he travelled to the splendid Deer Park
 where the sages and ascetics made him a saint,
 and came to acknowledge him as the sanctified,
 the Perfectly Enlightened, the Tathāgata. To the
 Elders of the Park, he delivered a discourse on the
 establishment of the kingdom of Truth, and dispelled

their ignorance. He then set the Wheel of the Law in motion for the good of the world by delivering the people from the mighty hand of transmigration. On his way next to Uruvela, he gave to some thirty Bhaddaraggira princes the immortal draught of the Three Paths; and conferred on them the gift of ordination. He then went to Laddhivana Park and there presented King Bimbisara with the immortal draught of true doctrine. Thence he proceeded to the Veluvana Park and dwelt there in a hermitage. When King Suddhodana, having heard that his own son had attained to Supreme Knowledge, sent his minister Uddiyi to bring his son back to him. Uddiyi came with a thousand followers and bearing the Master preached renounced the world and entered upon the path to saint-hood. He then made known to the Master the desire of Suddhodana to see him, and requested to preach the Law to his kind and kin. The Buddha agreed to it, and went to Kapilavastu where he was worshipped by Suddhodana and his relatives. But seeing that the young ones did not greet him, he performed a miracle at the sight of which Suddhodana was filled with joy. Then he went to the royal palace and preached the sweet doctrines to the king and hundreds of fair royal women. Next he extinguished the great grief in the heart of Bimbisara Yasodhara, his wife; and ordained prince Nanda even before the three festivals, marriage, ceremonial sprinkling and sutting on his house, had taken place. When his own son Rahula followed next for the sake of an inheritance, the Wise One ordained him too.

After this he went to Sillavana at Rājagaha where he preached to a merchant of Sāvasthī, named Sudatta, who attained the fruit of the First Path. Sudatta then went back to Sāvasthī, and there selected a park of Prince Jeta for the residence of the Blessed One. He (better known as Anathapindika) bought this for a crore of gold pieces for the Teacher's sake alone, and built there a chamber

and a noble monastery for the abode of the Master and his followers. He also beautified it with tanks and gardens, etc., and then inviting the Teacher to the spot dedicated to him the park and the monastery. The Buddha accepted the gift and thanked Suddatta for it, promising to him the great benefit which lies in the giving of monasteries.

Residing there, he spent his days going here and there and beating the great drum of the Law. In the first season, he dwelt in the Deer Park in the Benares city. In the second, third, and fourth seasons he dwelt in the lovely Vetavana at Rajagaha. In the fifth season, he made his abode in the great wood near Vesali. In the sixth, he dwelt on the great mountain Makkhali, and in the seventh in the cool and spacious rocky seat of Indra. In the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth seasons, he dwelt respectively in the delightful wood of Bhessakula, in the Krambi silk cotton wood, in goodly Patalogyra, and in the Badhmasa villages of Nāla and Venūjā. In the thirteenth season, he lived on the beautiful Uliṣṭa mountain, and in the fourteenth, in fair and lovely Jetavana. In the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth seasons, the Wise One made his abode respectively in the great Nigrodha monastery on a large hill at Kapilavasthi in the city of Alavaka, in Rajagaha, and twice on the great mount Uliṣṭa. In the twentieth season, he took up his abode in Rajagaha; and for the rest twenty-five years of his life, he made his abode in Sarvasthi and Jetavana. Thus for forty-five years, the Blessed One preached his sweet doctrine, bringing happiness to men, and freeing all the world and the gods from the great hind of transmigration.

The book ends with a prayer of the author in which he gives out his pious wishes to be born in the Tusita heaven, to be born contemporaneously with the great being, the future Buddha, to be able to give food, drink, oil, and monasteries

to the Wise One and so forth, and to become at least a Buddha himself.

The *Velakkaḍḍagāthā* is a small poem in 98 *vaṁṣa-pāyodā* stanzas on the vanity of human life. It contains some of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. The verses are written in classic language. They represent the religious meditations and exhortations of a great hero named Kaḍḍiya who was condemned to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil on suspicion of his having been accessory to an intrigue with the Queen-mother of King Kulaṅka Tissa who reigned as Kaḍḍiya in 305-297 B.C.¹ A reference to this story can be traced in the *Mahāvastu*, the *Essaḍḍhā* and the *Sindhas* work, the *Buddhamasādhakāra*, which is a compilation from the *Itasavasi*.² The incident on which the poem is based is somewhat differently narrated also in the *Kākaḍḍiyā-parāṇirvāṇa*. The author of this work is unknown. A careful study of the poem shows that the author was well acquainted with the texts and commentaries of the Buddhist scriptures. This work mentions the three refuges, death, impermanence, sorrow, soullessness of beings, evils of committing bad deeds, fourfold protection, and exhorts all to practise *dhamma* strenuously and attain salvation. It then discusses *paṭi-sammuttippāda* (dependent origination) and points out that nothing happens in this world without any cause. *Avijjā* or ignorance is the cause of bad deed which leads to birth and which in turn is the cause of manifold miseries such as old age and death. No every one should practise *dhamma* by doing good deeds and thus escape from worldly miseries.

The charm of the style of composition lies in the balanced rhythm of the lines and utterances, a literary art that may be seen developing itself through the structure of such earlier poems as *Rutana*

¹ Cf. P. Rajasekera, ed., *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, p. 176.
² *Itasavasi*, 756A, p. 49.

Sutta in the Khuddakapāṭiṭṭha and Sutta Nipāta and the Narasiṅgādhā presupposed by the Jātaka commentaries.

(1) *Velahatthagāthā*, stanza No. 3:

Sopannasāhanī annulāhī nicolasāyassā
 Sānūsārasāgarasānūttarasāyā eḍḍhī
 Sūhānūttarābhāyāvivajjīnūttarasāyā
 Dhānūttarā nūttarasāyā sālā nūttarā
 pūttam.

(2) *Katapa Sutta*, v. 322:

Yānūttā indūttarī sūnūttarī
 Dhūttarā sū yānī sū nūttarīnī,
 sūhī sū bhūttī sūnūttā bhāyānī,
 sūhī pī sūhānūttarā sūnūttarā bhūttarīnī.

Though in Commentaries' edition published in J.P.T.S., 1884, the poem contains 38 stanzas, it may be presumed from its general style and purpose that it was meant to represent a Pāli *śalākā* consisting of a hundred stanzas. The poem, as we now have it, is divided into nine sections, each section dealing with a particular topic of Buddhist bhakti—*śāntarāgāyā*, *Māraśāntarāgāyā*, *Amūccalakkhāyā*, *Dek-khalakkhāyā*, *Amūccalakkhāyā*, *Asūhūccalakkhāyā*, *Uccūccūccalakkhāyā*, *Caturācchāyā*, and *Pañcāsānūttarāyā*. The *śalākā* type of poetry came into vogue with the popularity of the three famous *śalākās*, the *Śeṭṭhāyā*, the *Vairāgyā*, and *Nirvāṇāyā*, composed by no great a poet as *Maṅgalāyā*. Among the Buddhist *śalākās*, the one which may rank as a high class of poetry is no doubt the Buddhist *śalākā* of *Sāntidevīyā*. Although the aim of the *śalākā*, whether found in Sanskrit or in Pāli is didactic like that of the Pāli *Dharmapada* or the *Sūtrajyāyā* of the *Mahābhārata*, the characteristic difference of the *śalākās* lies in their conscious attempt to give expression to individual moral or religious experience. This differential feature of the *śalākā* has been well brought out

in the following apology of Nāgārjuna in the opening verses of his *Bodhicaryāvatāra*,

“Na me parārtha bhikā, sumano vāsayitvā
kritvān nūnāpārā
Māna tūvādanena yāni vaddhātā, kuśālah
bhāvayitvān pūnāśavegub
ātha mātsamādhiātavea paśyed aparo
pyamantāpi śārihako'yaṃ.”

By this one must understand that the object of a *salaka* is not so much to instruct others as to manifest one's own self in the hope that those “who are like-natured, like-minded, and like-viewed will care to look at the (matter as the author has) viewed it and may, perhaps, derive some benefit from it” (Barua's *Gaya and Buddhagaya*, p. vi). We mean to say that in the *salakas*, the didactic aim has been subservient to the purpose of self-expression, a feature which is noticeable in certain *Paśhas* of early Buddhist *Brahmins* and *Sisters*.

The *Pajjananāḥa* is a poem composed of 104 stanzas in praise of the Buddha. *Pajjananāḥa*. *Buddhappiya*, a pupil of Ānanda, is the author of this work. He is also the author of the Pāli grammar known as the *Rūpaiddhā*. “We may safely premise”, says *īkṃsantāna*, “that it was composed at the same time as the *Rūpaiddhā* to which scholars give 1100 A.D. as the probable date”.¹ The author has given his name and pedigree in verse 103 of this poem:

“Ānanda raḥṇa vatanādi maḥā yatiṇā
Niccappa buddha padanaḥpiya savi vaṅḥ
Buddhappiyena ghaṇa buddha gupappiyena
Therāhiā vacita Pajjananāḥa pi banta.”

The language is Sanskritized Pāli and some of the verses are puzzling. There is a gloss in Sinhalese on the entire poem but it is verbose and rather diffuse in its explanations. This poem may be

¹ J.P.T.S., 1907, p. 1.

regarded as another example of *sāhita* in Pāli with four stanzas in excess. The first 60 verses describe the beauty of the Buddha and the remaining verses are written in praise of his wisdom concluded with a panegyric on the order and universe. It is lacking in the vigour of poetical imagination and its style is laboured and artificial and is far from fulfilling the promise of sweetness of poetry suggested in its title *Pajjambhā*.

The *Rasavahini* is a collection of 1063 lines written in easy Pāli, the first forty relating to the incidents which happened in Jambudīpa and the rest in Ceylon. A Sinhalese edition of this work has been brought out by M. S. Umango. The text with Sinhalese interpretation by B. Devarakkhita has been published in Colombo, 1917. The P.T.S., London, has undertaken to bring out an edition of this work in Roman character. Its date is unknown, but at the conclusion the author gives us a clue which helps us in determining it to be in all probability in the first half of the 14th century A.D. It is considered to be a revision of an old Pāli translation made from an original compilation by Ratthapāla Thera in the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon. Vāstaka, the author of the *Rasavāhini*, gives us an account of the Vāstakīya School to which he belonged. The late H. Nevill suggests that the *Sahasavāhini* still extant in Burma, formed the basis for the Pāli *Rasavahini*.² This work throws much light on the manners, customs, and social conditions of ancient India and Ceylon. It contains material of historical importance and as such is widely read in Ceylon. This work has been edited and translated by P. E. Pavolini.³ There is a glossary on the *Rasavāhini* called the *Rasavāhini-gaṇṭhi*. The version of this text with a word-for-word Sinhalese

¹ Mahabodhi, The Pali Literature of Ceylon, p. 210.

² *Ibid.*, p. 189.

³ *Scienze Antiche Italiane*, 1927.

principles of Buddhism. He has nowhere slavishly followed any earlier authority—a fact which may be clearly brought home to the reader by a comparison between the Prāsa of *śāli* (*śālikāntaka*) in Buddhaghosa's *Vissuddhimagga* and those in the *Saddhammapāyana*.

(1) *Vissuddhimagga*

"Na Gaṅgā, Yamunā caṭṭi, śārabhā vā
 Kāraśvati,
 uttaraṃ vā' uttaraṃ śāliṃ vā pi mahānallī
 Sahisānanti vāśāntakāṃ taṃ nāśānti ittha
 paṇḍitā,
 Vissuddhayaṃ sattaṃsuṃ yaṃ vā sūhajanta
 māsaṃ."

(Vol. I, p. 10)

(2) *Saddhammapāyana*

Idaṃ hi śāratanaṃ idhāloke puratthaṃ m
 anisānāvase dattā paṇḍitā pāpeti unibhūta
 Paṇḍakkaṇi tanayānāni hi unarācāra
 varānāni
 nāriṇāni gāṇḍakānāni nāma-santāna
 bhāṇāni.

(Verses 413-416)

The *Therīgāthā* has been edited by M. Leon Féringolien. *Peer* (J.P.S.S., 1881, pp. 152-161). It is written in 114 stanzas. This work tells us of the five destinations which are the state of beings according as they commit good or bad deeds in this world by body, mind, etc. This text furnishes us with an interesting piece of information regarding different hells, namely, *Sāṅgīva*, *Kāṇḍava*, *Sāntāpā*, *Barava*, *Mahānāga*, *Īpa*, *Mahāśāpa*, and *Avīci*. Those who kill and cause living beings to be killed out of avarice, delusion, fear, and anger must go to the *Sāṅgīva* hell. For one thousand years they suffer in this hell being subjected to continual torment without being able to do anything. Those who cause injury or do harm to death to friends and parents, speak falsehood and backbite others must go to the *Kāṇḍava* hell.

In this hell they are cut to pieces with burning saws. Those who kill goats, sheep, jacksals, hares, deer, pigs, etc., are consigned to the Saṅghāṭṭhī hell, where they are huddled up in one place and then beaten to death. Those who enrage mental and bodily pain to others or cheat others or are violent have to go to the Kuruva hell where they make terrible noise while being burnt in the terrific fire of hell. Those who steal things belonging to gods, brahmins, and preceptors, those who misappropriate the property of others kept in trust with them, and those who destroy things entrusted to their care are cast into the Mahakuruva hell, where they make a more terrible noise while being consumed by a fire fiercer than that in the Kuruva hell. Those who cause the death of living beings by throwing them into the Dāvadaha fire, etc., have to go to the Tapa hell, where they have to suffer being burnt in a dreadful fire. Those who cause the death of beings by throwing them into greater Dāvadaha fire must go to the Mahatapa hell, where they have to suffer still more by being burnt in a greater fire. Those who injure men of great virtue and those who kill parents, ascetics, or preceptors must sink into the Avīci hell, where they suffer being burnt in such a terrible fire that would consume even the hundred things. In this hell there is not a least wave of happiness, it is therefore called the Avīci or waveless. Besides these hells, mention is made of a hell called the Putapana, where people suffer by being burnt in fires that are much more terrific than those of the Tapa and Mahatapa hells. Each hell has four Uśālmāyayus, viz., Mūlakaṭṭha, Kukkuṭa, Śāpattavana, and Nūli. Those who are in the Mahānūyaya have to proceed to Mūlakaṭṭha when released. In this terrible hell they are bitten by a host of warā. Thence they go to Kukkuṭa where they are fried like mustard seeds on a burning pan. Coming out of Kukkuṭa they find before them a beautiful tree of fruits and flowers where they take shelter for relief

from torments. As soon as they reach the tree they are attacked by birds of prey such as vultures, owls, etc. They are killed by these animals which they make a repast on their death. Those who are traitors must go to the *Asipattavana* where they are torn and eaten up by hitches, vultures, owls, etc. Those who cheat money will also suffer in this hell by being compelled to swallow iron balls and molten brass. Those who kill cows and oxen, suffer in this hell by being eaten up by dogs having large teeth. Those who kill aquatic animals will have to go to the fearful *Vajirani* river where the water is as hot as a molten brass. Those who prosecute justice by unsealing letters will be cut to pieces in an iron wheel. Those who destroy paddy have to suffer in the *Kukhuda* hell. Those who cherish anger in their heart are reborn as swans and pigeons. Those who are haughty and angry are reborn as snakes. Those who are jealous and miserly are reborn as monkeys. Those who are miserly, irritable, and fond of backbiting are reborn as tigers, leopards, vultures, etc. Those who are charitable but angry at the same time are reborn as big *Garuḍas*. Those who are deceitful and charitable are reborn as great *Anuras*. Those who neglect their friends on account of their pride are reborn as dogs and asses. Those who are envious, cherish anger, or become happy at sight of sufferings of others are reborn in *Yama*śka and the denier world. (Of the description of hell in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*.)

There is nothing new to be learnt from this poem, new in the sense of that which is different from what we read in some of the *Jātaḥas* and *Sūtras* and particularly in the canonical text, *Peṭavatthu*. The real literary value of this poem consists in the simplicity of its diction and the handy form which is peculiar to a later digest of doctrines that are old.

PĀLI GRAMMARS, LEXICOGRAPHS, AND
WORKS ON PROSE, ETC.

Vyākaraṇa is the accepted Indian term to denote a book of grammar. This very term was used to denote one of the six Vedāṅgas, or sciences or treatises auxiliary to the four Vedas. We have in the ancient vocabulary another term to denote another amongst the six Vedāṅgas, namely, the *Chandas* or *Tristups* or *Tristupsas* or *metre* or *prosody*. The treatises on *Alakāra* or *Poetics* were later offshoots of the treatises on grammar. The beginnings of lexicography (*śabdātthas*) can similarly be traced in the *Nigantū* sections of the treatises on exegetical etymology—the *Nirukta* denoting another amongst the six Vedāṅgas. Corresponding to the Sanskrit Vyākaraṇa we have the Pāli *Veyyākaraṇa*, counted among the nine types of literary texts or compositions (*navāṅgaṃ suttu-saṅgaṇaṃ*). But the Pāli term, as explained by Buddhaghosa and other Buddhist commentators, was not first signifying any treatise on grammar. They have taken it to represent that distinct literary type which is characterised by prose exegeses, the Abhidharma books being mentioned as chief examples of such a type.¹ There is indeed another Pāli word, *Vyākaraṇa*, which is practically the exact equivalent of the Sanskrit Vyākaraṇa, but in Buddhist terminology it means 'announcement or prediction'. The term '*Veyyākaraṇa*' means 'exposition or explanation, the function of which is to make things explicit or clear'. If this term be applied to a treatise on grammar, we can understand that the main function of grammar is to

¹ *Sammasamāyamaṇi*, part I, p. 39. "Sakāsaṃ Abhidhamma Vyākaraṇaṃ suttu-saṅgaṇa-suttu-saṅgaṇaṃ Veyyākaraṇaṃ ti tiṭṭhānaṃ."

help expositors of texts by clearing up the connections of letters, words, sentences, their sequence, and the rest. The importance of grammar has been sufficiently emphasized in early Buddhistism in a verse of the Dharmacapala which reads :

“*Vitutañño anādhāro niruddhāpāṇāṅga
 akkharaññāṅgaṃniputāṅgaṃ jantaṃ pubbāparāṅga
 sa so autamasākhāro mahāpāṇāṅga (mahāpāṇāṅga)
 pi' vasaṃti.*”

In this important dī-ṭṭhi a great deal of a man of knowledge is expected to be conversant with the rules of construction of sentences, combination of letters or syllables in words, and determination of sequence, or syntax. Thus the most important term is *niruddhā* which may be taken to mean 'verbal analysis', 'glology', 'use or expression of a language', or 'grammatical and logical explanation of the words or text of the Buddhist scriptures' (Chakrav. Pāli Dictionary, Substance 97000). Thus we may understand that the need of grammatical analysis and grammatical treatises came to be felt by the exigency of exposition, and this point has been well brought out in the *Nāḍīpāṭhanam* (pp. 8-9). *Paṭṭa*, *akkhara*, *vyāñjana*, *akṣara*, *niruddhi* are the terms that are of use in a treatise on grammar. *Sāikhasāra*, *paṭṭhasāra*, *viṇayaṇa*, and the rest are the terms that are of use in an exegetical treatise. The *Netta* says “*Viṇayavū
 akkhareñhi saikhasatā, paṭṭhe paṭṭhasatā, vyāñjaneñhi
 viṇayati, akṣareñhi vibhajati, niruddhāṃ uttānikaroti,
 niddeseñhi paṭṭhāpasi : akkhareñhi eva paṭṭheṇa nggha-
 teṭṭe, vyāñjaneñhi eva akṣareñhi eva vipasāyate, niruddhā
 niddeseñhi eva uttānikaroti.*”

So far as Buddhism is concerned, the development of grammar, lexicography, and works on prosody took place long after the development of literature itself and it appears that no need of a separate book of grammar for the teaching of learn-

¹ Dharmacapala, v. 387.

ing of Pāli was felt so long as India remained the home of the language. There were certainly some codified rules of grammar to which the language of the Pāli *śāstras* conformed. It cannot surely be doubted that a wonderful linguistic genius has been displayed in the coinage and manipulation of many *n v* technical terms and expressions which could not have been possible but for a close and intimate acquaintance with the fundamental principles of grammar and phonology. We may venture to suggest that there was no book of Pāli grammar in existence till the time of the three great Pāli commentators, Buddhudatta, Buddhaghosa, and Dharmapāli. All of them appear to have explained the grammatical construction of Pāli words by the rules of Pāṇini quoted verbatim in Pāli, e.g., *Buddhā Nipāta commentary*, Vol. 1, p. 23, *vattamaṅgalasāṭṭha vaṭṭamaṅgalasāṭṭha*, P.S., III. 3. III. It appears that Buddhaghosa studied the great grammar of Pāṇini. In the *Vissuddhimagga* (P.T.S. Edition, pp. 491-492, 'Indriyasamantodhāra') we read:—

"*Ko piha vesāṃ indriyāṭṭha udakkhī ? Indriyāṭṭha indriyāṭṭho ; indudhesitāṭṭha indriyāṭṭho ; indudittakatto indriyāṭṭho , indudittāṭṭha indriyāṭṭho ; indajattānto indriyāṭṭho : so vesāṃ pi ittha yathāyogaso yajjati. Bhagava tū sanna mahaddha parameśanīyabhavato jeta, kupaḷa kusalāni ca kaṇṇam, kaṇṇesa kesaṃ isariyābhavato. 'Tā' ev'attha kammaśāntijāṭṭhāni tva indriyāni kammaśāntakammaśāntāni ulingantī. 'Teva ca aṭṭhantī indriyāṭṭhena indriyāṭṭhena ca indriyāṭṭhāni. Sabbhā eva pi' eṭṭhi bhagavato yathābhūtaṃ pakāṭṭhāni abhāratvaddhāni eṭṭhi indriyāṭṭhena indriyāṭṭhena ca indriyāṭṭhāni. 'Teva bhagavato namināni' kāṇḍi parameśanīyā, kaṇḍi bhāvanāparameśanīyā sevāntī indriyāṭṭhāni eṭṭhi indriyāṭṭhāni."*

Buddhaghosa goes on to add:—

"*Api ca sabbaparameśanīyāni isariyāṭṭhena pi eṭṭhi indriyāni. Cakkhuvinnāṇaṇḍipparattiyāni*

hi caḅkhiḅbhūvaḅ siddhavaḅ adhiyaḅcaḅ, taḅvaḅ
 taḅhe tikkhutta, maḅde maḅdattā. Ayaḅ tē'
 attā attāva viḅeḅhaya."

These explanations of 'Indriya' are evidently a reminiscence of Pāḅini, V. 2. 93. "Indriyaḅ
 indralingaḅ indratḅtāin indrajḅḅḅin indrubhūtarin
 itī vā."

In the grammar of Pāḅini, there is a mention of
 āpatti in the sense of pḅḅḅi such in this sense too,
 āpatti occurs several times in the *Samantapāsādikā*.
 This seems also to show that Buddhaghosa knew
 of and utilised the work of Pāḅini.

If Pāḅini had remained the standard gram-
 matical authority with the Buddhist scholars who
 flourished in the 4th or 5th century A.D., the ascrip-
 tion of the first Pāli grammar to the authorship
 of Kassapa or Mahākassapa, an immediate
 disciple of the Buddha, becomes unjustifiable on
 account of the anachronism that it involves. If any
 authoritative book of Pāli grammar were in existence
 when Buddhaghosa and Dharmapala wrote their
 commentaries, there is no reason why they should
 seek guidance from the rules of Pāḅini rather than
 from those of Kassapa. We may indeed maintain
 that the first Pāli grammar, attributed to Kassapa,
 was a compilation made by some Buddhist teachers
 of Ceylon and that the ascription of its authorship
 to Kassapa cannot be justified except on the
 ground that the necessity for grammatical study
 of the Pāli texts was particularly felt in the tradition
 of Kassapa who even according to Buddha's
 own estimate was a past master in the art and
 method of 'eurgesis or analytical exposition. Even
 as regards Kassapa's grammar, the unknown Pāli
 compiler of Ceylon can hardly claim any originality
 in view of the fact that having certain special rules
 introduced to meet certain exceptional cases the
 bulk of the treatise is based verbatim on the Sanskrit
 grammar of Kāḅḅera. The indebtedness of the
 Pāli grammar to some such Sanskrit authority is
 frankly admitted in the aphorism, [1. 5] (Pā-

saṃsaḥāyaggaḥ), and clearly brought out in the full or glass of the same :

“ Ya m gura sukkaṭagandhesu amasāṭṭhā
... paṇḍitāde.”

The next standard book of Pāli grammar to be noted is the Rūpasiddhi or Mahārūpasiddhi based on Kaṇḍiyyana's work. The *Rajavartana* is the second important work that was produced in Ceylon on the lines of Kaṇḍiyyana's work and its only importance lies in the re-arrangement of the aphorisms of Kaṇḍiyyana. Passing over the *Viśeṣa* and *ghoṣṭa* on Kaṇḍiyyana's grammar, the *Rūpasiddhi* and *Rajavartana*, we have to mention the *Saddaṭṭi* and the *Māhāmaṭṭhācāpāni* as the two later grammatical works of outstanding merit.

The earliest known Pāli lexicography is the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* which too must stand to the credit of the Pāli scholars of Ceylon. The plan of this lexicography seems to have been conceived on the model of the Sanskrit *koṣa* of Anvarasīnghā who is taken, for some good reasons, to be a Buddhist by faith. The *Abhidhānappadīpikā* just like its Sanskrit prototype is a dictionary of synonyms. It is far from having any alphabetical arrangement of words, which was adopted in some later works, such as *Ekakṣārikā* and the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* *vāci*. The beginnings of Pāli lexicography may, however, be clearly traced in the *Yevacanahāra* chapter of the *Nettipakaraṇa* and the *Peḷuhuputtaka*. The dictionary method of making the meaning of a term or word clear is indeed extensively used in the Pāli *Abhidhamma* books and in some portions of the *Nikāya*.

Pāli literature is conspicuous by the absence of any noteworthy work on Poetics. If there be any such work, we may safely take it to be based on some Sanskrit authority. There are a few Pāli works on metre notably the *Vatthodaya* and the *Kubhāṭṭhārikā*. With regard to all these works on prosody, it may suffice to say that they are far from being original productions.

The three principal grammarians are Kaccāyana, Moggallāna, and the author of the *Sāsādhāni*.

Kaccāyana's Pāli grammar¹--Kaccāyana is reported to be the author of the first Pāli grammar called *Sāsādhānikāya*. There are many sutras in Kaccāyana's grammar which are identical with those of the *Katthaparyyakasūtra*. This grammar is said to have been carried into Burma early in the fifth century A.D.

As helps to the grammar of Kaccāyana, there are *Kūpaśālinī*², *Bāhavalāra*³, which consists of 7 chapters, *Mahāśāstrī*, *Vāhenimūli*, *Nirāśipūka*, and *Mahājñāṣṭkāyābhya*.

As helps to the grammar of Moggallāna, there are *Kāyapaśālinī*, *Moggallānasaṁvāsa*, *Sāsādhānicāhāna* and *Paśādhāna*⁴ or Moggallāna *Sāsādhānicāhāna*.

¹ The identical first commentary on Kaccāyana's Pāli grammar is *śāśādhānikāya* written by Śāśādhānicāhāna. The work is commonly known as *Nāna*. There is a paper entitled "Notes on the Pāli Grammar, Kaccāyana" (Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1882). The late Dr. Sarah Chandra Vidyābhāṣya wrote Kaccāyana's grammar. Mason's edition of the grammar is noteworthy.

² *Kūpaśālinī* (1872) can be got (Mysore) edited by Śāśādhānicāhāna with the text in its latest form of the Pāli grammar. *Śāśādhānicāhāna* (Berlin, 1861) is noteworthy. There are various commentaries interpreting the *Sāsādhānicāhāna* and supplementary catalogue of *Sāsādhānicāhāna*, Pāli, and Prakrit books in the British Museum, p. 112, compiled by L. D. Barnett, 1928.

³ *Bāhavalāra* by Dharmakīrti; *Bāhavalāra*, ed. Śāśādhānicāhāna; *Mahāśāstrī* with *śāstrī*, ed. Śāśādhānicāhāna, Calcutta, 1898. It is a work on Pāli grammar and is the most valuable work available in Calcutta on the subject. It is the smallest grammar extant and based on Kaccāyana's work.

⁴ There is a commentary of the *Sāsādhānicāhāna* with 1511 sutras and sutras commentary composed by *Sāsādhānicāhāna*, Dharmakīrti and edited by *Sāsādhānicāhāna* and D. A. DeSilva. *Sāsādhānicāhāna*, second edition, Calcutta, 1919. There is a work by *Sāsādhānicāhāna* on the *Sāsādhānicāhāna*, Calcutta, 1915. The *Sāsādhānicāhāna* can be translated into English by Mr. H. F. DeSilva with the co-operation of the Rev. *Sāsādhānicāhāna* and revised by *Sāsādhānicāhāna*, 1915.

⁵ There is a commentary on *Paśādhāna*, a Pāli grammatical work on the system of Moggallāna, written by Śāśādhānicāhāna and discovered by Louis de Zuyze.

kara which consists of six sections dealing with sadda, caṅgali, samāsa, verita, prefixa, and suffixa.

An help to the grammar called Saddānti¹, there is only one work called Culassālanīti. The Saddānti is still regarded as a classic in Burma.

Among other treatises on Pāli grammar may be counted the following :—

Sambandhasāntā, Saddasānta-thajīlini (a good book on Pāli Philology), Kaccāyanaśāheda, Saddāntilīlāhāraṇṭa, Kārika, Kārikavallī, Vibhātyatthā, Gaṇḍhātthi Vācāropadeśa, Nāyakaḍḍhāra-vibhāvaṇṭa, Niruttisāṅgā, Kaccāyanaśāsa, Vibhātyatthāhāraṇṭa, Saccaśāmanayāhāraṇṭa, Vācāpāṇṭa, Suddavutti, Paṭappabodhāṇṭa², Kārikapopphāraṇṭa, Kaccāyanaśāsaṇṭa, Culāntilīhāraṇṭa, Mukha-mattāsaṇṭa, Saddāviṇṭa³, Suddakūṭika, Saddāviṇṭa-sāya, Bijāṅga, Vācāpāṇṭa, Suddhāraṇṭa-sāmanāyāhāraṇṭa⁴, etc., with their commentaries and supplementary commentaries.

Kaccāyana, as we have already pointed out, is the abutment of all Pāli grammarians. Readers are referred to Kaccāyana's *Sandālikappa*⁵ (J.P.T.S., 1882).

Sepasikavāṇṭana is a work on Pāli infinitive participles. Suddāntā is a comprehensive Pāli grammar based on the grammar of Kaccāyana.

¹ There is a book named *Uttāraśāheda* by Dharmapala Jinarāma, which contains a re-arrangement in marginal form of the lists mentioned in Aggavaṇṭa's *Saddānti*. *Saddānti*, i.e. *Classical Pāli* of Aggavaṇṭa by Hester Smith in 2 vols. is worth perusal. The date of this grammar is traditionally given as the 13th century A.D. This grammar consists of three parts, *Paṭṭhāṇṭa*, *Vācāpāṇṭa* (root numbers) and *Suddāntilīhāraṇṭa* (etc. numbers) to give many quotations from the Pāli script as examples of grammatical rules. It is undoubtedly a standard work on Pāli grammar and philology. It is undoubtedly a scholarly edition prepared by Hester Smith.

² It is a grammar for beginners.

³ It was written by Harada Thera.

⁴ It is a work on samāsa of Pāli composed in verse written by *Abhayaśāmanāyāhāraṇṭa*.

⁵ In month of Pūṇ, by H. C. Upadaya, J.P.T.S., see series Vol. 13, 1876.

The development of grammar is a comparatively late phase of Pāli literature, as late as the sixth or seventh century A.D., if not later still. Even in the grammar of Kaṇḍiyya, the debt to Sanskrit is freely acknowledged in one of the introductory aphorisms. Up till the time of Buddhaghosa and Dharmapala, the Buddhist teachers as already pointed out, followed the authority of the grammar of Paṇini. It has only recently been detected that the Pāli commentators have freely quoted the rules of Paṇini in accounting for grammatical formations of Pāli words.

Abhidhanappaddipakā (by Moggallāna Thera, ed. by W. Subbati, 2nd edition, Colombo, 1893)¹ and *Ukakkharaṇa*² are the two well-known Pāli lexicons. The *Abhidhanappaddipikā* was written by Moggallāna in the reign of Parakkramabāhu the Great. It is the only ancient Pāli dictionary in Ceylon and it follows the style and method of the Sanskrit *Amarasīma* (vide, Matsuzoku, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, pp. 188-189). This work consists of three parts dealing with celestial, terrestrial, and miscellaneous objects and each part is subdivided into several sections. The whole book is a dictionary of synonyms. The last two sections of the last part are devoted to homonymy and indeclinable particles. This work is held in the highest esteem both in Burma and Ceylon (*Ibid.*, p. 189). Subbati's edition of this dictionary with English and Sinhalese interpolations together with a complete index of all the Pāli words giving their meanings in Sinhalese deserves mention. H. U. Childers has published a very useful dictionary of the Pāli language. In 1921, U. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stech, brought out a Pāli dictionary compiled mainly from collection by the former for 40 years which is a

¹ *Uppasā*: A complete index to the *Abhidhanappaddipikā* is a useful publication.

² It is a small work on Pāli lexicography, a summary of much of our lecture by Saddhanābhikṣa Thera of Burma.

publication of the P.T.S., London. Quite recently a critical dictionary begun by V. Trenckner and revised, continued, and edited by Dhura Anderson and Helmer Smith has appeared in two parts (1924 and 1929).

The beginnings of Indian lexicons are to be traced mainly in the Nighantū section of Yaska's Nirukta. The Nalipaharāṇa stands to the Pāli canon in the same relation in which Yaska's Nirukta stands to the Vedā. And it is in the *Vevacaparāṇa* of the Nalī, the chapter on homonyms, that the historians can clearly trace the early model of later lexicons.

*Vatthodayā*¹ written by Saṅgharakkhita Thera, *Kāmasūtrakī*, and *Chandoviccī* are *Woods prosody*. Pāli works on metres. *Sūhadhā-lukka*² is a work on rhetoric by Saṅgharakkhita Thera. *Kavīśārapakāśaṇa* and *Kavīśāratthā-nālaya* are the two good books on prosody.

A number of scholars, both European and Indian, have made a study of Pāli *Modern words*. *gūṇāṇā* and have criticised their researches in their treatises on Pāli grammar. These treatises are named below :—

- (1) E. Burnouf—observations grammaticales sur quelques passages de l' *Kēni sur le Pāli* de Burnouf et Lassen—Paris, 1827.
- (2) B. Clough—compendious Pāli grammar with a copious vocabulary in the same language—Colombo, 1821.
- (3) J. Minayeff—Grammaire Pālie, traduit par St. Guyard, Paris, 1874.
- (4) J. Minayeff—Pāli Grammar, a phoetic and morphological sketch of the Pāli language, with an introductory essay

¹ *Vatthodaya* (exposition of mātā) by Saṅgharakkhita Thera, J.A.S.B., Vol. XLVI, pt. I, (Col. G. B. Fryer)

² *Analogy and Text of Sūhadhālukka or Easy Rhurac* by Saṅgharakkhita Thera, J.A.S.B., Vol. XLV, pt. I, (Col. G. B. Fryer)

on its form and character by J. M. 1872: translation from Russian into French by M. St. Gaudin, 1861, rendered into English by Ch. G. Adams 1882.

- (6) E. Kuhn - *Beiträge zur Pāli Grammatik*, Berlin, 1875.
- (7) O. Fockertter - *Handbook of Pāli* Leipzig an elementary grammar, 1888.
- (8) R. Michel - *A simplified grammar of the Pāli language*, London, 1881.
- (9) V. Henry - *Précis de Grammaire Pāli* accompagnée d'un choix de textes (Carnois, Paris, 1884).
- (10) Cœpfer - *Pāli* - *Lehrbuch und sprachliche Grundriss des Ind. Arischen Philologie und Alterthumskunde*.
- (11) E. Windisch, *über den sprachlichen Charakter des Pāli*, Paris, 1905.
- (12) H. H. Tilus - *Pāli Grammar*, Rangoon, 1889.
- (13) J. Gray - *Elementary Pāli Grammar*, Calcutta, 1905.
- (14) Charles Darmajelle - *A Practical Grammar of the Pāli Language*, Rangoon, 1906.
- (15) Senart - *Kaccāyanaṅgaharanī* (1868-70).
- (16) K. Kubo - *Kaccāyanaṅgaharanī* specimen, Halle, 1899.
- (17) Nyōmōshūka—*Kleine systematische Pāli Grammatik*, Breslau, 1911.
- (18) Grünwedel - *Kaccāyanaṅgahāri*, Berlin, 1881.
- (19) The Do Ono - *A Grammar of the Pāli Language* (after Kaccāyana), Vols. I, II, III, and IV.
- (20) Subhuti - *Nāmaratā*.
- (21) Śrī Dāśarathī - *Bālāvatāra* by Dharmakīrti.
- (22) H. Samsōgala - *Bālāvatāra* with 108, Calcutta, 1893.
- (23) Chokkewasīy and Ghosh - *Pāli Grammar*.

- (23) Po Moung Tiu—Pāli Grammar.
 (24) Vidhussekhar Śāstri—Pāli Prākāśa.
 (25) J. Takakusu—A Pāli Chrestomathy,
 Tokyo, 1906.

In all these works on Pāli grammar, Mr. Tho Do Chung has treated this subject exhaustively. The first volume deals with sandhi, nāma, kārika, and samāsa; the second volume contains triśhitā, kīta, mūlī, śakhyāna, upasarga, and supāta participles; the third and fourth volumes deal with word roots, ten figures of speech and 10 modes of expression, and prosody. Pāli grammars by Muller and Burnouff are also very useful. Prof. Chakravartty's grammar is worth perusal. Pandit Vidhussekhar Śāstri's work is a compilation and as such it is useful.

The following are the noteworthy publications:

- Morris—Notes and Queries, J.P.T.S., 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1889, and 1891 nos.
 R. Muller—A glossary of Pāli proper names, J.P.T.S., 1886.
 Morris—Contributions to Pāli Lexicography, Academy, 1888-91.
 Mabel Budge—Index to Pāli words discussed in translations, J.P.T.S., 1897-1901.
 J. Takakusu—A Pāli Chrestomathy with notes and glossary giving Sanskrit and Chinese equivalents, Tokyo, 1900.
 E. Windisch—Über den Sprachlichen Charakter des Pāli Acora, im XIV. Congress Internat. des Orientalisten, Paris, 1906.
 Mrs. Rhys Davids, Studies in the Nikāyas, J.P.T.S., 1907-8 and Mrs. Rhys Davids, Sakya or Buddhist origins, chapter XVII, pp. 354 foll.

The Danish Plural in Pāli (published in Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee volumes, Vol. III, Orientalia—Pt. 2, pp. 31-34). It is a valuable paper and should attract the attention of scholars interested in Pāli grammar and philology. Prof. Majumdar

has shown us that in the inscriptions of Asoka and of his grandson there are ten instances of the use of dative plural in 'Epigraphic Pāli'. These occur not only in one version or at one place but at such distant places as Dhauḍī, Jangala, Barabar hills, Nagarjuni hills, Kāśā, Manserā, and Girār. In Barabar and Nagarjuni cave inscriptions the dative is the only form in use showing that the old form was better preserved in the Magadha. As for the Bauri Védicā some versions use the dative and some the genitive. The Śāhāśāgarā text is the only version which has not used even once the dative form. Majumdar sums up his arguments by saying that we find promiscuous use of the dative and genitive plurals in 'Epigraphic Pāli'. If the old Buddhist and Jain texts be carefully examined in this light, some instances of the dative plural will be found in literary Pāli and Prakrit also. When the genitive plural began to be used for the dative plural, their singular forms also came to be confused in use. This confusion in the singular was also helped by the fact that in the language of the later Vedic texts the dative singular of feminine nouns was used for the genitive. But as the dative singular Prakritic form had not been confused in shape with any other form, it lingered longer than the dative plural. Dative singular is almost as common in Asokan dialects as in Sanskrit. It lingered in literary Pāli but died out in the Prakrits of the drama.

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to give a general survey of canonical and non-canonical Pāli literature. Some distinct types of literature came to be developed within a growing collection of texts of traditional authority. This collection came indeed to be closed at a certain date which is undoubtedly pre-Christian. The origin and development of even just one recession of the early corpus of Buddhist literature covered a pretty long period of about five centuries, which is very imperfectly known or understood by the meagre evidence of Sanskrit literature. The Pāli piṭakas coupled with the Jain āgama texts and some of the Sanskrit treatises like Pāṇini's grammar, Kātyāyana's Vartika, Patañjali's Mahabhāṣya, and the contemporary inscriptions and epigraphs fill up a very important gap in the history of ancient Indian literature. The particular literature with which we are concerned developed under aegis of religion which was destined to be a great civilizing influence in the East, highly ethical in tone, dignified in the forms of expression, dramatic in setting, direct in narrative, methodical in argument, and mechanical in arrangement. The wealth of literary output was shown forth in its profuseness and grandeur in the path of a new literary idiom having a place midway between the Vedic Sanskrit on one hand and classical Sanskrit and Prakṛit on the other. In between the closing of the Pāli canon and the beginning of the great commentaries and abridgements we had to take note of an imperfectly known period of transition which became remarkable by the production of so great a work of literary merit and doctrinal importance as the Milinda Pūṭha occupying, as it does, the foremost place for its lucid, elegant, and rhythmical prose style in the whole range of Sanskrit and Sanskritized literature. The Pāli canon-

manuscripts, as we have seen, were produced at a period far beyond the Mauryan and Sunga, the Kalyan and the Kushan. The Augustan period of Pāli literature began with these commentaries and closed with the earlier type manuscripts of Ceylon. The period which followed was a creative one, and it became not only a time for the compilation of some useful manuals, some books of grammar and lexicography chiefly in imitation of some Sanskrit works of India, and a few metrical compositions exhibiting the wealth of Ceylonese poetical imagination and plagiarism. Pāli literature would have been as dead but for its rejuvenation in Burma, the Lannaish country, which has produced enormous literature of considerable importance during the last three or four centuries. Even the geographical allusion it may be deduced that the main birth of the Pāli canon developed within the territorial limits of the Middle Country and some parts of Western India, notably Mathurā and Ujjain. The Milinda Pañha is full of unmistakable reminiscence of the life, manners, and customs of the north-western region of India, which became the meeting place of Indo-Aryan and Greco-Bactrian civilisation. The commentaries clearly point to Kāśmīrapura, Kaverīpattana, Māhūrā, and Amarakāpura as notable centres of Pāli Buddhism. Along with South India one has got to take Sikkhīm (modern Prome) in Burma as the centre of Pāli Abhidhamma culture. There is reason to believe that Pāli literature developed in one shape or another in Lower Burma giving rise to Pāli law codes, compiled more or less on the model of Manu's code. The inscriptions and seals have not without their important bearings on the history of Pāli literature. We can say that the lower limit of the evolution of Pāli literature is represented by the Kalyāṇ stone inscriptions of King Dharmasasti of Pagan. In dealing exclusively with Pāli literature, one has got to consider the history of literary development in India, Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. It still remains a problem for

modern historian and philologist to find out how far Pāli literature has influenced the vernaculars of these four countries. There is sufficient evidence to prove that Sinhalese developed as a vernacular with its wealth of literature as early as the 2nd century B.C.

Pāli literature is incomplete by itself. It is wanting in many works of secular interest, such as those on mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, logic, and royal polity. The few such works that we have are of recent origin and as such, they do not fall within the scope of our present investigation. Even as a pure literature, it has just one work, the *Jinacarita*, which deserves the name of a *Kāvya*. The *Jinacarita* itself is chiefly based upon the *Jātaka Nidāna-kathā* which latter may be regarded as a *Kāvya* in prose, or in prose and verse.

There is hardly a drama or a novel, strictly so called. But there are a great many suttas, particularly those contained in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Iskandagāthā*, the *Sāmaññasphala*, the *Sakkapavāsa*, the *Mahāpaccimibbāna*, which have a dramatic setting. The literary art employed in the *Sāmaññasphala Sutta* has been extensively developed in the *Milinda Pañha*. In reading the entries of the *Sugatha-vagga* of the *Sāmyutta Nikāya* one is apt to feel as though there is a stage-action in which one devaputta appears to test the knowledge of the Buddha and retires to make room for the next one waiting. In short, Pāli literature abounds in dramatic elements without having a single book of drama. The literary art employed in the historical narrative of the *Mahāpaccimibbāna Suttanta*, and in those of the *Milinda Pañha*, the *Udenavachha* and the *Visākhā-vuttin* is a novelty.

There are several legendary and historical accounts of the life and career of the Buddha and his disciples and followers. These, *Therā*, *Therī*, *Tīrthāṅka*, and *Upāsāka* which are interesting biographical sketches without a rigorous biographical treatment.

Even if it be assumed that there are no biographies in the modern sense, there is no getting away from the fact that the Buddhist teachers successfully tried to conceive and develop a universal science of biography in the *Jāyaka Nidāna* sutta.

There is just one story of creation in the Pāli *Aggañña Sutta*. The way in which it has been introduced goes to show that it was rather a solution for some purpose than an original production.

The early Buddhist attitude towards ornate poetry or imaginative literature was far from appreciative. Such poetry was viewed with disfavour, the superabundance of it being dreaded as a great future danger of the good faith (*anāgata-bhaya*) until the time of Asoka. The development of ornate poetry was sought to be accounted for in early Buddhism by an extraneous influence. A highly imaginative literature developed nevertheless within the four corners of Pāli Buddhism with its wealth of *gāthā* and *ātthakāvya*, highly ethical or spiritual in tone. We come across an example of song in the *Sakkapāñña Sutta*, which is said to have been sung by Pañcosikha, the heavenly minstrel. Other pieces described as songs in some of the birth-stories and Buddhist legend, are hardly distinguishable from the main body of *gāthā*. Some of the Psalms of the Early Teachers and Sisters, which are musings of emancipated hearts, e.g., the *Talaputa-thera-gāthā* and the *Andapoli-gāthā*, are truly musical in tone. One can say that Pāli literature is sufficiently rich in the wealth of lyrics and reflective poetry. The *Dhammapadam* stands out as a remarkable literature in the field of didactic poetry.

Its richness consists also in the wealth of similes and parables deserving a separate and careful study as elements that apparently influenced the later Kāvya poetry of India and have their parallels in the early Gospels of Christianity.

To counteract the influence of the *Mahabharata* and the *Rāmāyana*, particularly that of the former,

The Buddhists began to develop the *dāśakus*, supplying thereby so many interesting themes for artistic elaboration and materials for Indian dramas and *lavayas*.

So far as the epic and historical chronicles go, the position of Pāli literature is always unique, the medieval Sanskrit chronicle, *Rājatarāṅgī*, being the only notable Sanskrit work of this kind.

Pāli literature has no book on logic, but in the *Rāghavavāṇī* we have a great book of controversy, which lies at the immediate background of the entire *Nyāya* literature. Strictly speaking, there is no medical treatise in Pāli, but in the Buddhist study of the 32 parts of the human organism we have something which is of paramount interest to a student of medical sciences. Prior to the compilation of the *Law codes*, we meet with in Pāli the definitions of *murder*, *theft*, and the rest which anticipate many points in modern jurisprudence. There may not be a *Buddhacarita* or a *Kaṇvaśāntikāvya* in Pāli, but there is certainly the *Vaṅhigāthā* of the *1.7ka Sutta* in the *Sutta Nipāta* to serve as a clear model of them. The manuals of psychological ethics must always be considered as notable contributions to Indian culture.

Themes and other points of interest and importance are left for future study and investigation. In spite of the fruitful labours of great many scholars, we see still on the threshold of our study of Pāli literature, to evaluate and appreciate which we have to look at it in different aspects, just as one looks at a gem by its facets.

It has still its immense possibilities as a means of developing modern literature, both in the East and the West. The *Asvatthā*, the *Jagajjyoti*, the *Buddhadayacarita*, the *Aśoka*, the *Ajālvāṇa*, and the *Kāmasūtra* are but the few works produced yet in modern Bengal utilising the materials of Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist literature. As regards old Bengal

literature. Pali literature has its legacy in the plot of Vidyasundara set forth in the story of the Mahā-sammagga-litaka and the song composed in praise of the princess Pasāṅkandī. The creation of literary types is indeed the most distinctive feature of the literature, a bird's eye view of which is given in the present work.

APPENDIX A

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES IN THE PAṬI PĪPAKAS

I. IN THE VĪHARA PĪPAKA

The VĪHARA PĪPAKA is an important store-house of interesting geographical and historical information of the time of which it speaks. There is a very important reference to the limit boundaries of the Maḍḍaka Country or the Maḍḍakīyāya as designated by the Kūṣāṇas, and to the mountains, towns, and villages included therein, and associated very intimately with the Buddha and Śāsthis. Interesting allusions are also thrown on the political history, and social and economic conditions of the time.

Quaintara is said to have ruled over 50,000 L. (perhaps
historical), etc. (Vimaya Pāṭi, S. H. K., II, p. 1) and then
was 50,000 (perhaps) over the landships
(ibid., II, p. 4). That the Maḍḍaka kings were in fear of the
Vājjiyas is testified to by the fact that Śāsthis and Vāsakīras
are selected to us holding a fort at Pāṭaliputta to check the
Vājjiyas (ibid., II, p. 101). The Maḍḍaka king had a royal
physician, Jivaka by name, who was asked by the king to
cure a vetthi who did good service to the king and to the
merchants' guild (ibid., II, 161). Jivaka also cured King
Pāṇḍyora of a mal of jaundice (ibid., II, pp. 167 ff.). His success
in operating on the fibres of King Rumbhira won for him the
post of royal physician, and he was afterwards appointed by
the king physician to the Duddha and the congregation of
bhikkhus that lived with him. Once we are told Magadha was
visited by five kinds of diseases (e.g., leprosy, gonorrhoea,
dry leprosy, and apoplexy), and Jivaka had to treat the bhikkhu
pāṭisaka only suffering from these diseases (Vijaya Pāṭi, I,
p. 1). Once we are told that King Bhaddala went to have
his bath in the river Tapoda that flow by this ancient city;
when he reached the river, he saw the bhikkhus taking their
bath. The city gate was closed and he could not enter the
city of Māḍḍaka. Next morning he came after taking his bath
without proper dress to the Buddha who gave him instructions,
and advised the bhikkhus not to spend so much time in their
bath (ibid., IV, 116-117). Bhaddala's son was Ajitavasthi, whose
chief minister was Vasaddha who began the work of repairing
the City of Māḍḍaka in the kingdom of Magadha. He needed
clothes for the purpose and went to the reserved forest, but
was informed that the wood was taken by a bhikkhu named

Uṇḍaḍḍa. Vāṇḍa completed to King Uṇḍaḍḍa about it. It was brought to the notice of the Buddha who rebuked the bhikkhus not to take anything and offered or presented to them (ibid., II, 44-46). There is a reference which suggests that the value of Uṇḍaḍḍa should be of gold (Vāṇḍa Texts, S.M.S., II, p. 63). There was a sugar factory at Rajagaha (ibid., II, p. 64); and the country was rich in molasses (Vinaya Pitaka, I, 228).

The town of Vullāṇa was well provided with food, and was generally prosperous (Vinaya Texts, II, 117).

There is a reference to the dancing girls asked to dance and greeted with applause (Vinaya Texts, II, 149).

Of the notable bhikkhu disciples of the Master, mention is made of Hāripatta and Muggallāna (ibid., II, 312-328), Lāḍḍi (ibid., II, 328) who observed the ascetic discipline of a bhikkhu with the Master, and Saṅgha through whose intercession Mahāpajāpati received with other Sakya ladies obtained permission for ordination (III, p. 322). Kakudha, a Kulijan, was an attendant on Muggallāna (ibid., III, 210).

Of the heretical teachers mention is made of Bhakkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambhī, Pakudha Kaccayana, Saṅgaya Belatthiputta, and Nigamāna Nīkaphosā (ibid., III, p. 70).

Kāṣṭhaka was made to Devadatta's attempt to create a division among the bhikkhus in the Bhikkhu Saṅgha (ibid., III, p. 251), and also to the two coupes of Rājagaha and Vesālī (ibid., III, 11th and 12th Khandakas). When the First Great Council of the disciples of the Buddha was held after his parinirvāṇa to compile the teachings of the Master, Yasa sent messengers to the bhikkhus of Avanti inviting them to come, and settle what is Dhamma, what is Vinaya, and what is not, and to help the spread of Dhamma and Vinaya (II, p. 354).

To the east of the Middle Country or Mājjhimaṇḍala lay the town Rajagaha, and beyond it Mahāśālī, to the south was the river Mahāyagā, to

the south, the town Mahāyagā, to the west the bhikkhu district of Thāna, and to the north, the mountain range called Uṇḍaḍḍa. Beyond these were the border countries and the side of these was the Middle Country (Vinaya Texts, II, pp. 34-35). One of the most important towns of the Mājjhimaṇḍala was Rajagaha (Rājagaha-Rājagaha) where the Buddha stayed there five times over (ibid., II, p. 1). From Rajagaha, a road lay to Andhakaṭṭhaka which was once visited by 300 carts, all full of pots of sugar (ibid., II, p. 83). Rajagaha was the capital city of King Kimbisa, while the court-pyāyidha Jivaka is referred to as an inhabitant of this place (ibid., II, pp. 164-5). But his birth-place was Sagallāna (ibid., II, 173). Jivaka was, however, educated at Tāḍḍa (ibid., II, pp. 174). Rajagaha had a gate which was closed in the evening, and nobody, not even the king, was allowed to

enter the city after the gate was closed (*Ibid.*, IV, 111-17). It was here at Rājagaha that Śāriputta learned Buddha's teachings from Saesi, one of the Paṭovvaggiya bhikkhū. Saesi's son went to Rājagaha with his friend Muggallāna whom the Buddha met, and both of them were converted by the Master (Vinaya Piṭaka, I, pp. 40 ff.). Rājagaha could boast of another physician (vaijya) named Akkhaṅgika (*Ibid.*, I, p. 215). Veludāra, the hamlet part of Rājagaha, has often been referred to as a residence of the Master. When once the Buddha was here, Devadatta's gain and fame were completely lost (Vinaya Piṭaka, IV, p. 11). The Mahābhakaniśāya of Rājagaha has also been referred to as another residence of the Master. While he was seen there, a party of six bhikkhū (śālibhaggiya bhikkhū) went to attend the Giraggasamajja, a highly popular music of the day (*Ibid.*, II, 167). A woman of Rājagaha built a vihāra for the bhikkhū. He had to take consent of the Buddha as to the bhikkhū's dwelling in a vihāra (Vinaya Piṭaka, II, p. 144). References are made to a leader of Rājagaha who wanted to go to Puṇyākāśa (*Ibid.*, IV, pp. 29-30), to a Śākyaputta named Uppasāda who, while at Rājagaha, was invited by his supporters (*Ibid.*, IV, p. 194), to Uḍḍi, the son of a rich leader of Rājagaha, who was ordained as bhikkhū at the initiative of his parents (*Ibid.*, IV, pp. 128-29). The Mahāvagga tells us of an occasion when the Blessed One on his way to Vesālī met six bhikkhū with a superfluity of dress, and advised them as to the least quantity of robes a bhikkhū should require (*Ibid.*, II, pp. 211-111). The Culavagga speaks of a scold of Rājagaha who acquired a block of scalded wood, and made a bowl out of it for the bhikkhū (Vinaya Texts, III, p. 78).

Pāṭaligama was another important locality which was mentioned by the Buddha accompanied by a great number of bhikkhū (*Ibid.*, II, p. 165). Maṇḍana and Vasudhāra are referred to as building a fort at Pāṭaligama to crush the Vajjians (*Ibid.*, II, p. 101).

So too important were Vesālī and Śāvatthī. The former was well provided with food, the harvest was good, alms were easy to obtain, one could very well get a living by gleanings or through favour (*Ibid.*, II, p. 117). There at Vesālī was the Gotama's shrine (*Ibid.*, II, p. 210) where the Buddha stayed for some time. There lay a high road between Vesālī and Rājagaha (*Ibid.*, II, p. 210). The Buddha came to Vesālī from Kapilavastu whence a number of Śākyā ladies came to receive, through the intercession of Ananda, ordination from the Master who let them those requisites at the Pūṭhigāra hall in the Mahāvastū (*Ibid.*, III, pp. 380-111). The Culavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka tells us as concerned when the Enlightened One was staying at the peacock-hall in the Mahāvastū (Culavagga, VI, S.B.E., XI, p. 187). We are further told of a pair of deer of Vesālī who were very much bent on building a house for the Saṅgha (*Ibid.*,

pp. 192-211). In the *Śāstra/Khandhaka*, there is the important reference to the Buddhist Council of Vesālī (*ibid.*, III).

References are often made to the Jetavana of Āmṛaprasaṅga or Śāradā (Vimaya Texts, S.B.E., I, p. 182) where the Buddha stayed. Another staying place of the Master there was the stream of *Śāradā* (*ibid.*, pt. III, p. 276).

Kaśī or Vārāṇasī (i.e., Benares) and Kośala (Vimaya Texts, I, pp. 220, 212) often find mention in the Vimaya *Śāstra*. In course of his religious propaganda tour the Master first went to Deśaka, then to Uruvelā and then he visited Gayāśāla, Rājagṛha, Kapilāvasthī, and Śrāvasthī (*ibid.*, I, pp. 116, 136, 210). There lay a man from Śākya to Śrāvasthī (*ibid.*, p. 220). A few bhikkhus travelling on the coast in the Kosala country went off the road to a cemetery to get themselves painsukhā rubha (Vimaya Texts, S.B.E., II, p. 157). Dharmasāla, the legendary king of Heaven is invariably alluded to while introducing a *Ājāka*. In his time there was a king of Kosala named Dighiti who was not so wealthy as the king of Kāśī. Dharmasāla went to wage war against the king of Kosala, and drew out a series of *śāntikulakā* which the king of Kosala suffered most, though his son Dighitā ultimately brought the king of Kāśī to his knees, and friendship was restored (*ibid.*, II, pp. 301 ff.). Yama, a young rishabman of Benares, son of a soldier, had three ploughs used for three months of the year (Vimaya Texts, I, pp. 402-403).

Uruvelā was another important place where at the *śāntikulakā* Buddha stayed for a time in time (Vimaya Texts, II, p. 405; *ibid.*, II, p. 376). There is a reference to the quarrelsome bhikkhus of Kosāvatī who came to Śrāvasthī (Vimaya Texts, S.B.E., II, p. 318).

The republican states of Pāvā and Kusāvatī are also mentioned (Vimaya Texts, III, 370 and 386; pt. II, 186) and *Amṛa*, a member of the Vallas of Kusāvatī, is said to have gone to welcome the Buddha (Vimaya Texts, S.B.E., pt. II, p. 156).

Of less important places and localities, mention is made of *Champi* inhabited by a deity's son named Soma Kallava (Vimaya Texts, S.B.E., II, p. 1), *Avastī* visited by Mahāśvetaka, and where there was a hill called *Śūzaraṅgha* (*ibid.*, II, 32). *Kaśyapa* where Buddha resided for many times (*ibid.*, II, p. 186) and *Uśālā* *śiprasāra* where Lord a *śāntikulakā* named *Māndaka* who was possessed of a miraculous power (*ibid.*, II, p. 121). Reference is also made to *Kiṅṅira* where dwelt the wicked bhikkhu who bore the fullness of *Asaṅgi* and *Parabhava* (*ibid.*, II, p. 347), to *Arayyā*, a town of the Vallas (*ibid.*, III, p. 224), to *Śākya* where dwelt a brahmin whose wife was suffering from head disease and who was treated by *Arada* (*ibid.*, II, pp. 178-179 ff.), to the *Śijjhakāpa* hill in Rājagṛha which was visited by the Buddha (*ibid.*, I, p. 280) and to *Uśālā* where *Maṅḍika* is said to have gone to *Āra* (*ibid.*, I, p. 131).

Of important events, mention is made of Gāṅga, Yamunā, Aciravud, Muhi, and Surabha (Vineya Texts, III, pp. 301, 302).

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Historical

The *Sāmaṅgālikavācā Sutta* (Dīgha, I.) is important from a historical point of view, for it furnishes us with valuable information about the views of its leading thinkers (*titthaviyā*) of the time: Pūruva Kassapa, Makkhali Gossāla, Ajitakosambhull, Pakadha Kaccāyana, Saṅgāya Daballiputta, and Nigāntha Vāṭṭaputta. The sutta also gives us a list of crafts and occupations of the time, e.g. *Paṇḍakaputta* (carver), *Kumbhakarā* (potters), *Makkhikā* (parrot-makers), *Maṇḍāṇḍikā* (elephant riders), *Sakkābhā* (cowher), *Buthakk* (chariot-makers), *Maṇḍugga* (smiths), *Āṇḍikā* (weaver), *Kaṇḍuka* (barbers), *Māhāpakkā* (bath-attendants), *Mudā* (umbrella-makers), *Paṇḍukā* (weaver), and *Māṇḍikā* (beetle-makers). Another important historical allusion in this sutta is the fact which refers to *Devaka*, the famous physician of the Maṇḍikā, and gives us an account of the first peed to the Buddha by the patriotic monarch of Māgadhā, the terrible *Ajātasattu*. In the concluding portion of the sutta there is an allusion to the actual murder of Hinḍhirā which his son *Ajātasattu* committed.

The *Asubbhāva Sutta* (Dīgha, I.) refers to King Pāruvāli of Kosala, as well as to some famous pages of the time, e.g. *Yamaṅgā*, *Angirasa*, *Āharakāḍḍja*, *Vāṇḍija*, *Alapa*, and *Vaśālita*. A further historical notice of Kosala and its teacher of Ambaṅgā, *Pakkāraṇḍijī*, is said to have enjoyed the property given by King Pāruvāli, who is contemporary of the Buddha.

The *Saṁvāṇḍaja Sutta* (Dīgha, I.) refers to *Campā* visited by the Buddha with 500 monks, to *Gegga*, a famous task in *Campā*, and to King *Kiṇḍimāra* of *Māgadhā* and King *Pāruvāli* of *Kosala*. This sutta also tells us how the *Aspa* *Alapa* with its capital *Campā* was included in the *Māgadhā* empire. While the Buddha was sojourning at *Campā* in the kingdom of *Aspa*, a brahmin named *Samulāṅga* was in the enjoyment of the revenues of the town as it was given to him by *Amabāhira* of *Māgadhā*. *Samulāṅga* himself went to the Buddha. *Samulāṅga* also accompanied them; and eventually all of them became lay supporters of the Buddha.

The *Maḍḍhā Sutta* (Dīgha, I.) refers to Buddha's dwelling at *Vesālī* in a *Kāḍḍhāraṇḍikā* in *Maḍḍhā*.

The *Loḍḍha Sutta* (Dīgha, I.) refers to king of *Kosala*, as *Kāḍḍhā* inhabited by a brahmin named *Loḍḍha*, and to *Pāruvāli*, king of *Kosala*, who used to collect taxes from the inhabitants of *Kāḍḍhā* and to enjoy the income and skin his with his subordinates.

The Mahāpudhā Suttanta (Dīgha, II.) refers to the two famous disciples of the Buddha, Śākyamuni and Maṅgalika.

The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (Dīgha, II.) has a dramatic setting inasmuch as it represents King Ajātasattu of Magadha on ascending on a stage and addressing to a multitude giving an expression of his great determination to annihilate the Vajjians' rivals. It further relates how when the Buddha heard of the determination of the king, he renounced his ascetic life. The Vajjians fulfilled the system of dharma of welfare, there would not be any danger for them. Also, afterwards Ajātasattu is stated to have succeeded in annihilating the Vajjians with the help of his two ministers, Śūśāma and Vāśakhi, when the serious wars among the Vajjians. The suttanta also refers to the development of Buddha's life, p., the visit of Subhadda to Buddha, and his conversation with the Lord, the passing away of the Lord, the homage of the Kallias, cremation of Buddha's dead body, granted over the relics, the entirely discrimination of relics by them, and practice of ājīva-ner them.

The Jambudvīpa Sutta (Ugga, II.) refers to King Dambhara of Magadha as a fighter to kill.

The Pāvātika Sutta (Dīgha, III.) refers to the case of the demise of Mahāvīra to Śākyas at Pāvātika in the Kalla country.

The Sāhāyīya Suttanta (Dīgha, III.) states that the Blessed One dwelt in the Gāḍhīnaga mountain at Pāvātika.

The Saṅgīti Sutta (Dīgha, III.) informs us that Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, died at Pāvā. It further tells us that the Kallias of Pāvā were interested in the Vajjians by the Buddha. This shows that the Kallias belonged to the Vajjīya gotra.

Geographical

The Anāpātha Sutta (Dīgha, I.) refers to a certain village of Kosala named Anāpātha in Mahānandā which was visited by the Buddha with a large retinue of 500 monks. It also refers to the Anāpātha region.

The Kappadāna Suttanta (Dīgha, I.) refers to a brahmin village named Khammasa visited by the Buddha with 500 monks.

The Mahāli Suttanta (Dīgha, I.) refers to Vessāli inhabited by the brahmin messengers of Kosala and Magadha and to a hermitage called Ghositarāma at Kosambhī.

The Kāvāḍhīya Suttanta (Dīgha, I.) refers to Pāvātika mango grove at Nālandā where the Buddha dwelt. It speaks of the prosperity of Nālandā which was inhabited by many people.

The Devija Suttanta (Dīgha, I.) refers to a brahmin village in Kosala named Monastika which was visited by the Buddha with 600 monks, and in the north of which flowed the clear Ajivavāhī. On the banks of this river there was a mango grove.

The *Mahānikāya Suttanta* (Dīgha, II.) refers to a Kuru country named *Kammasākulānāma* where the Buddha dwelt for some time.

The *Mahāparanibbāya Suttanta* (Dīgha, II.) states that the Buddha One went from Nālanda to Pataligama where Śmādhā and Vasudhā built a hut to crush the Vajjians. From Pāṭaligāma he went to Magadhā where he had accepted the invitation of the two ministers, Śāndhā and Vasudhā. Thence he went to Kōṣṭhambā; and further he proceeded to Kāśhā where he dwelt at the Gōjaka Jhōḥa. He then went to Vesālī where he had accepted the invitation of the famous minister, *Asākapālī*. The next suttanta refers to the *Ājijhāpāra-pāṭhāna* at *Ājijhā* where the Blessed One dwelt, to the *Therā Gāṅgā* where the Buddha approached at the time when it was over-flowing, to *Ājapālī* *hanyu* tree on the banks of the river *Sōṅṅā* where the Buddha obtained *Udayānāmant*, to *Ājāḥ*, *Śhāvānā*, and *Yōṅvānā* at *Ājijhā*. This suttanta also speaks of *Āntamakkāṅṅāḥā*, *Uṅṅajāḥā*, *Yōḥhāpāḥā*, *Paṭṭapāraṅṅāḥā*, *Kāḥḍāḥā*, *Āntāpāḥā*, and of *Śhāḥā*'s mango grove as beautiful. It further refers to the river *Kakūḥā*, *Uṅṅāḥā*, the *Śhāvānā* of the *Malla* at *Kāḥḍā*, and to the river named *Hirāḥāḥā*. This suttanta mentions *Āḥḥā* as a great city which was the seat of many wealthy nobles, brahmins, heads of houses, and business to the *Tāḥḥā* Great river such as *Uṅṅā*, *Ājijhā*, *Āḥḥā*, *Āḥḥā*, *Kāḥḍā*, and *Āḥḥā* are suggested as the places where the Blessed One should obtain *pari-nibbāna*.

The *Mahāśāḥānā Suttanta* (Dīgha, II.) refers to the *Śhāvānā* of the *Malla* called *Thāḥḥā* at *Kāḥḍā* and to *Uṅṅā*, *Ājijhā*, *Āḥḥā*, *Āḥḥā*, *Kāḥḍā*, and *Āḥḥā*. *Kāḥḍā* was also named as *Kāḥḍā*, the capital of the King *Śhāvānā*. *Kāḥḍā* was rich, prosperous, and full of many nobles. Alms could plentifully be obtained there.

The *Jambūvāḥā Suttanta* (Dīgha, II.) refers to *Kāḥḍā*, *Yōḥḥā*, *Cōḥḥā*; *Uṅṅā*, *Āḥḥā*, and *Yōḥḥā*.

The *Mahāgōvinda Suttanta* (Dīgha, II.) refers to a number of great cities built by *Gōvinda*. They are: *Dāḥḥā* of the *Kāḥḍā*, *Pōḥḥā* of the *Āḥḥā*, *Māḥḥā* of the *Śhāvānā*, *Rāḥḥā* of the *Yōḥḥā*, *Māḥḥā* of the *Vāḥḥā*, *Cāḥḥā* of the *Āḥḥā*; and *Āḥḥā* of the *Kāḥḍā*.

The *Mahāpāḥā Suttanta* (Dīgha, II.) points out that to the east of *Ājijhā* there was a brahmin village called *Āḥḥā*, and to the north there was a cave called *Āḥḥā* in the *Vāḥḥā* mountains.

The *Mahānigāḥā Suttanta* (Dīgha, II.) refers to the Buddha's dwelling among the *Kurus*. It mentions the *Kammasākulānā*, a village of the *Kurus*.

The *Ājijhā Suttanta* (Dīgha, II.) refers to King *Pōḥḥā*

of Kumbha, and to a forest called *Bhūmāpārasa* which lay to the north of the city, *Salyapa*.

The *Pāśka Sutta* (Iṅgha, III) refers to *Salyapa* as the country of the *Mallas* where the Buddha went for alms. It also refers to Buddha's stay at *Kūṭāgāśālā* or the pinnacled house in the *Mallavānā* at *Vaśālī*.

The *Udumbaraka Sihanigāha Sutta* (Iṅgha, III) refers to the *Cijjhakūṣa pabbata* at *Ujjanakā* visited by the Buddha.

The *Cakkavattī Vibhava Sutta* (Iṅgha, III) mentions that the Blessed One dwelt at *Statula* in the kingdom of *Magadha*. It refers to the capital called *Kāṭmva* of King *Bumha*, and to *Jambūdiya*.

The *Dharmāra Sutta* (Iṅgha, III) records that the Blessed One dwelt at *Garupa* on the side of the river called *Uggara* with 600 bhikkhus.

Historical

Important historical references in the *Majjhima Nikāya* are

In the *Majjhima Nikāya* of Sir *Walter Ralston*

mainly concerned with the life and ministry of the Buddha and some of his disciples. Thus we are told that the Blessed One once stayed at the foot of a big tree in the *Sothaga* forest at *Ukkattā* (Vol. I, 1), at another time in the *Jetavana* hermitage of *Ānāpāyika* at *Savatthi* (I, 12; II, 22), in *Ukkantā* on the banks of the *Gogga* (I, 225), at *Vaśālī* in the *Kūṭāgāśālā* at *Mahāvānā* (I, 227), at *Savatthi* in the palace of *Vijitānandā* at *Pabbata* (I, 251), at *Jetavana* at *Ujjanakā* (I, 259), at *Garupa* by the side of the river *Uggara* (I, 338), at *Kāṭmva* in the mango grove of *Pāvārika* (I, 351), at *Ujjanakā* in the *Kāṭmva* at *Vedvānā*, a hermitage of the *paribhājakas* called *Mocchivāpa* (II, 1); at *Mūṭhā* in the mango grove of *Makkhātava* (II, 74), at *Savatthi* (II, 100; III, 1, 15, 30), at *Kāṭmva* to the thicket known as *Māḍhara* (II, 288), at *Mahāvānā* in a pinnacled house (II, 291), at *Kapilavattū* among the *śakhas* in the *Nigrodharā* (III, 108), at *Chhotāra* at *Kāṭmva* (III, 162), at *Tuṣṭhānā* at *Ujjanakā* (III, 182), at *Uggara*, a brahmin village of the *Kāṭmvas* where the Blessed One went with a large assembly of bhikkhus (III, 208) as well as at *Makkhātava* at *Kāṭmva* (III, 225). Of the places visited by the Buddha mention is made of *Mahāvānā* (I, 100). The Master also went to the *Kāṭmvas* for alms with a large retinue of monks (II, 15), to the *Kuru* for the same purpose with a retinue of monks and to the *Kuru* country called *Thullakoskita* (II, 34), to *Devānā*, a country of the *Mallas* (II, 214), and to *Kāṭmva* or *Kāṭmva*, a country of the *Kuru* (II, 261, 1, 16). Of his disciples and other prominent individuals, reference is made to *Sāriputta* and *Moggallāna* (I, 24-25), *Kāṭmva* dwelling at *Ānāpārasa* (I, 142), *Ānanda* being at *Vaśālī* in the *Vilva*

village (I, 319), Kusasa Buddha dwelling at Bahura in the Deer Park at Toppalana where King Kidi of Issaras came to see him (I, 42), Mahakkaccina dwelling at Gurdavasa at Madhura (II, 82), Angulimāla, a bandit, dwelling in the kingdom of King Pasuadi of Kosala (II, 87) and entering Sāvathī for alms (II, 103), Akulavayu, an old teacher of Nāgila (II, 133), Ananda residing in the Kalamakharivaya at Veluvasa in Rajagaha shortly after the parinibbāna of the Buddha (III, 7), Ajātasattu, king of Magadha (III, 7), Kalāpajpati Gosala who approached the place where the Buddha was, rebuked him, and entreated him to instruct and give a religious discourse to the bhikkhūs (II, 270), Sumanakhatta, a Kosalari (I, 68), and Mahābhāsa, a Sakka (I, 91).

Of other historical references, mention may be made of the allusions to the Yajña and Māla (I, 281), the Śākyas of Kumbhāvattā (I, 323), the Kāsa of Bahasa (I, 173), the Angas and the Magadhas (II, 2), to the heretical teachers, Pissaya Kaccapa, Mahābhāsa, Ajitakasmakumbhā, Pulastha Kaccayana, Saṅgaya Selaṅghipatta, and Nigantha Nāthaputta (II, 2), and to Kingtha Māśāpata's death at Pāvā (II, 247).

Geographical

Important geographical references in the Majjhima Nikāya are few, and are already well known from other sources. Thus we have references to Bahuka, Adakkaka, Gayā, Gunderika, Sakasth, Payāga, and Sāmasa (I, 39), to Gosinggallavana which was beautiful (I, 213), Vajjanta palace (I, 323), Anaspara, a country of the Angas (I, 271), Śāla, a beautiful village of the Kosalas (I, 265), Mahāparāna, a palace forest (I, 262), Mahādvārasa, a country of the Kāśyas (I, 367), Sumanakka mountain in the Deer Park of Mahākūṭavana of the Śākyas (II, 21), Madhucapa, a country of the Śākyas (II, 118), Upasāla, a Kosalari village of the Kosalas visited by the Buddha along with the bhikkhūs (II, 164), and to Braṅgama of the Sakkas (II, 243).

In the Samyutta Nikāya of the Sutta Pitaka

The Samyutta Nikāya refers to King Pasuadi of Kosala, the capital of which was Sāvathī. The whole of the Kosala-Samyutta is devoted to him. We are told that a war broke out between Ajātasattu, King of Magadha, and Pasuadi. Each claimed the possession of the township of Kidi. At first Ajātasattu was victorious, but later on he was defeated and taken prisoner by Pasuadi. Pasuadi, however, married his daughter, Vajira, to him and granted to him the township of Kidi (I, 42-85). We are also told of the death of Pasuadi's

prajñānātha (I, 97). The venerable Śrīśāradāśāstrīya who dwelt at Kāśmīra in the Śāradāśāstra gave answer to King Uśana's questions. Uśana was highly pleased with his answers and declared his faith in the Buddhist Faith (IV, 110).

When the Master attained Supreme Enlightenment at Uruvelā under the Banyan tree on the bank of the river Merarjōā, he was unwilling to preach the doctrine. Brahmā requested him to set rolling the Wheel of Law for the good of all. The Blessed One after much deliberation assented to the proposal (I, 128-137).

The Lord, while dwelling at Rājagṛāha in Śālyana in the Kāśyāpāśāstrīya, converted the brahmins Śhāradāśāstrīya and many other brahmins of the Śhāradāśāstrīya (I, 140-141).

The Blessed One once dwelt in the country of the Śhālyana at the Arburaśāstrīya in the Deer Park of Śhāradāśāstrīya where he gave to the householder Nāgārjūna religious discourses (III, 1).

The Blessed One dwelt at the city of Devadāsa of the Śālyana (III, 6).

Śhāradāśāstrīya dwelt at Śāstrīya on the mountain called Kāśyāpāśāstrīya (III, 12). When the Lord was residing in Vesālī at Māhāyāna in the Kāśyāpāśāstrīya, he related the heretical views of Pūṅga Kāśyāpa which had been put to him by Mahāśāstrīya (III, 28-30).

The Lord once dwelt at Kapilāśāstrīya in the Kāśyāpāśāstrīya (III, 40).

At Śāstrīya Vāśyāśāstrīya, a wanderer, put to the Buddha some heretical questions (whether the world is eternal or non-eternal, etc.). The Buddha explained the origin of wrong views (III, 213).

Śāstrīya while dwelling at the village of Śāstrīya in Śāstrīya explained to the wanderer Śāstrīyaśāstrīya the Eightfold Path leading to the attainment of nibbāna (IV, 251).

Śāstrīya while dwelling in the country of the Vāśyāśāstrīya at Uruvelā on the bank of the river Śāstrīya addressed a religious discourse to the wanderer Śāstrīyaśāstrīya (IV, 261).

The Blessed One once went to Nāgārjūna from Kāśmīra and converted Uśana, Śāstrīyaśāstrīya (IV, 311).

Once the Lord dwelt at the Deer Park of Śāstrīyaśāstrīya at Śāstrīya (V, 73).

The Lord resided at the city of Śāstrīya in Śāstrīya (V, 80).

The Lord dwelt at the city of Śāstrīyaśāstrīya in the country of the Śālyana (V, 116).

The Blessed One visited the brahmin village of Śāstrīya in Kāśmīra (V, 144).

The Lord visited with a company of the bhikkhus the brahmin village of Śāstrīya in Kāśmīra (V, 152).

The Blessed One visited Kāṭṭiyā in the Vajji country (V, 481). Kāṭṭiyā and Bhaddā lived at the Kukkaḥḍāsa in Tāṇḍiputta (V, 171).

In the *Anguttara Nikāya* of the *Sāḷva Paṭṭha*

There were sixteen *Bhikkhujānaṃbha*, viz. *Anga*, *Magadhā*,
Kāśi, *Kośala*, *Vajji*, *Malla* (1st), *Vatthā*,
Kuru, *Paṇḍita*, *Māgadhā*, *Sāḍhaka*, *Arakka*,
Arāvalī, *Bhaddhika*, and *Kāśīkoḷa*. It is

worthy of notice that the names are names of people and not of countries (I, 218; IV, 252).

We are also told of King Pasuadi of Kosala and his Queen Mallikājanā (III, 67).

While the Lord was staying at Rājagṛha on the *Ājijhātaka*-*puṭṭhā*, *Vasāḍhika* the beautiful minister of King *Ājatasattu* of *Magadhā*, as directed by his royal master, came to the Buddha for advice concerning the king's desire for leading an expedition to the Vajji country. After a talk with the Buddha, *Vasāḍhika* realized first the only means of subjugating the Vajjīlaya in having the seeds of mutual jealousy sown there (IV, 17-21).

Mallikājanā while dwelling at Rādhaḥā in the *Brāhṃana* explained the evils of sensual pleasure to the *Brāhṃana* *Kambhayaṇa* who professed his faith in the *Buddhikā* *Vāda* (I, 67).

Once the Blessed One went to the *brāhṃana* village of *Venugapura* in *Kośala* where he addressed a religious discourse to the *brāhṃana* who took their refuge in the Buddha, the *Dharmā*, and the *Saṅgha* (I, 180).

The Master once visited the township of *Kāṇḍakā* of the *Kāśīna* who were converted by him (I, 184).

The Buddha visited the township of *Pāṇḍakā* in *Kośala* and *Ācāra* *Pāṇḍakā* went to *Rājagṛha* and dwell at the *Ājijhā*-*kūḷa* (I, 236, 237).

There are references in the *Anguttara Nikāya* to *Udāḍḍa* going to the kingdom of the *Vajji* visited by the Buddha (II, 1). *Ājatasattu* the (266, 27), *Māgadhā* and *Vasāḍhika* (266, 27), the Master dwelling among the *Brāhṃana* in the Deer Park at *Udāḍḍakā* (266, 27), *Kāśīna* where the Buddha dwell between the twin oak trees of the *Ājatasattu* at *Uparattana* (266, 29), the hermitage of *Ānāpāyikā* at *Jetaṇṇa* in *Rājagṛha* (III, 1), a *brāhṃina* village of the *Kośala* called the *Āḍḍa*-*ṇḍakā* visited by the Buddha (266, 30), the Blessed One dwelling among the *Brāhṃana* (266, 30), the Master dwelling at the *ṇḍakā* house in the *Māgadhā* in *Vasāḍhika* (266, 33), *Bhaddā* dwelling at the *Kāṇḍakā* in *Pataliputta* (266, 67), the young *Brāhṃana* coming about to the *Māgadhā* armed with bow and arrow accompanied by *Anga* (266, 70), *Ānāpāyikā* (266, 70) the *Brāhṃina* dwelling in the Deer Park at

Brahma (1881, 321), the Buddha dwelling at Rajupaha on the Gijjhakūṭa mountain (Ibid., 325).

While dwelling at Vesāḥ in the Kāṣṭhaka Udyana the Blessed One spoke to the bhikkhavaṃsa the seven conditions, by following which, they were sure to thrive (IV, 146).

The Venerable Uttara is said to have dwelt at Mānā-suvāsa on the mountain Maṅkalyaka (IV, 192).

The Blessed One while dwelling at Vesāḥ under Maḥā-pāramitānanda converted the Bālāraṃṇa Vessāḥa (IV, 172).

There were five great rivers, Gāḅgā, Yamunā, Śāntānī, Saradhā, and Mahā (IV, 202).

The land east of the Aggaṃva Udyāna is Ajāvijā (IV, 212).

The Buddha once visited the township of Kūṅkarapāḥa of the Kāḷyaṇa (IV, 211).

The Lord also went to the Indian village of Tockhāṅgama in Kosaḷa and thence he converted the brahmin householders (IV, 240), to the township of Uruvelakoppa of the Mahā (IV, 286), to Kāṇṇasāḷhaṇṇa in the Kuru country (V, 28-30), to Mahājāḥ in the Ceti country (V, 41), to Kujjāḅhā and dwelt there at the Vajuvana (V, 32).

The township of Mahā was in the possession of Pasāḅdi, king of Kosaḷa (V, 88).

The Lord came west to the township of Nāḥakappaṇa in Kosaḷa and dwelt at the Pāḅḅavāna (V, 122).

A certain householder, Dhanva by name, came to Tūḥaputta from Aḥḥakāṅgama on some business. He went to Kūḥkūṣṭhina, which was in Tūḥaputta, to enter to see the Thera Ajāvijā. But he was informed that Ajāṇḍa was then dwelling at Vesāḥ in Vajuvana. He then after finishing his business went to Vajuvana (V, 342).

Historical and geographical references in the Mahāvāḡa Nibāḡa

Dhanvaṇṇa was invited to go to Mahā (Mahāvāḡa, p. 26).

King Himāḅhā of Magadhā and King Pasāḅdi of Kosaḷa have been referred to in

the Udyāna (p. 11) and there is a mention of it of Sappasāḅhā, a daughter of the Mahāyā (p. 18). There are references in the Mahāyā to Pasāḅdi and his wife Māḥikā (p. 17), Udyāna (p. 17), and King Mahāyā who went to a garden. When he went thence, a basket was full and the women headed by Mahāyāṇī dwelt (p. 18). The Udyāna Parivāḡa refers to Vesāḅhā, brother of Mahāyā (p. 31), and Mahāyā, a Mahāyā (p. 32).

The Mahāyā Nibāḡa refers to the Buddha dwelling among the Mahāyāṇa in a Indian village named Mahāyāṇa at T. bhikkhāḅḅaḅḅa (p. 13) and to the Buddha dwelling at Mahāyā in the urbanā of the Yakkhā Ajāvijā (p. 21). There are references to the Pāḅḅavāḅḅa

to King Brahmadatta of Pāṇḍita (p. 32) and King Mahābhāra of the kingdom of Bharukha and the Marjyas (p. 67).

We shall briefly state some facts from the Jātakas regarding the political history of ancient India. From the Jātakas we know that Śāngi was once a powerful kingdom. Magadha was once under the sway of Śāngi (Jātakas (Jātakas, Duesshull, VI, p. 272). It is said (Jātakas, V, pp. 312-313) that King Kāśyapa of Brāhmi vanthana (another name of Kāśyapa) conquered Śāngi and Magadha. It appears from the Jātakas (Jātakas, III, pp. 113 foll.; Jātakas, I, pp. 202, foll.) that before the Buddha's time Kāśyapa was the most powerful kingdom in the whole of Northern India. In the Jātakas (Vol. II, p. 237; IV, pp. 326 foll.) we find that Mahākāśyapa, father of King Pāśupati of Māgala, gave his daughter in marriage to King Bhūhātala of Māgala. The pin money was the village of Kāśyapa yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand lot leaf and parrotas. We are also told that there took place once a fierce fight between the army of Mahākāśyapa and Kāśyapa, Pāśupati, and Ajātasattu respectively. In one of the Jātakas (Jātakas, IV, pp. 111 ff.) we are told that Śāngiśābha, in order to punish the Śākya who deceived his father Pāśupati by giving him a daughter of a slave girl to marry, deposed his father and became king. He murdered not with a large army and succeeded in annihilating the Śākyas. But he with his army met also with destruction. The river Rohini was the boundary between the Śākya and Kāśyapa countries. A quarrel broke out among the Śākya and Kāśyapa regarding the possession of the deer. But the Buddha succeeded in restoring peace among the kingfolk (Jātakas, I, pp. 327 foll.—Kāśyapaśāntana Jātakas; Jātakas, IV, pp. 207 foll.—Chandana Jātakas). A king of Kāśyapa attacked the kingdom of Kāśyapa and took the king prisoner. The king of Kāśyapa had a son named Chatta who had while the father was taken prisoner. Afterwards Chatta recovered his kingdom (Jātakas, III, pp. 143 foll.). The kingdom of Kāśyapa was seized by a king of Kāśyapa named Vāka. But it was soon restored to the king of Kāśyapa (Jātakas, III, pp. 184-110).

Besides there are other historical references. A king of Kāśyapa had a garden in which he could make sweet mangoes bitter and bitter mangoes sweet (Jātakas, V, p. 3). Fine elms widely known as Kāśyapa elms were manufactured (Jātakas, V, p. 377). There was a great town of Kāśyapa in Kāśyapa containing a thousand families (Jātakas, IV, p. 175). There were in Kāśyapa snake-charmers (Jātakas, III, p. 182). Slaughtering of cows, swine, and other animals for making offerings to goblins was in vogue in Kāśyapa (Jātakas, IV, p. 113). There was a king named Asaka in Pāṇḍita. He was answered by a Kāśyapa (Jātakas, II, pp. 145 foll.). There was a festival at Kāśyapa where people drank wine, ate meat, danced, and sang (Jātakas, I, p. 450). Piliśāpāśyapa turned the palace of Kāśyapa into gold with the result that he was given an abundant supply of the five essentials, e.g., sugar, butter,

ghee, honey, and oil (Śāstra, III, pp. 363-364). A meeting was held in a Śāstrāśāla at Kāśyapa where the people met and discussed the means of welfare, but they could not arrive at any definite conclusion and the matter was referred to the Brahmins who settled it finally by preaching the Śāstra of the Śāstrāśāla (Śāstrā, IV, pp. 72 foll.). In the Vepulā, mountains surrounding Kāśyapa there was a gem used by an universal monarch by which Uśanāsaya, the Kaurava king, might be defeated in playing dice (Śāstrā, VI, p. 271).

The Gijjhakūṭa-pāṭha has been described as a big mountain in Girikāya of the Magadhas (Uśāstrā, p. 17). The Uśāstrā mentions the Bo-trees at the foot of which the Buddha first obtained enlightenment on the bank of the river Nandī at Uruvilva (p. 1), Śālyāna where the Buddha dwelt (p. 2), Guṇḍaka at Gāya where the Buddha dwelt (p. 4), Pippalāya where Mahākauṭilya dwelt (p. 20), Uṣevyāna, the old forest of the Buddha (p. 37), Kāśyapāśāla at Veluvāna at Kāśyapa visited by the Buddha (p. 31), and Kāśyapa visited by the Buddha (p. 41). There are references in it to Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Śālyāna, and Kōśī (pp. 63, 65), Mahāvāna where the Buddha dwelt (p. 68), and to the five Cetrīya, Śāpala, Uśāna, Śālyāna, Kāśyapa, and Kāśyapa (p. 68). Kāśyapa and Pāṭha are also referred to in it (pp. 52 and 65).

The Śāstra refers to the Gijjhakūṭa-pāṭha (p. 26), Kāśyapa (p. 26) visited by the Buddha, Veluvāna, and Kāśyapa (p. 31), Śālyāna (p. 110), Śāstrā (p. 18), Pāṭha where there was the palace of Mahākauṭilya (p. 186), Kāśyapa (p. 186), Kāśyapa (p. 186) visited by the Buddha, Pāṭha, Śālyāna, Uśāna, Uśāna, Kāśyapa, Kāśyapa, Kāśyapa, and the Cetrīya Pāṭha (p. 191). This work refers to the rivers Śāstrā (p. 190), Gaṅgā (p. 38), and Śāstrā (p. 70).

The Śāstrā refers to the Śāstrā which was beautiful (p. 10) and the Śāstrā which was Gaṅgā (pp. 26 and 28) and to two famous cities of Vepulā and Śāstrā (pp. 45 and 63).

There are many geographical allusions in the Śāstrā. It is said that Uśāna, the capital of the kingdom of Śāstrā, was at a distance of 40 yojanas from Śāstrā (Śāstrā, VI, p. 12). In the Śāstrā Śāstrā (Śāstrā, VI, p. 125) we are told of the Śāstrā territory, the capital city of which was Śāstrā. In the Śāstrā, Śāstrā Śāstrā (Śāstrā, I, pp. 275 ff.) Śāstrā is referred to as a great center of learning. In the Śāstrā Śāstrā (Śāstrā, II, p. 104) we are told that the four sons of the king of Śāstrā built five cities: Śāstrā, Śāstrā, Śāstrā, Śāstrā, and Śāstrā. From the Śāstrā Śāstrā (Śāstrā, IV, p. 101) we know that Śāstrā was the capital of the Śāstrā king. The kingdom of Śāstrā is referred to in the Śāstrā Śāstrā (Śāstrā, II, p. 120).

Uttarakosha, a sacred town, is referred to in the *Sugandhī Jātaka* (Jā., III, pp. 197 ff.). In the *Centya Jātaka* (Jā., III, p. 451) it is said that *Sattāvastūnagara* was the capital of the kingdom of *Sattī*. In the *Śāndhara Jātaka* (Jā., III, pp. 363-369) the *Kāmarāṣādhāra* kingdom and the *Vidēha* kingdom are mentioned. The kingdom of *Kāśī* is also referred to in the *Jātaka*. Its capital was *Kāśīnagar*. The extent of the city is mentioned in *12* *yojanas* (Jā., IV, p. 1049). There are also references to the *Kāśī* kingdom (Jā., III, p. 237; Jā., III, pp. 311-314). The *Kāmbhaja* kingdom is also referred to in the *Jātaka* (Jā., IV, p. 300). There are innumerable references to the *Magadhī* kingdom (Jā., IV, pp. 361-433; Jā., IV, p. 316; Jā., VI, p. 272). The city of *Mithilā*, the capital of the *Vidēhas*, was 7 *yojanas* and the kingdom of *Vidēha* 500 *yojanas* in extent (Cowell's Jā., III, p. 222). We find a reference to the *Mukha* capital in the *Kulānga-Pāṭhā Jātaka* (Cowell's Jā., IV, pp. 124-125). In the *Kurūbhāra Jātaka* (Cowell's Jā., III, p. 230) we read that the capital of *Uttara-Pāṭhā* was *Kāmpillā*. The city of *Sāvatthī* is referred to in the *Kuśin Jātaka* (Jā., Russell, I, p. 103). The country of *Saravastū* is referred to in the *Kurūbhāra Jātaka* (Jā., V, p. 133). In the *Sāṅghika Jātaka* (Jā., I, p. 419) and in the *Kurūbhāra Jātaka* (Jā., II, p. 404) we find that the river *Acīravatī* was near *Sāvatthī*. In the *Baka-Dhama Jātaka* (Jā., III, p. 338) the river *Paṇḍrā* is referred to. The river *Gampā* formed the boundary between *āṅga* and *Magadhā* (*Chūpāyā Jātaka*—Jā., IV, p. 461). The river *Godhivā* is near the *Kavilīya* forest (*Saravastū Jātaka*—Jā., V, p. 132). The *Śaṅkha*, a chain of mountains, is referred to in the *Saravastū Jātaka* (Jā., V, p. 134). The *Chūpā* mountain is referred to in the *Sāṅghika Jātaka* (Jā., I, p. 412). In the *Chūpāpāṭhā Jātaka* (Jā., III, p. 452) the *Chūpāpāṭhā* is mentioned. The *Hūṅgā* palata is in the *Uttarakosha-pada* (Jā., V, p. 415).

The *Nikkāya* contains some geographical information. It refers to *Timbal*, *Takkada*, *Takkadā*, *Kāśīnātha*, *Māraṅgala*, *Yasūga*, *Yasūpāṭhā*, *āṅga*, *Timālī*, *Yasūga*¹, *Kāśīnāthas*, *Suvāgānaka*, *Suvāgānāthas*², *Yasūpāṭhā*³, *Sūpāṭhā*⁴, *Kāśīnāthas*⁵, *Suvāgā*⁶, *Āṅgala*, *Āṅgala*, *Yasūgāyānā*, *Yasū*⁷, *Yasūmāyā*, *Āṅgala*⁸, *Yasūkandā*, *Yasūpāṭhā*, *Yasūpāṭhā*, *Yasūpāṭhā*, *Kāśīnāthā*, *Chūpāpāṭhā*, *Yasūpāṭhā*, *Sāvasthā*.

¹ *Magad*.

² *Magad*.

³ *Magad*.

⁴ *Sūpāṭhā* (Pāṭhā—*Sūpāṭhā*) was a great sacred town.

⁵ *Magad*.

⁶ *Magad*.

⁷ Between the rivers *Kāśī* and the *Indus*.

⁸ *Magad*.

patha, Mūḍāyāgatha, Urapathā, Vattāṅkapaṇa (Nilles, I, pp. 154-160).

In the Nilles (II, p. 1) we are told that once a certain Brahmin named Bhāgavāśrama of abhūsamuṣā (Abavāṅga) went to Indrīyāpāṭaka from the beautiful city of the Kosalas. He lived on the banks of the river Indravatī in the kingdom of Assam near Bilaka. In the same book (ibid., pp. 4-6) we find that there was a route, probably a trade route, from Patañjāna to Bhāgavāśra. There are references to Mūḍaka¹, Patañjāna², Mahāyājī³, Bhijjā⁴, Gūṇāḥara, Vāḍiā, Kūṣmāḍī, Mūḍaka, Śikāṭhā⁵, Saṅgāyāra, Kapilavāḍī⁶, Kūṣmāḍī, Pāṇḍ⁷, Bhijjāyājī, Vāḍī⁸, and Mūḍaka.¹⁰

The Pañcābhīṣṭamagga mentions Śivāṭhī as the place visited by the Hunter (Vol. II, pt. I, p. 177), Kōṣmāḍī visited by Kōṣmāḍī (Vol. II, p. 221) and Bhijjāyājī Bhijjāyājī at Patañjāna visited by the Hunter (Vol. II, pp. 147, 160).

The Buddhavaṃsa refers to the city of Anurāṭha where lived a Brahmin, Somaṭha (p. 8), the city of Kōṣmāḍī (p. 17), the Himalayas (p. 40; Kūṣmāḍī¹¹, Vāḍī, Kapilavāḍī, Śikāḍī, Kāṇḍa, Bhijjāyājī, Pāṇḍāyājī, Anurāṭha, and Śivāṭhī (p. 48).

The Cūḍyāpāṭaka mentions the following cities: Indrapāṭa ruled by Dharmāyājī, some Brahmins from Kāṇḍa came to him (p. 74) Kūṣmāḍī (p. 76), Urapāyājī where the Kāṇḍāyājī was born as a snake king (p. 83), and Pāṇḍā where there was a king named Jayadeva in the city of Kāṇḍā (p. 85), and there is a reference to Gāṅgā in the Cūḍyāpāṭaka (p. 85).

The Apāṅḍā refers to the cities of Anurāṭha, Kōṣmāḍī (p. 124), Pāṇḍāyājī (pp. 202, 203), Anurāṭha (p. 202) and Kāṇḍā (II, p. 204). This work also refers to the following rivers:

¹ According to the Nilles, Mūḍaka was a distant town from Assam. The quarters of Mūḍaka and Śavāḍī were separated by the river Indravatī.

² Pāṇḍā, the capital of Assam or Mahārāṣṭra on the Indravatī.

³ Mahārāṣṭra or Mahārāṣṭra, on the right bank of the Indravatī, its name in the south of India. During the Buddhist period it was the capital of Anurāṭha Mahārāṣṭra.

⁴ Capital of Mahārāṣṭra or Assam on the Indravatī.

⁵ Kōṣmāḍī, an old village on the Indravatī. All under No. 10 of Anurāṭha.

⁶ Śikāḍī, the capital of the Hunter and the capital of the Śikāḍī district, i.e.

⁷ The village of Bhijjāyājī (Bijay district), under the name of Bhijjāyājī.

⁸ Here we have Bhijjāyājī (Bijay district) and Kōṣmāḍī (Kōṣmāḍī) was the name of Kōṣmāḍī, or Anurāṭha.

⁹ Vāḍī has been the name of the name of and name of Anurāṭha (Bijay district), Bijay.

¹⁰ The districts of Pāṇḍā and Gāṅgā formed this territory proper.

[1] Smāhan (p. 323), *Chanda-bhaya* (pp. 277, 281), *Ganga*, *Yama*, *Saraha*, *Mah. Parawa* (p. 27), and it mentions the following *vetayas* *Bodhi-vetaya* (p. 71) and *Alak-vetaya* (p. 205). The *Uttarayan* mountain has been mentioned in the *Suttanta* (pp. 15, 20, 64, 68, 100, 276, 278, 300, 411).

APPENDIX B

PALE TRAILS IN THE INSCRIPTIONS.

Much light is thrown on the development of Pali canonical literature by the litic records of Assaka.
 The first inscription that deserves notice in this connection is the Billed Edict. It opens with a declaration of Assaka's deep and extensive faith in the Buddhist Triad and of his firm conviction that the utterances of Buddha are gospel truth. It then summarizes certain Dhammacaryakya or canonical instructions culled out of the Buddhist scriptures then known to him for the constant study and meditation by the clericals only, but also by the lay and that with a view to making the good faith long enduring. The text referred to by Assaka now is follows :

(1) *Paṇḍya Sutta* or the exaltation of discipline, Pāṭiśālikā, (Roca Eandi, J.E.A.S., 1916).

Prof. Bhattachar	..	Tuvāṅṅka Sutta (Sutta Nipāta).
Mr. Mitra	..	Bhagavata Sutta (Majjhima) and later, A Vinaya text in the Aṅguttara, Vol. I
Prof. Oldenberg	..	The Pasiṅkka.
.. Jacus	..	Bhāṅṅavāda Sutta (Maj) called Nīṅṅimya and Ananda's Sutta (Majjhima) called Bhāṅṅavāda.

(2) *Aligū-Kaṅṅā*

.. Knausht	..	Aṅṅavāda (Aṅṅuttara), Vol. II, p. 25.
.. Dhya Davids	..	Two Aṅṅavādaṅṅi enumerated in the <i>Samgāṅṅi Sutta</i> (Majhā, J.E.A.S., 1898)

(3) *Amiṅṅā ā Saṅṅā*

.. Dhya Davids	..	Aṅṅāṅṅā Saṅṅā (Aṅṅuttara).
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(4) *Maṅṅavāda*

.. Dhya Davids	..	Māṅṅa Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), I, 12, p. 86
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(5) *Amāṅṅa Sūta*

.. Knausht	..	Māṅṅa Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), iii, 31, pp. 181-184.
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- Prof. Bavin .. *Mūlaka Sutta* minus the Prologue.
 Rhys Davids .. *Therapya Sutta*, J.R.A.S., 1896

(6) *Dyāghāya Sūtra*

- Deussen and Śrīpata Śarma (*Sutta Nipāta*), iv, 10.
 Deussen .. pp. 178-81.
 Newman .. The quotations of *Dyāghāya* in the
Balbhavānā Sutta (*Majjhima*).

(7) *Āmbalāṅkika*

- Rhys Davids .. *Āmbalāṅkika Sutta* (*Majjhima*), ii, 2, 1.
 Vol. I, p. 214.
 M. Smart .. The *Āmbalāṅkika Āmbalāṅkika Sutta*
(Majjhima)

These are the Pārampariyaṅgā or canonical texts which have been identified differently with suttas of the Pāli-canonical literature.

At the time of Asoka there was a Buddhist literature. Asoka selected out of this body of Buddhist literature certain Pārampariyaṅgā which, in his opinion, would serve his purpose, that is, making the great faith easy and sure.

It is generally accepted by scholars that Buddhism is the basis and source of inspiration in regard to Asoka's Pārampariya. The *Śāṅkhya Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Mahā-māyā Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* enumerated just these contents of canon which Asoka was never tired of mentioning to the minds of his people and it is easy to understand how greatly the texts of the *Itāra Sūtra*, II and III, were inspired by the *Śāṅkhya Sūtra*. Now these are the two scriptural texts which have been judiciously reserved by Buddhism for the lay people to read, quote, and practice.

The style of composition and the subject of discussion in the last portion of the *Kāla*, *Hillibāguchi*, and *Māgadhā* variants of P. E. II are almost similar to those in the *Kāla* *vallā* (composed by Nagaśrīpati Tasa in the last council held under the patronage of Asoka) and the *Śāṅkhya Sūtra* respectively. (Mahadakar and Hajumdar, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 34-36.)

M. Smart points out that the use of the phrase "Dhamma Sāra" may have been suggested to Asoka by a verse from the *Pārampariya* "Saddhammā dhammasāraṃ jīvaṃ."

In the recensions of the last century B.C. the names of dozens of different parts of the Buddhist canon are inserted and in many cases with their titles. Some of these titles are very important because they have been derived from the well-known divisions of the Buddhist canonical literature. Among these epithets have been found the following: *Dhamma-*

References in
 the
 literature

katika, Poyolca, Muttentika, dattantakal, and Pr. Navarajayila which refer to the Buddhist books. They conclusively prove the existence of a Buddhist literature before the date of the inscriptions. This Buddhist literature had divisions known by the Pali names of Ekaka, Bikkyā, Vatanta, and Jāyaka. Again the Nikāya is said to have five divisions. There were not only the Pālika, the five Nikāyas and the Jāyaka but also distinct groups of writers known as the Kālyāka.

The inscriptions on the Jambū Kōṭinga and Kālyāka of the same locality (Buddhist Stupa at Vizhinj in Central India) show three interesting points on the development of Pāli literature. Stupa and Stūpa in their 'Buddhist Inscriptions' have been usually distinguished the inscriptions as Yūtiya labels and dāṭaka labels, grouping the former as they occur on the Gateway-pilars, the Kālyāka, the Gopāra, the Uppāyāra and the isolated fragments, and grouping the latter as they are attached to different stupa in accordance with the accepted Jāyaka-nomenclature of the Buddhist's etc.

That the list reflects on the Jambū Kōṭinga illustrate several names from the Jāyaka sources can be as seen by the fact that the titles of the dāṭaka inscriptions correspond to those in Pāli literature. The titles inscribed as the kōṭika, e.g., Vīraṇa Parakkha Mīya, Nāga, Yasasamphāsa, Kālyākaṭṭha, Jāyaka, Chāyāka, Jāyāka, Kālyākaṭṭha, etc. correspond to those found in the Pāli dāṭaka books, e.g., Vīraṇa Parakkha, Nāga, Yasasamphāsa, Epitō in Mūṭha, Uppāyāra, Mūṭha, Jāyāka, Kālyākaṭṭha, etc. Again in the Jambū Kōṭinga we find some names which have got no title prefixed on the inscription. But a close comparison of the pictures supervene in the railing enabled us to identify some of the names with some in the Pāli dāṭaka sources. The names of such Pāli dāṭaka sources are, e.g., Kurūṅga Mīya, Sāyākaṭṭha, Jāyāka, Uppāyāra, Jāyāka, Kālyākaṭṭha, etc. Again in the Jambū Kōṭinga we find some names which have got no title prefixed on the inscription. But a close comparison of the pictures supervene in the railing enabled us to identify some of the names with some in the Pāli dāṭaka sources. The names of such Pāli dāṭaka sources are, e.g., Kurūṅga Mīya, Sāyākaṭṭha, Jāyāka, Uppāyāra, Jāyāka, Kālyākaṭṭha, etc.

The Museum at Sarnath exhibits a huge, more than life size image of a standing, Buddhist figure. The inscription on the front and back of the pedestal of the image, as well as on the pedestal over the head, there are three Pāli inscriptions inscribed in the 3rd year of the reign of Kaśyapa 500 year B.S. The loss of the inscription on the pedestal of the figure is due to the subject of the first section delivered by the Buddhist in the first 500 years immediately after the extinction of Sarnath. It is now exactly a duplicate but is a true character of an abstract of the original subject from the Mahāyāna (I, 7, 9).

A palm-leaf manuscript discovered at Umanāra, Prāsa

A manuscript in every way similar to the palm-leaf writing script in vogue in India and Burma but with leaves of palm, twenty in number with writing incised on one side, has been discovered within a relic chamber inscribed at Umanāra, a small village five miles north of Prāsa.

The writing is in characters of an early South Indian script of the Amara Insula type, and may be assigned to the V-VIIIth century A.D.

The manuscript contains extracts from the Vinaya and Asādhamaṇa Pīṭaka, together with those mentioned above, the central words of PĀLI DUTTIYĀNA TO BHĀVA. The MS. begins on the first page with an extract giving the object of education (Paṭimāsaṅgāṇa) and ends on the last page with 'Iti so Bhagavā evaṃ bhāṣaseva bhaddhā, etc.' commencing the qualities of the Buddha. This manuscript may be assigned to the VI-VIIIth century A.D. (Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1885-87, p. 200)

An inscription of A. C. 1442

The inscription of B.E. 804 (1442 A.D.) is among those collected by Furchausener at Pagan. The Governor of Yunguiwan gave his wife such various gifts as the Bahubali Ordre and this inscription commemorates this auspicious event. The gifts denoted not only those gifts of monetary value, gold, pearls, and slaves but also offered to the Buddha's a collection of texts. The importance of this list of texts lies in the fact that it not only helps us in fixing the chronology of many Pāli works but also enables us to form some notion of the school reached by the Theravāda scholars in Burma in the 14th century for the list contains a number of titles of Theravāda works.

The list of texts contained in the inscription may be given thus:

1. Pāṭijākaṅgaṃ. 2. Pāṭiṅga. 3. Pīṭakābhīṇṇāga.
4. Vāṇavāṇābhīṇṇāga. 5. Vāṇavāṇābhīṇṇāga. 6. Vinayaparivāra.
7. Pāṭijākaṅgaṃ Pīṭakāṅga. 8. Pāṭijākaṅgaṃ Pīṭakāṅga.
9. Pāṭijākaṅgaṃ Pīṭakāṅga. 10. Pāṭijākaṅgaṃ Pīṭakāṅga.
11. Vāṇavāṇābhīṇṇāga (the present). 12. Vinayaparivāraṅga.
13. Pāṭijākaṅgaṃ Pīṭakāṅga. 14. Pāṭijākaṅgaṃ Pīṭakāṅga.
15. Pāṭijākaṅgaṃ Pīṭakāṅga. 16. Pāṭijākaṅgaṃ Pīṭakāṅga.
17. Vinayaparivāraṅga. 18. Vinayaparivāraṅga.
19. Vinayaparivāraṅga. 20. Vinayaparivāraṅga.
21. Vinayaparivāraṅga. 22. Vinayaparivāraṅga.
23. Vinayaparivāraṅga. 24. Vinayaparivāraṅga.
25. Vinayaparivāraṅga. 26. Vinayaparivāraṅga.
27. Vinayaparivāraṅga. 28. Vinayaparivāraṅga.
29. Vinayaparivāraṅga. 30. Vinayaparivāraṅga.
31. Vinayaparivāraṅga. 32. Vinayaparivāraṅga.
33. Vinayaparivāraṅga. 34. Vinayaparivāraṅga.
35. Vinayaparivāraṅga. 36. Vinayaparivāraṅga.

with regard to the performance of exorcistic ceremonies, such as the consecration of a stupa and the *aprasaṅgā* ordination. Both these gave his own interpretation, and the king himself joined in the disputations. In course of these disputations citations were made from various Buddhist authorities, most important of which was the *Appakathā*. The following reports collected here were incidentally made use of by the thera and the king in their discussion as to the performance of exorcistic ceremonies of consecrating a stupa and *aprasaṅgā* ordination.

1. "Aṅgā]khaṇḍamāṇā amāṇāḍāḍā amāṇāḍāḍā"
amāṇāḍāḍā

Some thera, could not rightly interpret these words mentioned in the *Appakathā*, and would like in the considerably later report of *Amāṇāḍāḍā* to perform the *aprasaṅgā* ordination in an *amāṇāḍāḍā* consecrated on a tree or lake, which was devoid of its respective characteristics.

2. Dharmasāli, the king, in repeatedly investigating and considering the case of the Vinaya as regards the consecration of a stupa, as interpreted by the authors of the *Appakathā*, *Itihā*, and *paṭṭavaṇṇā*, consulted both the spelt and the letter of the following works, controlling the *Appakathā* by means of the *Itihā*, the *Itihā* by means of the *Appakathā*, and the *paṭṭavaṇṇā* by an umbrella, and at the same time, by collecting what was gone before, and what came after:--the *Vinayaṇṇā*, the *Vinayaṇṇāḍāḍā*, the *vinayaṇṇā* called the *Itihāṇṇāḍāḍā*, the *Vinayaṇṇā* called the *Vinayaṇṇāḍāḍā*, the *Vinayaṇṇā* written by *Vajrasāli*] thera, the *Mātikāṇṇāḍāḍā* called the *Kuṇḍāḍāḍāḍā* together with the *Itihā*, the *Vinayaṇṇāḍāḍā*, the *Itihāṇṇāḍāḍā*, and the *Itihāṇṇāḍāḍā*. To the king he repeatedly investigated and considered the question and interpreted the ruling of the Vinaya according to his light and knowledge.

3. "Yamaṇā] amāṇāḍāḍā māmāḍāḍā" *Itihāṇṇāḍāḍā*.

This short citation purports to say that the *āṅgā* source comprises four months, during which lakes and rivers become filled with water and during which season the water robe of a *Itihāṇṇāḍāḍā* wearing a stupa of such description of any piece, is wadded. His stupa consecrated with a *amāṇāḍāḍā* may be consecrated, and the *aprasaṅgā* ordination performed if it will be valid and inevitable.

4. There existed an old stupa whereon the *Itihāṇṇāḍāḍā* stupa went to be built and consecrated later on. It was, therefore, necessary to decorate the old stupa, for otherwise the new stupa would be null and void, for case of the doubtful defect of

2. When the existence of an old stūpa is not known, it is said in the *Appakatha* :—

"*Appakathāyathā purāṇa-sāhitya vijjasaṅgataṃ vā paricohelaṃ vā ekaṃtānaṃ dhamma-saṃpattava dāharaṇā māhanta viyānava sālāṇi paṇa vā kama eḷi vāyānava saṃbhāsaṃsāraṇa sikkānāyaggaḷa-taṃ saadhāya ye paṇa ubbo pu na jānanti ; va n'eva ssaṃbhāsitū eḷi labhanti vuttarū "*

Paraphr. : 'If both names of stūpa are not known, the stūpa should not be desecrated or consecrated.' This dictum of the *Appakatha* does not, however, mean to indicate that, although the existence of the stūpa to be desecrated may not be known, it goes so far as to put forth that stūpa will not be desecrated.

Besides those quotations from and interpretations of Pāli texts, there are a good number of references to Pāli texts in the Kalyāṇi inscriptions in the way of adducing arguments or citing authorities. The three *piṭakas* are more than once mentioned the *Vinaya* having the honour of being mentioned first. The most often referred to is the *Appakatha* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. Other texts are the *Pāṭimokkha*, the *Khuddakavākkhā*, the *Vimuttivādaṇa*, the *Vimayaṅgaḷi*, the *Vimayaṅgaḷa* called the *Sāraśādhyaṇi*, the *Vimayaṅgaḷa* written by *Vajrabuddha-sāra*, the *Mūlāyakkhā* called the *Kaṭṭhāvitarāṇi* together with its *Ṭhā*, the *Vimaya-sāraṇāyapākāya* together with its *Ṭhā*, the *Vimaya-sāraṇāyapākāya*, the *Sīmābhikkhāpākāya*, the *Sīmābhikkhāpākāya*, and other texts relating to the *Vinaya-piṭaka*.

Pāli texts referred to in the inscription of *Pandhara-sāthā* at *Sāhikāri*, Ceylon

1. The *Vinaya* books, 2. The *Khuddakavākkhā*, 3. The *Pāṭimokkha*, 4. The *Uvāḍḍāsaṃvāḍḍā*, 5. The *Uvāḍḍāsaṃvāḍḍā*, 6. The *Mūlāyakkhā*, 7. The *Sāraśādhyaṇi*, and 8. The *Ṭhā*.

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200	yanzudai	yan zhidai
202	pervezlions	pervezlions
202	waselbu	das waselbu
207	G. riddel	Grahamell
209	are	is
214	piduac	piduac
206	gruff	cruffie
223	shuac	shuac
232	an interesting report	lygami
237	shu	hu
240	shupac	shupac
242	a hantler's family	hantler's family
226	shuac	shuac
280	shuac shuac shuac - shuac shuac shuac	
282	Perdubac	Perdubac
288	hu	hu

“Wherever the Buddha’s teachings have flourished,
either in cities or countrysides,
people would gain inconceivable benefits.
The land and people would be enveloped in peace.
The sun and moon will shine clear and bright.
Wind and rain would appear accordingly
and there will be no disasters.
Nations would be prosperous
and there would be no use for soldiers or weapons.
People would abide by morality and accord with laws.
They would be courteous and humble,
and everyone would be content without injustices.
There would be no thefts or violence.
The strong would not dominate the weak
and everyone would get their fair share.”

※ THE BUDDHA SPEAKS OF
THE INFINITE LIFE SUTRA OF
ADORNMENT, PURITY, EQUALITY
AND ENLIGHTENMENT OF
THE MAHAYANA SCHOOL 5

Taking Refuge with Bodhicitta

I go for refuge, until I am enlightened,
to the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha.
Through the merit I create by practicing giving and the
other perfections,
may I quickly attain the state of Buddhahood for the benefit
of all sentient beings.

The Prayers of the Bodhisattva

With the wish to free all beings,
I will always go for refuge
to the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha
till I reach full enlightenment.
Enthused by the compassion and wisdom,
Today, in Buddha's presence,
I generate the Mind of Enlightenment,
for the sake of all sentient beings.
For as long as space remains,
and as long as sentient being remain,
until then, may I too remain
to dispel the sufferings of all beings.

With bad advisers forever left behind,
From paths of evil he departs for eternity,
Soon to see the Buddha of Limitless Light
And perfect Samantabhadra's Supreme Vows.

The supreme and endless blessings
of Samantabhadra's deeds,
I now universally transfer,
May every living being, flowing and adrift,
Soon return to the Pure Land of Limitless Light!

*** The Vows of Samantabhadra ***

I vow that when my life approaches its end,
All obstructions will be swept away;
I will see Amitayus Buddha,
And be born in His Western Pure Land of
Ultimate Bliss and Peace.

When reborn in the Western Pure Land,
I will perfect and completely fulfill
Without exception those Great Vows,
To delight and benefit all beings.

*** The Vows of Samantabhadra Avatamsaka Sutra ***

DEDICATION OF MERIT

May the merit and virtue
accrued from this work
adorn Amitabha Buddha's Pure Land,
repay the boundless great kindnesses above,
and relieve the suffering of
those on the three realms below.

May those who see or hear of these efforts
generate Bodhi mind,
spend their lives devoted to the Buddha Dharma,
and finally be reborn together in
the Land of Ultimate Bliss.
Homage to Amita Buddha!

NAMO AMITABHA

南無阿彌陀佛

財團法人佛陀教育基金會 印贈

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